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COPNER, —, Fishmonger, New-street, Birmingham.

COTTON, T., Watch and Chronometer Spring Manufacturer, 11, Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell.

COTTON, C. R., Export Cooper, Bermondsey-wall.

COULSHAW, WILLIAM, Jun., Tailor and Trowser Maker, 17, Radcliffe-terrace, Goswell-road, opposite Spencer-street.

COW, P. B. (successor to Charles Macintosh & Co.), Patentees of Vulcanized India-rubber, and other Waterproof Cloths, Air Beds, Pillows, Cushions, &c., 46, Cheapside.

COX, E., Improved Plane and General Mechanical Tool and Lathe Manufacturer, 15, Great Queen-st., Lincoln's-inn.

COX, F., Optician, 100, Newgate-street.

COX, J., Optician and Mathematical Instrument Maker, 5, Barbican.

CRAIGHT, R., Scale, Weight, and Weighing Machine Manufacturer, 94, Goswell-street.

CRIBB, W. E., Chronometer and Watch Maker, 17, Southampton-row, Russell-square.

CRISP, W. G., Goldsmith and Jeweller, 64, Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell.

CROGGON & Co., Patent Asphalte Roofing, Boiler, Railway, Sheathing, and Inodorous Felt, (for damp walls,) 2, Dowgate-hill.

CROSTA, CETTA, GOBBI, & Co., Wholesale and Export Picture Frame and Looking Glass Manufacturers, 34, St. John's-lane, West Smithfield.

CROSSLEY, HENRY, & Co., Stuff Dyers and Finishers, Calder Dye Works, Brighouse.

CROWTHER, J., Bleacher, Lyon Fold, Blackley.

CURR, GEORGE, & Co., Damascus Steel Works, Lead Mill-street, Sheffield, Manufacturers of Steel, Saws, Files, Edge Tools, &c.

DALGLEISH & SON, D., Outfitters, Clothiers, Hatters, Hosiers, and Shirt Makers, 23 and 24, South-bridge, Edinburgh.

DAVIES, JAS., & SON, Wholesale and Export Boot and Shoe Warehouse, 9, Gracechurch-street.

DAVIES, W. J., Emery and Black Lead Manufacturer, New Weston-street, Southwark.

DAVIS, E. J., Marquee and Rick Cloth Manufacturer, West Smithfield.

DAVIS, G. P., Manufacturer of Launcelott's Patent Cooking Apparatus, and the Portable Washing Coppers, Gas Fitter, &c., 11, Barbican, City.

DAVY, F., Merchant, Exeter.

DAWSON, Thos., jun., Carriage Lamp Maker, 28, Great St. Andrew-street, Broad-street, Holborn.

DAWSON & MORRIS, Isinglass Importers, 96, Fenchurch-st.

DEARE, F. D., Australian Commission Merchant, East India Chambers, Leadenhall-street.

DEANE, DRAY, & Co., Stove and Range Manufacturers, Export Ironmongers, Cutlers, Jewellers, Birmingham and Sheffield Warehousemen, Pump and Bath Manufacturers, Dealers in Agricultural Implements, Saddle, Harness, and Horse Clothing Manufacturers, and Dealers in Fancy Goods, 46, King William-street, London-bridge.

DEANE, ADAMS, & DEANE, Gun, Pistol, and Rifle Makers, by Appointment to H.R.H. Prince Albert, 30, King William-street, City.

DEAR & WARRINER, Wholesale and Export Toy Warehouse, 191, Bishopsgate-street, Without.

DEED, J. S., Currier, Morocco, Roan, Kid, and Lamb Leather Dresser, and Wool Rug Manufacturer, 9 and 10, Little Newport-st.—Manufactory, Steyne Mills, Acton.

DEFRIES, N., Consulting Gas Engineer, Inventor and Patentee of the Dry Gas Meter and Gas Bath, Manufacturer of Gas Cooking Stoves on the most approved principles, 145, Regent-street.

DELFOSSE & Co., Patentees of the Metal Stitched Boots and Shoes, (warranted not to rip,) 31, King William-street, City.

DELICOURT, —, French Decorative and Paper Hanging Manufacturer, 125, ter Rue Charenton, Paris.—J. Solomon, agent, 22, Red Lion-square, London.

DENNE & PEARCE, Furnishing Ironmongers, 44, Farringdon-street.

DE PASS & SON, Wholesale and Export Boot and Shoe Manufacturers, and Leather Merchants, 20, Finsbury-pl.

DEVILLE & Co., Lamp, Lighthouse Lanthorn and Reflector Manufacturers, and Gas Fitters, 367, Strand.

DICKINSON, H. J., & Co., Billiard and Bagatelle Table Manufacturers; a variety of Slate Tables always in stock, for Home Use and Exportation, 84, Gray's-inn-lane.

DIXON, SONS, & TOOKE, Wholesale Jewellers, 37, Hatton-garden.

DIXON, T., Saddlers' Tool Maker, Hall-lane, Walsall.

DOBBY, JOHN, Cutler, &c., 95, Strand.

DOBSON, H. T., Wire Worker, Blind Maker, Wrought Iron Verandah Builder, Surrey Wire Works, 55, Borough-road, Southwark, and at Church-st., Walton-on-Thames.

DOBSON, J., Optician and Mathematical Instrument Maker, 268, High Holborn.

DOVE, E., Die Sinker, Seal Cutter, Embosser, Seal and Fancy Wafer Manufacturer, 39, Forster-street, Ashley-crescent, City-road.

DOWLER, M., Window Blind, Venetian, Spanish, and Oriental Shade Manufacturer, Spring Sun Blinds for Shop-fronts, Greenhouses, Verandahs, &c., 143, Fetter-lane, Fleet-street.

DUCKWORTH, F. J., & Co., Wine Merchs., 2, Brabant-ct.

DUDEN, H., & SONS, Cornfactors and Wharfingers, East Hall, Bermondsey.

DUDLEY, J., Boiler Maker, Cottage-row, Bermondsey.

DUNCAN & Co., R., Wine Merchants, East India and New Zealand Agents, 43, Lime-street.

DUNN, D., Manufacturer of Soluble Chocolate, Cocoa, Essence of Coffee, &c., 9, King's-row, Pentonville.

DURHAM, J. (By Special Appointment to H.R.H. Prince Albert), Manufacturer of Razors and Cutlery of every kind. Original Maker of the Steel Chatelaines, Needles, &c. Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation. 456, Oxford-street.

DURROCH, (late Smith,) Surgical Instrument and Truss Manufacturer, 2, New-st., St. Thomas's-st., Borough.

DUTHOIT & Co., Patent Portable Umbrella Tent Manufacturers, 6 Finsbury-place, South.

DYMOND, H., & Co., Wholesale Boot and Shoe Manufacturer, and Dealers in Gutta Percha Goods, 1, Regent-street, City-road.

EARDENSOHN, J., Wholesale and Export Ladies' Boot and Shoe Manufacturer, 10, Wellclose-square.

EARL, WILLIAM, Esq., Timber Merchant, Commercial-road, Lambeth.

EARNSHAW, T., Watch, Clock, and Chronometer Manufacturer to the Admiralty, 119, High Holborn.

EDWARDS, J., Gas Apparatus Manufacturer and Fitter, 39 A, Ray-street, Clerkenwell.

EDWARDS, D. & H. & Co., Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation—Patentees of the Preserved Potato, an invaluable sea store, adopted generally in the Royal Navy, by her Majesty's commissioners for emigration, the honourable E.I.C., and for shipping in general; and for its economy and facility in cooking, recommended for domestic use—supplied by all provision merchants in the United Kingdom, Colonies, &c.—1, Bishopsgate-street.

EDWARDS, CHRISTOPHER, Grocer, 2, Charles Place, Hertford-road, Kingsland.

EGLESE, J., Watch Maker and Goldsmith for Home and Exportation, 30, Cornhill.

ELLEY, T. B., Shoe and Leather Manufacturer, Consignee for French Shoes and Leather, Stafford, and 3, Victoria-street, Holborn, Wholesale Warehouse, 74, Dale-street, Liverpool.

ELLIS, T., Carriage and Harness Maker for Exportation to extreme climates, 60, High-street, Whitechapel.

ELLWOOD, J. & SONS, Wholesale and Export Hat Manufacturers, 24, Great Charlotte-street, Blackfriar's-road.

ELSTON & SONS, R., Watch Dial Manufacturers, 24, Myddleton-street, Clerkenwell.

EMES, J., Trunk, Chest and Packing Case Manufacturer (Bullock and Overland Trunks for India), 110, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury.

EMES, JOHN, Railway Luggage Waterproof Canvass, Sheet and Tarpaulin Manufacturer, Merchant's Row, Limehouse Cut.

ENNEVER & STEEDMAN, Pianoforte Manufacturers, with Metallic Plate, and all the last Improvements, 3, Little Crescent-street, Euston-square.

EVANS, THOMAS, & Co., Wholesale Manufacturers of Umbrellas and Parasols for Exportation; Patentees of the "Queen's Parasol," as exhibited in the Great Exhibition, 10, Wood-street, Cheapside.

EVANS & HILL, real Manufacturers of all descriptions of Steel Mills and Screw Jacks, also the Improved Corn Mills and Dressing Machine for the Colonies, 14, Hollywell-row, Worship-street, Finsbury.

EVANS, J., & SON, Engine, Lathe, and Tool Manufacturers, and General Machinists; Contractors to her Majesty's Honourable Board of Ordnance, and Patent Axletree Manufacturers, by appointment to her Majesty and the Royal Family; all kinds of Machinery supplied on liberal terms to merchants and captains for Exportation; 104, Wardour-street, Soho.

FAIRCHILD, J., & Co., Pianoforte Manufacturers (for extreme climates), 200, High Holborn.

FAREBROTHER, CLARK, & LYE, Auctioneers, Surveyors, and Estate Agents, 6, Lancaster-place, Strand.

FARLEY, J. S., Original Cemetery Stone Works, Statuary, Mason, and Monument Sculptor, Kensal Green, and 12, Goswell-road, Clerkenwell.

FAUNTLEROY, C., Worsted and Yarn Spinner and Dyer, 13, Ropemaker-street, Finsbury.

FELGATE, W., & Co., Ship and Insurance Agents, 4, Clements-lane.

FERRARI, B., Wholesale and Export Manufacturer of Barometers, Looking Glasses, Picture Frames, and Fancy Cabinet Goods, 48, Compton-street, Clerkenwell.

FITCH, J. R., Wholesale Jeweller and Birmingham Agent, every description of Gas Chandeliers and Fittings, 51, Hatton-garden.

FLATHER, DAVID, (late Brown and Flather), Manufacturer of Braces, Bits, Joiners' Tools, Skates, &c., of superior quality, Solly Works, Sheffield.

FLETCHER, JOHN, & SONS, Chronometer, Watch, and Clock Makers to the Lords of the Admiralty, 48, Lombard-street.

FONTAINE, W., Tallow Chandler, Soap Maker, and Oilman, East-street, Hoxton.

FORD, F. C. & Co., Ships' Provision and Wine Merchants, 114, Minories.

FORSTER & SMITH, Merchants, New City Chambers, Bishopsgate-street.

FRASER, J., Wholesale and Export Boot and Shoe Manufacturer, 172, Saint George-street.

FRENCH, J., & SONS, Wholesale Manufacturing Goldsmiths and Jewellers, 5, Newcastle-place, Clerkenwell-close.

FREEMAN, Builder and Architect, New Walk, Shad Thames.

FROST, J., Copper and Brass Founder, 8, Allen-street, Goswell-street.

FROST, W., Brass Founder and General Caster for Gas Fitters, Engineers, and Ship Builders, 17, Half Moon-street, Bishopsgate-street.

FROST, NOAKES, & VINCENT, (Originally, James Frost,) Brass and Cock Founders, Pump Makers, &c., 195, Brick-lane, Whitechapel, London.

FUDGE, C., Manufacturing Goldsmith, 45, Seckford-street.

FURTH, DANIEL, Merchant, 29, Nicholas-lane.

GAFFIN, T., Carrara Marble Works, choice designs of Monuments, Tablets, and every description of Marble, Stone, and Scagliola Work, 63, Quadrant, Regent-street.

GALLY, P. & P., & Co., Opticians and Looking-Glass Manufacturers, 68, Hatton-garden.

GALPIN, J., Manufacturer of the Broad Drawing Pencils for bold and effective drawing, and Improved Tinted Boards for Moonlight Effect, &c., the Repository for Lending Drawings in the Broad Style, Water Colour Drawing and Flower Painting, 55, Rathbone-place.

GAMBLE & DAVIS, Wholesale and Export Shoe Manufacturers, 45, Fish-street-hill.

GARDNER, J., Bird Stuffer to the Royal Family and various Museums, 426, Oxford-street.

GASS, S. H. & D., Manufacturing Silversmiths and Jewellers, 166, Regent-street.

GATES, T., Gold and Silver Leaf, and Gold Beaters' Skin Manufacturer, 24, Vine-street, Hatton Garden.

GATTI, A. & G., Manufacturers of Preparations for Artificial Florists, 20, Coppice-row, Clerkenwell, and 28 and 29, Bridge-road, Lambeth.

GEBHARD, ROTTMAN, & Co., Agents to Foreign Manufacturers, 83, Hatton-garden.

GIBBONS, ABEL, Feather Bed, Mattrass and Palliasse Manufacturer—the Trade supplied with every description of Purified Bed Feathers, Wool, Hair, and Flock, at the lowest prices—13, Leman-street, Whitechapel.

GILBERT, J. A., & Co., Grocers' Canister and Fancy Tea-Box Manufacturers, and General Japanners, 13, Dorrington-street, Clerkenwell.

GLOVER, JOHN, & SON, Brass and Malleable Iron Founders, Buckle Manufacturers, &c., Birmingham-st., Walsall.

GODDARD, J. A., Custom House, Shipping, Colonial, Foreign, and Commission Agent. Merchandise, Works of Art, Wines, Baggage, &c., forwarded and received to and from all parts of the world. 65, Lower Thames-street, opposite the Custom House.

GODDARD, T., General Agent & Outfitter, 146, Cheapside.

GOODBEHERE & Co., Wholesale and Export Ironmongers, Iron and Brass Founders, Ship Smiths, Tinmen and Braziers; Manufacturers of Troop, Emigrant, and Ships' Fire Hearths, 9, Wellclose-square.

GOODE & BOLAND, Gold and Silver Chain Manufacturers, 59, Hatton-garden, and Birmingham.

GORDON, J., Manufacturer of Pianofortes for Exportation, 6, Eldon-street, Finsbury.

GORDON, J. G., Druggist and Veterinary Chemist, 144, High-street, Whitechapel.

GOSLETT, A., Wholesale Looking Glass Manufacturer, Crown, Sheet, Patent Plate, and Ornamental Glass Merchant, 26, Soho-square.

GOY, EVANS, & Co., General Outfitters, 175, Piccadilly, and 24 and 25, Cornhill.

GRAHAM, J., Woollen Draper, Shirt Maker, Hosier, and Outfitter, 179, High-street, Edinburgh.

GRAY, R., (from Collards,) Patent Pianoforte Manufacturer, with Metallic Plate, (for extreme climates,) 39, Edward-street, Hampstead-road.

GRAY, T. W., Hydraulic Engineer, Brass and Iron Founder, Brazier, Plumber, &c., 79, King William-street.

GRANVILLE & Co., Manufacturers of India Rubber Waterproof Cloths and Garments, peculiarly suitable for Hot or Cold climates, Air Cushions and Swimming Belts; Patent Mineralised Rubber for engineering purposes, India Rubber Webs, Mohair, Alpaca, Gemappe, and Silk Braids of all descriptions, 9, Gresham-street West.

GREAVES, JOSEPH & WILLIAM, Silver, German Silver, and Brass Founder, Dealer in Casting Pots—Powder Flask, Opticians' and Cutlers' Castings of every description—105, Arundel-street, Frith, Bro's., Yard, near Charles-street, Sheffield.

GREEN, —, Wholesale Druggist and Oilman, Westbromwich.

GREENHILL, C., Morocco-Case and Watch Material Manufacturer, 12, Gt. Sutton-street, Clerkenwell.

GREENWOOD, T., Church, Turrett, House, and Musical Clock Manufacturer, 5, St. James's-walk, Clerkenwell.

GRIFFITHS, HENRY, Looking-Glass Manufacturer, Carver and Gilder, 27, Drury-lane, London.

GRIMOLDI & STOPPANI, Barometer, Thermometer, and Sympiesometer Manufacturers, 31, Brook-street, Holborn.

GROVER & Co., Patent Seal Envelope, Note and Letter Paper Makers, and General Stationers. Depôt for Measam & Co.'s Medicated Cream Soap, and Regenerative Carpet Soap, 238, Strand, late of 4, Castle-street, Holborn.

GROVER, J., Army Contractor, High-street, Chatham.

GROVES & MITCHELL, Organ Builders and Inventors of the Lever Valve and other improvements, 11, Little Marlboro'-street, 8, Great Marlboro'-street, and 13, Marlboro'-row, Golden-square.

GULL, J. W., Ship and Insurance Broker, 4, Brabant-court, Philpot-lane.

GUTTERIDGE & Co., Carriage Builders for Home Use or Exportation to all Climates, 29, Davies-street, Berkeley-square.

GWYNNE, JOHN, Proprietor of the American Patent Balanced Centrifugal Pump, Patent Balanced Double-acting-Pressure Wheel, and Centrifugal Blowing Engine, all guaranteed to be superior to any others in use—Offices, 1, Agar-street, Strand.

HALL, BROTHERS, Merchants, Shipowners, and Brokers, 2, Riches-court, Lime-street.

HALL & Co., Patentees of the Leather Cloth, or Pannus Corium Boots and Shoes, peculiarly soft and easy for tender feet, Wellington-street, Strand, leading to Waterloo-bridge.

HALLORAN, Mr., Collegiate School, Tavistock-road, Plymouth.

HALLAM, ROBERT, Manufacturer of Shoe, Butcher, Cook, and Bread Knives, Weavers' Knives, Nippers, &c.—R. T. Hallam's Cast Steel—87, Pea Croft, Sheffield.

HAMPDEN & Co., General Commission and British and Foreign Patent Agents, &c., 448 West-strand, London.

HARDWIDGE, J., Needlemaker, 172, Long-lane, Bermondsey.

HARRIS & SON (successors to J. Howel), Mathematical Instrument Manufacturers, 50, Holborn.

HARRISON, HENRY, & Co., Tailors, Woollen Drapers, Hatters, and Men Mercers, Agent for C. Macintosh and Co.'s garments, Air-proof Cushions, Pillows for Invalids, Umbrellas, &c.—Mourning made to order on the shortest notice, and Liveries of every description—4, Market-street, Sheffield.

HARVEY & BUFFERY, Coach and Harness Brass Founders, Silver and German Silver Platers, Manufacturers of South American Spurs, Stirrups, Lasso Rings, &c., St. Mary's-row, Walsall.

HARRIS, R., & Co., Furniture and Bedding Manufacturers, 124 and 125, High Holborn.

HART, J. T., Coach, Harness, and Engine-hose Currier, 16, Union-street East, Spitalfields.

HARTILL & LOCKINGTON (from Broadwood's), Pianoforte Makers, with Metallic Plates for extreme climates, 41, Kenton-street, Brunswick-square.

HARTREE, W. T., Export Cooper, &c., 7, Charlotte-row, Bermondsey.

HARTSHORNE, G., jun., Iron Merchant and Manufacturer of Chain Cables, Anchors, &c., 12, Little Tower-street, London, and Stourbridge, Worcestershire.

HAWKINS, J., Engineer and Smith in general, Hatfield-street, Stamford-street.

HAWKINGS, J., Plate and Looking-glass Warehouse, 5, Albion-place, Blackfriars Bridge.

HAWKINGS, J., Wholesale Stationer, 5, Albion-place, Blackfriars Bridge.

HAYES, J., Surgeon-Dentist and Cupper, 42, St. Martin's-lane, Charing-cross.

HEARN, J., Refiner and Dealer in Gold and Silver Ores and Metals, 11, Jerusalem-passage, Clerkenwell.

HEMSLEY & Co., Sextant (wholesale and export), Quadrant, Telescope, Barometer, Thermometer, Drawing Instruments, and Compass Manufacturers, 140, St. George-Street, late Ratcliffe-highway.

HENNEWAY, W., Merchant, Exeter.

HEPTINSTALL, W., Gun Manufacturer to the Hon. Board of Ordnance and the Hon. East India Company, 18, Swan-street, Minories.

HETLEY, J., & Co., Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Glass Shades for Clocks, &c., Looking-glass Manufacturers, Crown, Sheet, and General Window Glass Merchants, 35, Soho-square.

HEWETSON, JOSEPH, Sheet Zinc Manufacturer, Wholesale and for Exportation, 21, Sommers-place East, New-road, opposite Burton-crescent.

HEWITT, J., Wholesale Watch Glass Manufacturer, Ballymacarrett, Belfast.

HEWLITT, R., Hair Dresser, Perfumer, and only Manufacturer of Lewis's Preparations for Dyeing, Restoring, and Nourishing the Hair, 42, Duke-st., Manchester-sq.

Hewlett, A. H., Manufacturer of genuine Liquid Hair Dye free from Smell; and skin, gauze, and transparent Partings for Wigs, Fronts, Scalps, &c., 5, Burlington Arcade, Piccadilly.

Higgins, Joseph, Wholesale & Export Perfumer, 29 & 30, Lawrence-lane, Cheapside; Manufactory, Kensington.

Hill, J. V., Wholesale Saw, Plane, and Tool Manufacturer; Emigrants, Merchants, and Shippers supplied at wholesale prices, 5, Chichester-place, Gray's-inn-road.

Hill, W., Organ Builder to her Majesty, 12, Tottenham-court, New-road.

Hill, J., Manufacturing Goldsmith and Gold Chain Maker, 6, St. James's-walk, Clerkenwell.

Hill & Stone, Coach Builders and Harness Makers, 20 and 21, Little Moorfields, and 49, London Wall.

Hipkiss, Thomas, Stag, Buck, and Horn Haft, and Scale Cutter, 6, St. Thomas-street, (late of Silver-street), Sheffield.

Hogarth, D., & Co., Manufacturers of every description of Preserved Soups, Fish, Game, and Meats, suitable for Home and Foreign Consumption, and warranted to keep in any climate for a number of years, Aberdeen.

Hodge & Roberts, Manufacturers of every description of Candle, Oil, and Gas Lamps, Gas Fittings, Lamp Shades, Indian and Etruscan Lamps, Hall Lanterns, Wax and Stearine Candles, &c., for exportation, 101, Hatton-garden.

Hodge & Sons, Manufacturers of Steam-engine Boilers, Tanks, Pans, &c., Oak-lane, Limehouse.

Hodgetts, George, Druggist and Oilman, opposite the Post-office, Westbromwich.

Hoe, R., Trunk, Chest, and Packing Case Manufacturer; Cases lined with Tin, Zinc, or Copper; Bullock and Overland Trunks, and Tin Boxes for India—44, Leadenhall-street.

Holmes, Joseph, Spring Knife Cutler, Bridge-st., Sheffield.

Holdernesse and Holdernesse, Pianoforte Manufacturers (for extreme climates), 444, New Oxford-st., Bloomsbury.

Holdich, G. M., Organ Builder, 4, Judd-place East, King's Cross, New-road.

Hollands, D. F., Jun., Wharfinger and Coal Merchant, Bermondsey-wall.

Hollis, G., Pewterer and Manufacturer of Worms, Stills, Refrigerators, Soda Water and Beer Machines, Pots, &c., 27, Crown-street, Finsbury-square.

Holgate, J., Contractor for Railway Stores, Cotton Waste Dealer, &c., 9, Arthur-street West, City.

Holgate, J., & Co., (late Blow), Curriers, Leather Dressers, and Manufacturers of Machine Straps, Hose Pipes, &c. 21, Great Dover Road.

Holman, E. W., Pianoforte Maker for Home use or Exportation to extreme Climates, 10, Grafton-st., Fitzroy-sq.

Hoole, W., Steel, Metal, File, and Tool Merchant, (Sheet-Steel for Engraving Plates,) Rolled Brass and German Silver—Brass, German Silver, and Tin Tubes—Brass and German Silver Castings, Melting Pots, Clock Materials, &c., 21, St. James's-walk, Clerkenwell.

Horn, J. & Co., (Successors to Mr. John Hague,) Engineers and Millwrights, Iron Founders, Boiler Makers, &c., 14, High-street, Whitechapel.

Hopkins, G., Trunk, Plate Case, and Portmanteau Manufacturer, Ladies and Gentlemen's Outfitter, 36A, Lamb's Conduit-street, opposite the Foundling.

Horsley, J. T., (late R. Richards & Son), Wholesale and Export Ironmonger—bar, hoop, rod, and sheet iron—95, New Park-street, Borough.

Hotchkin and Mobbs, Ship and Insurance Agents, 3, East India Chambers, Leadenhall-street.

Houfe, Draper, Knaresborough.

Hough, Peter, Card Maker, Glasgow.

Hovenden, R., Wholesale Perfumer, 57 and 58, Crown-street, Finsbury.

Howarth, H., Chemical Works, near Accrington.

Hoy, J., & Co., Wine and Spirit Merchants, 6, Store-lane, Belfast.

Hubback & Son, Patentees of the White Zinc Paint, combining Health, Elegance, Durability, and Economy, 115, Upper East Smithfield, opposite the London Docks.

Humphreys, J., Furniture Japanner, 40, Seward-street, Goswell-street.

Hunt, E., Wholesale and Retail Watch Material, Tool, and Movement Dealer, 21, Ironmonger-street, St. Luke's.

Hunt, G. A., Feather Bed and Mattrass Manufacturer, 1, Weston-place, King's-cross (Established 1826).

Hunter, R., Manufacturer of the celebrated Deal Waterproof Coats, Seamen's Suits, South-westers, &c., Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation, 145, Ratcliff Highway.

Hunter, J., Merchant, 110, Fenchurch-street.

Hulett, D., & Co., Manufacturers of Gas Fittings in Chandeliers, Hall Lanterns, &c.; also Tin, Brass, Copper, and Patent Welded Wrought Iron Tubes, for Gas or Steam; Patentees and Manufacturers of Gas Meters, 55 and 56, High Holborn.

Hyam, L., & Co., Merchant Tailors, Clothiers, and Outfitters 36, Gracechurch-street, and 86, Oxford-street.

Hyam, M. & S., Wholesale and Export Clothiers, 9 and 10, King-street, Cheapside.

Hydromagen India Rubber Water Proof Clothing Company's India Rubber Boots, Shoes, and Goloshes for riding, shooting, and fishing—Manufactory, 18, Houndsditch.

Ingram, J. Export Upholsterer, 29, City-road.

Jackson, William, & Co., Merchants and Manufacturers of Saws, Files, Edge Tools, Joiners' Tools, Scythes, Sickler, Sheep Shears, Britannia Metal and Plated Goods, Needles, Spades, Shovels, Anvils, Vices, Railway, Waggon, and Carriage Springs, Steel Converters and Refiners; also, Cutlery of every description, and all kinds of Sheffield Hardware—Sheffield.

Jackson, W. G., Distillery, Dockhead, Bermondsey.

Jacobs & Son, Plain and Cut Glass Manufacturers, Wholesale and for Exportation, 64, Crown-street, Finsbury.

Jacobs & Towers, Carvers, Gilders, & Wholesale Looking Glass Manufacturers, 56, Mansell-st. Goodman's fields.

Jackson & Graham, Upholsterers, Cabinetmakers, Interior Decorators, & Carpet Manufacturers, 37 & 38, Oxford-st.

Jamrack, J. C., Naturalist, Fixed Agent to the Zoological Society at Amsterdam, 164, Ratcliff-highway.

Javens, J. (Successor to S. Lench), Ornamental Japanner, Manufacturer of Grocers' Tea Canisters, Fancy Boxes, Bowls, Tea-trays, &c., 13, Coldbath-square, Clerkenwell, and 3, Liverpool-street, Bishopsgate-street, Without.

Jefferies & Co., Patentees and Manufacturers of Wet and Dry-weather Ploughs, Patent Portable Smiths' Forges, Cart Arms, Boxes, Caps, &c., Grove Foundry, Guildford-street, Southwark.

Jenkins, W. S., Engraver and Printer, 52, Mansell-street, Goodmansfields.

Jenkinson, W., Saddler, Home & Export Harness and Saddle Manufacturer, 44, London Wall, City.

Jerram, G. T., Soap Manufacturer, General Perfumery and Fancy Brush Warehouse, 69, Hatton-garden.

Johnson, H., Builder and Contractor, 46, Hatton-garden.

Jones, G., Diamond Worker and Jeweller, 20, Baker-street, Bagnigge Wells-road, Clerkenwell.

Jones, J. C. & Co., Manufacturers of Pianofortes expressly for Foreign Climates, &c., 21B, Soho-square.

Jones, Orlando & Co., the Original Patentees of Rice Starch, 15, College-street, Dowgate-hill.

Jowitt & Battie, Manufacturers of every Description of Files, Steel, Machine Knives, &c., Inventors of an Improved Cast Steel for Taps and Dies, which cannot break in the tempering,—Exhibition, 1851, Prize Medal for Files,—Saville Works, Sheffield.

Jowett, J., Floor-cloth Manufacturer, Japanned folding Screens, Table Covers, Painted Cloths, &c., 532, New Oxford-street.

Kain, J. J., Chemist and Druggist, Medicine Chests fitted for all Climates on the most reasonable terms, 9, Parker's-row, Bermondsey, opposite the Catholic Chapel.

Kay, J., Broker, 150, Fenchurch-street.

Kelsey, J., Builder, Contractor, Bricklayer, & Mason, Paradise-row, Rotherhithe.

Kennard, A. W., Cork Manufacturer for Exportation, 117, Minories.

Kenyon, T., Chemical Works, Newton Bank.

Kenyon, T. & Co., Manufacturing Chemists, Newton Bank Chemical Works, Miles Platting, near Manchester.

King, George, Real Manufacturer of Paint, Household, and Fancy Brushes, for Exportation, 116, Bunhill-row, Finsbury.

Kitson, Ely, Saddle, Harness, and Whip Manufacturer, Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation, 154, Fenchurch-street.

Kumpf & Eckenstein, General Merchants, 12, Mark-lane.

Lambert, T. & Son, Founders and Machinists, Manufacturers of Block Tin and Lead Pipe; Hydraulic, Steam and Gas Apparatus; Patentees of the Flexible Diaphragm Water Valves, Self-acting Water-closets, and Carter's Safety Gas Valves, Short-street, New-cut, Lambeth.

LAMBERT, J., Bed Pillar, Bedstead, Cornice and Cabinet Manufacturer, 17, Winchester-place, Southwark Bridge-road.

LANKSHEAR, T., Pocket Book Manufacturer, 18, Seckford-street, Clerkenwell.

LANSDELL, T., Tailor, Clothier, and, Outfitter, 327, High Holborn.

LATHAM, J., Wholesale and Export Pianoforte Manufacturer, 28, Howland-street, Fitzroy-square.

LAUGHTON, J., Wholesale Export Boot and Shoe Manfr. and Warehouseman, 46, Mansell-street, Goodman's-fields.

LAYTON, E., Patent Pianoforte Manufacturer, 121, St. John-street, Clerkenwell, and 18, Goulden-terrace, Islington.

LE CAPELEIN, STEELE, & Co., Chief Patent Office, 123, Chancery-lane; Branch Offices in the Chief Towns at home and on the Continent. Prospectuses gratis on Personal Application or by Letter.

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LEES & BARNES, Brass and Iron Founders, and Manufacturers of all descriptions of Power Looms, and Machinery in general, Soho Iron Works, Greenacres-moor, near Manchester.

LEONARD, T., Musical, Church, and Turret Clock Manufacturer, and Mechanician. Every description of Clocks and Machinery for Exportation, 50, Tabernacle-walk, Finsbury-square.

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LESSWARE, H., Coppersmith, Brazier, and Worm Maker, 24, Great Alie-street, Whitechapel.

LEVICK, (Brothers), Merchants, 9, King's Arms-yard, Coleman-street.

LEVY, A., Merchant and Warehouseman, 103, Minories, and George-street, Sydney, New South Wales.

LEVY, J., Wholesale and Export Stationer, Account Book and Envelope Manufacturer, 94, Houndsditch.

LIVERMORE & Co., Makers of the New Metallic Overcoats, Capes, &c., warranted perfectly free from smell, Waterproofers, and India Rubber Manufacturers, 30, Oxford-street.

LOCK & Co., Dentists, guarantee to cure the Toothache instantly, by Smoke, 363, Oxford-street.

LOCKYER, J., Metal, Steel, Wire, and Tool Warehouse, 23, St. John's-square, Clerkenwell.

LONG, JOSEPH, Hydrometer and Saccharometer Manufacturer, and Patentee of the Curvilinear Power, as adapted to Steering Apparatuses for ships of every tonnage, 20, Little Tower-street, City.

LORD, BROTHERS, General Machine Makers and Cotton Spinners, Canal-street Works, Todmorden.

LOUGH, LEWIS & Co., Gum, Drug, Drysaltery, and Colonial Merchants, 20A, Great St. Helen's.

MCGLASHAN & FIELD, Manufacturers of every description of Machinery, Wholesale Brass Cock Foundery, Coppersmiths and Braziers, 16, Long-acre, and 19, Hart-street, Covent-garden.

MACKIE, J. V., Rusk and Biscuit Manufacturer to the Queen, 108, Princes-street, Edinburgh.

MAGNAY & BENNETT, Wholesale and Export Stationers, Thames-street.

MAGNUS, G. E., Inventor and Patentee of Enamelled Slate Chimney-pieces, Inlaid Table and Workstand Tops, Mural Tablets and Monuments, Patentee and Manufacturer to Prince Albert and the Duke of Wellington, &c., of Slate Billiard Tables, with Slate Frame and Legs, Vendor of every description of Slate, plain and ornamental, 39 and 40, Upper Belgrave-place, Pimlico.

MAGNUS, N., Wholesale and Export Boot, Shoe, and Leather Manufacturer, 13, Fore-street, Cripplegate.

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MAGGS, OLIVER, & Co., Flax and Tow Spinners, Shoe Thread, Sail Cloth, Wool Bag, Sacking, and Twine Manufacturers, 22, Laurence-lane, Cheapside, and Bourton Factory, Wincanton, Somerset.

MANKTELOW & Co., Patent Pianoforte Manufacturers, wholesale, retail, and for exportation, 432, Oxford-street, and 12, Huntly-street, Bedford-square.

MAPLE, J., Wholesale and Retail Cabinet Manufacturer, and General House Furnishing Warehouseman, 145, 146, and 147, Tottenham-court-road.

MARR, W., Electro-Plater, 6, Albemarle-street, Clerkenwell.

MARKS, A., Wholesale and Export Spring, Folding, and Paris Hat Manufacturer, 5, Houndsditch.

MARSDEN, JOSEPH, Manufacturer of Ladies' and Gentlemen's Dressing Cases, Razor Boxes, Portable Writing Desks, Tool and Plate Chests, Pattern Cards, Bowie Knife Sheaths, Cutlery, and Jewel Cases, 8, Westfield-terrace, Sheffield.

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MARTIN, R., Cork Manufacturer, Importer of French and Spanish Corks, Corks in Bond for exportation, 20, Swan-st., Minories, and 16, John-st., Crutched-friars.

MASTERS, T., Patentee of the Freezing Machines and Wine Coolers, Aërated Water Machines, Rotary Knife-cleaning Machines, Anti-Corrosive Self-Closing Taps, Cooking Apparatus, &c., 309, Regent-st., and 333, Oxford-st.

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MATHEWS, I., Slipper Manufacturer, wholesale and for exportation, 4, Old Montague-st., Brick-la., Whitechapel.

MAUDSLAY, SONS, & FIELD, Engineers, Cheltenham-place, Lambeth.

MAUGHFLING, J. S., Shipping Butcher, 14, New-road, St. George's-in-the-East.

MAYES, J., Clock Manufacturer and Dealer in Clock Tools and Materials, 19, St. John's-square, Clerkenwell.

MAYHEW & Co., Hat and Cap Manufacturers, 89, New Bond-street, Manufactory, Union-street, Southwark.

MEASAM & Co., Medicated Cream Soap and Regenerative Carpet Soap Manufacturers, Patent Metal Seal Envelope, Note, and Letter Paper Makers, and General Stationers, 238, Strand, and 4, Castle-street, Holborn.

MEDHURST, T., Manufacturer of Patent Weighing Machines, Scales and Weights, Ironfounder, and Engineer, 465, New Oxford-street.

MEAD & POWELL, Wholesale and Export Stationers, and Account Book Manufacturers, 101, Whitechapel.

MEREDITH, T., Wholesale and Export Perfumer, 9, Little St. Thomas Apostle.

MERRICK, R., Dressing and Jewellery Case, Writing and Travelling Desk Manufacturer, 57, Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell.

METCALFE, BINGLEY, & Co., Brush and Comb Manufacturers and Sponge Merchants, by special appointment, to H.R.H. Prince Albert, 130, B, Oxford-street.

MIDDLEMASS, J., Home and Foreign Outfitter—sends Lists with Prices, free on application, 18, South Bridge, Edinburgh.

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MILLS, J., Grand Pianoforte Manufacturer, 35, Cardington-street, Hampstead-road.

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MOORE, J., & SONS, Church, Turret, and House Clock Manufacturers, 38 and 39, Clerkenwell-close.

MORGAN, T., Wholesale Export and Furnishing Ironmonger, 11, Pancras-lane, City.

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MOSES, H. E. & M., Wholesale and Export Merchants, and Clothing Manufacturers, and Agents for the sale of Colonial Produce, 87, Tower-hill, City.

MOSES, SON, & DAVIS, Merchants, Wholesale Clothiers,

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Moss, B., & Co., East London Plate and Sheet-Glass Company, Wholesale Manufacturers and Exporters of Looking-Glasses, 45, Leman-street, Goodman's-fields.

Moutrie, W. F. C., Patent Pianoforte Manufacturer on his Newly Registered Designs, 4, King-street, Bloomsbury.

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Myers, Joseph, and Co., Importers of French, German, Swiss, and Italian Manufactures, Toy Merchants, and General Factors, 144, Leadenhall-street.

Nannetti, G., Statuary, and Artificial Stone Manufacturer and Moulder, 6, Great Brunswick-street, Dublin; and 18, York-street, Belfast.

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Neal, T., Steel Corn and Coffee Mill Maker, 45, St. John-street, Smithfield.

Neoretti. H. Manufacturer of Glass Chemical Apparatus, 11, Hatton-garden.

Nevett, G., Pump, Water Closet, Cock, and Beer Engine Manufacturer, Gas Fitter, and General Brass Finisher, 10½, Hampstead-road.

Newnham, H., Export Ship Biscuit and Bread Baker, 24, King-street. Tower-hill.

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Newton, J., & Son, Wholesale and Export Cork Manufacturers, 50 and 51, St. John-street, Smithfield.

Nichols, 137, St. John-street.

Nichols, William, Wholesale Boot and Shoe Warehouse, 136, St. John-street, West Smithfield—manufactory at Raunds, Northamptonshire.

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Notley, H., Brush Manufacturer, 12, St. John's-lane, Clerkenwell.

Nowell, W. H., Wholesale and Export Brush and Painting-Brush Manufacturer, 7, Brick-lane, Whitechapel.

Oetzmann & Plumb, Patent Pianoforte Manufacturers, with Metallic Rest Plank, and other improvements, for extreme Climates, 56, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, and Chenies-street, Bedford-square.

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Oliver & Edwards, Watch Case Manufacturers, 19, Galway-street, St. Luke's.

Organ, W., Wholesale Saddler, Stafford-street, Walsall.

Osborn, Mr., Albion-school, York.

Overall, S., Fish Factor, &c., 102, Lower Thames-street.

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Page, Thomas, Roway Iron Works, Westbromwich.

Paget, R. G., Marquee and Tent Manufacturer, 40, West Smithfield.

Paine, William, Manufacturer of Brass and Plated Coach Harness Furniture, Bits, Stirrups, &c., Windmill, Walsall.

Palmer, H. C., Hatter, 51, Blackman-street.

Palmer, J., Plain and Ornamental Japanner, Ship's Stores Re-japanned, 13, Chamber-street, Goodman's-fields, Whitechapel.

Parkin Brothers, Manufacturers of Files, Steel Converters, Refiners, and General Merchants, Middlesex Works, Wicker-lane, and Blonk-street Steel Works, Sheffield.

Parker, Field, & Sons, Gun Makers to the Board of Ordnance, the East India, and Hudson's Bay Companies, 233, High Holborn.

Parker, R., Railway Contractor, Newchurch.

Parkinson & Frodsham, Chronometer and Watch Makers, Exchange-alley, Cornhill.

Parnell & Banner, Ship and Insurance Brokers, 57, Gracechurch-street.

Pasmore, J., Draper, &c., Exeter.

Pastorelli & Co., Wholesale and Export Opticians, 4, Cross-street, Hatton-garden.

Paton & Neilson, Wholesale Manufacturing Goldsmiths and Jewellers, 9, Upper Charles-street, Northampton-square.

Patten, W. & Co., Window Glass, Sheet Lead, White Lead, Varnish & Colour Merchants, Old Fish st., Doctors' Commons: and 76, St. George-st., London Docks.

Paul & Co., Real Soda Water, Lemonade, Potash Water, and Ginger Beer Makers, Importers of German and Struve's Brighton Seltzer Waters, 5, Bow-st., Covent-garden.

Pawson, J. F., 9, St. Paul's Churchyard.

Pears, A. & F., Soap Refiners, Inventors of the Transparent Soap, Manufacturing and Export Perfumers, 91, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury.

Peartree, J., Cap, Cap Trimming, and Patent Llastic Mourning Xatbands; Manufacturers and Importers of French Velvets, and Mohair Plushes, 5, St. Mary Axe.

Phillips, L., Army and Navy Clothier, Hat, Cap, and Accoutrement Maker, Sword Cutler, Outfitter, Camp and Cabin Furniture Manufacturer, 28, Strand.

Phillips, O., & Co., Colonial Brokers, 91, Great Tower-st.

Phillips, W., Electro-Plater and Gilder, 17, Clerkenwell-green.

Phillipps & Graves, Lightermen, Ship Brokers, and Custom House Agents, 11, Rood-lane.

Phipps, T., Saddler and Harness Manufacturer, 243, High Holborn.

Piggott, W., Army Clothier and Marquee Manufacturer, &c., 115, Fore-street.

Piggott, W. P., Patentee of the Galvanic Belt, by which a continuous current of electricity is made to circulate through the body, preventing rheumatism, sciatica, tic doloreux, hysterics, dyspepsia, and lowness of spirits; improved Telescope Office, 523, New Oxford-st.

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Pitman, W., Wine Merchant, 150, Fenchurch-street.

Pitt, W., Wireworker, 15, Weymouth-place, New Kent-rd.

Pizzala, A., Wholesale and Export Optician, 19, Hatton-Garden.

Pike, Wm., 31, King William-street.

Poole, J., Chronometer Manufacturer and Inventor of an improved Compensation Balance, for equalizing the rates of Chronometers in the various changes of temperature, Wholesale and for Exportation, 1, Upper East Smithfield, and 31, Collet-place, Commercial-road East.

Pooley & Son, 9, Arthur-street West, City, London, Manufacturers of Weighing Machines for Railway Warehouses, &c.

Porter, James, Sail Maker and Ship Chandler, Fountain Stairs, Bermondsey.

Porter, R., Merchant, 22, East India Chambers.

Power, D. E., Merchant, 110, Fenchurch-street.

Powis, James & Co., Wholesale and Export Ironmongers, Lock Manufacturers, and General Factors, 26, Watling-street, City.

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Prince & Whitehouse, Ironfounders, Phœnix Ironfoundry, Grove, Great Guildford-st., Southwark.

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Quincey, Harcourt, Birmingham and Sheffield Agent for all descriptions of Export Ironmongery; Agent for Timothy Smith and Sons, Birmingham, Cabinet Brass Founders and Manufacturers of Lamp Chandeliers and Gas Work; for Martineau and Smith, Birmingham, Manufacturers of Patent and other Cocks, Bells, &c.; also Agent for Patent Steaming Apparatus for extracting Tallow from Animal Carcases; Screw and Hydraulic Wool Presses, Wrought Iron Lighters and Boats, Sugar Mills, Saw Mills, &c., 82, Hatton-garden, London.

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RICHARDSON, —, Esq., Clifton.

RICHARDSON & Co., Patentees of Lockhead's Perforated Glass Scuttle for Ship Ventilation, and Perforated Glass Ventilators for Houses and other buildings, 35, Royal Exchange, and 473, New Oxford-street.

RICHARDSON, E., Ship and Insurance Agent, East India Chambers.

RICHARDSON, R., Portable House, Marquee, Rick Cloth, and Wire Fence Maker, 21, Tonbridge-place, New-road.

RIDGWAY, S. R., Esq., Magdalen House, Exeter.

RIDSDALE, J. & A., Ship's Brass Founders, General Manufacturers, Lamp Makers, and Gas Fitters, 54, Minories.

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ROBERTS, J., Importer of Colonial Produce, 31, Barbican.

ROBINSON, J., & Co., Outfitters, 3 and 6, Nassau-place, Commercial-road, East.

RODDY, R., Linen Manufacturer, Donegal-street, Belfast.

ROGERS, —, Esq., North-street, Leeds.

ROGERS, D., Pianoforte Maker, Tuner, and Selecter, St. James's-place, Hampstead-road.

ROGERS, H., Pianoforte Manufacturer, 63, Warren-street, Fitzroy-square.

RODGERS & CLEGG, Manufacturers of Pen and Pocket Knives, Bowie Knives, Razors, &c., Earl Works, 20, Earl-street, Sheffield.

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ROSSITER, J., Wholesale Trunk, Portmanteau and Portable Cabin Furniture Manufacturer, Bullock and Overland Trunks for India, 15, Greville-street, Hatton-garden.

ROSE, WILLIAM A., Railway Grease, Oil, Lead, Colour, and Varnish Manufacturer—White Zinc Paint—66, Upper Thames-street, 23, Queenhithe, and Bull-wharf, London.

ROSENTHAL, L. J., Professor of Languages, near the Pantheon, 355, Oxford-st.

ROSINBLOOM, J., Boot, Shoe, Cap, and Carpet Bag Manufacturer, Wholesale and for Exportation, 5, 6, and 15, Devonshire-street, Bishopsgate-street, City.

ROWED, R., Pianoforte Manufacturer, 1½, William-street, Hampstead-road.

ROXBROUGH, W. (Established 1730), Shipping and General Stationer, Manufacturer of Patent Ledgers, and other Account-books, 9, Aldgate, City.

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RUNDLE, R., Esq., Devonport.

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SEAL, Sir H., Dartmouth.

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SERCOMBE, J. C., Merchant, Exeter.

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SHAW, FREDERICK F., Wholesale Ironmonger, Grindstone and Tool Merchant, 253, Blackfriars-road.

SHAW, L., Collar Manufacturer, 8, Ropemaker-st., Finsbury.

SHAW, JOSEPH, Piano Manufacturer, 87, Hatton-garden.

SHEFFIELD, Sir R.

SHELDON, THOS., & Co., Manufacturers of every description of Files for Engineers', Smiths', and Mechanics' purposes, Steel Refiners, Converters, &c., Columbia Works, Suffolk-road, Sheffield—Corporate Mark, 3486.

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SHOOLBRED, JAS., & Co., Drapers and Warehousemen, Tottenham-court-road.

SHIPNAY, —, Esq., Queen Hill.

SHOVE, G., Patentee and Manufacturer of Silicated Marble Textural Glass, &c., Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation, 488, New Oxford-street.

SHUTER, L., Wood-Hoop Merchant and Cooper, Shad Thames, Southwark.

SIEBE, A., By the King's Letters Patent, Engineer and Machinist, Inventor, Patentee, and Manufacturer of Rotatory Hydraulic Engine Pumps, Union Connecting Joints, Dial Weighing Machines, Lathes, Tools, Models, and Syringes; Cooking Apparatus of every description, as also Warm, Shower, and Vapour Baths, 5, Denmark-street, Soho.

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SIRR, W., Mills, Kirby, Moorside.

SKENE, J., Wine Merchant, North-street, Belfast.

SKINNER, S., Clothier and Outfitter, 18, Aldgate High-street; and 13, Queen's-buildings, Knightsbridge.

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SMALE & SON, Manufacturers of Improved Mineral Teeth, General Dental Depôt, 187, High Holborn.

SMART Jun., W., Composition Ornament Manufacturer, 18, Crown-street, Finsbury.

SMITH, —, Esq., Stockton and Darlington Railway.

SMITH, J., Gas Fitter & Brass Finisher, 8, Charterhouse-lane.

SMITH, J., Inventor and Sole Manufacturer of the Patent Adhesive Envelope, requiring neither wax nor wafer, Manufacturing Stationer, Engraver, and Printer, 42, Rathbone-place.

SMITH, ROBERT, Commission and Coal Merchant, 40, Aldenham-street, Somers-town.

SMITH, W., Gas Meter Manufacturer, 66, Snow-hill.

SOMERVELL & BURR, Leather Merchants, 34, Noble-st., City.

Somalvico, J., & Co., Opticians and Nautical Instrument Makers, 2, Hatton-garden.

Sothieran, Charles, Manufacturer of Improved Patent Filters, Wholesale and for Exportation, 12, Little Britain, near the New Post Office; Retail Depôt, 70, Cornhill.

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Sparks, G., Colonial Sack and Bag Maker, Russia Mat Warehouse, and Importer of Scotch Sheetings, Hessians, &c., 21, Swan-street, Minories.

Sparks, W. J., Pianoforte Maker and Tuner—Instruments repaired, exchanged, and lent on hire—44, George-street, Euston-square.

Spearman, J., Gun Maker and Gun Stock Manufacturer, 25 and 26, Chambers-street, Goodmans-fields.

Spencer, E., & Co., Waterproof Clothiers for all Climates, and suited for all occupations by sea and land, 116, Fenchurch-street, opposite Mark-lane.

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GEORGE LORD RODNEY.

OB. 1792.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS IN THE [illegible]

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF EGREMONT

BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN THE WEST INDIES, AND IN SOUTHERN AND CENTRAL AMERICA.

BOOK I.—WEST INDIA ISLANDS.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY DISCOVERY BY SPAIN—DESTRUCTION OF THE ABORIGINES—INTRODUCTION OF SLAVES FROM AFRICA—BRITISH ACQUISITIONS—NAMES, AREA, ORIGINAL AND PRESENT OCCUPATION OF EACH ISLAND.

The important discoveries made in Africa by the Portuguese, in the middle of the fifteenth century, rendered geography the favourite science of that epoch. The prospects it offered of wealth and renown, nay even its dangers and excitements, had powerful charms for adventurous spirits, and many such flocked round the court of Prince Henry, whose learning, munificence, and enterprise, had won for himself and his navigators, a world-wide reputation, and raised his country from insignificance to a commanding national position.

In 1470, three years before the death of the Prince, a visitor arrived, who, although of humble origin, the son of a wool-comber, had been remarkable, even from childhood, for his addiction to cosmographical pursuits, and his skill in navigation, the practice of which he had commenced when about fourteen years of age, under the auspices of a distant relative—a veteran admiral in the Genoese service, who had acquired considerable celebrity by his daring and somewhat piratical exploits. Christopher Columbus, when he first came to Lisbon, was in the prime of manhood; tall, well-formed, with light-grey kindling eyes, and hair, which at thirty years of age, the then hazardous seafaring life of the Mediterranean, and his restless efforts for geographical information, had already changed to perfect white. Simple in his habits, grave and gentle in demeanour, his distinguishing characteristics were enthusiastic piety, rigid and almost austere observance of the ritual of the Church of Rome, and that indomitable energy which (humanly speaking) has so often enabled great minds to endure long years of suspense and discouragement, and finally to accomplish their ends by, seemingly, the most insufficient means. It does not appear that Columbus attracted the notice of Prince Henry, or in his lifetime put forward his view of the existence of a western route to India, but it is certain from his correspondence with the learned Florentine cosmographer Toscanelli, that he entertained the idea so early as the year 1474.

The spherical form of the earth was considered by Columbus as a fundamental principle, and the circumference from east to west was divided, in accordance with the theory of Ptolemy, into twenty-four hours of fifteen degrees each, making 360 degrees. Of these twenty-four hours, he imagined that eight, or one-third of the earth, remained unexplored. This space might, in a great measure, be filled up by the eastern regions of Asia, which possibly extended so far as nearly to surround the globe, and to approach the western shores of Europe and Africa. But even if Asia should prove of comparatively small extent, still Columbus considered that the tract of ocean intervening between these two countries must be less than was generally surmised: in this particular he was influenced by the conclusions of Alfraganus, the Arabian, who, by diminishing the size of the degrees, gave the earth a smaller circumference than other cosmographers.*

These two happy errors, the imaginary extent of continental Asia, and the supposed size of the earth, were undoubtedly the chief grounds upon which Columbus arrived at the conviction that a successful voyage of discovery might be made by venturing boldly into the vast expanse of ocean, and following

* *Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus*; written by his son, Don Ferdinand. Published in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. iii. also in Churchill's *Collection*, vol. ii.

steadily a western course. The idea seems now simple enough—then it was new and startling; for the laws of specific gravity and central gravitation were yet unascertained, by which, granting the rotundity of the earth, the possibility of making the tour of it would have been manifest. There was, however, a circumstance of recent occurrence calculated to encourage adventurers in ploughing unknown seas, viz., the application of the astrolabe to navigation (since improved into the modern quadrant and sextant), enabling the seaman by the altitude of the sun, to ascertain his distance from the equator; and reports, some true, some false, reached Columbus, which led him, step by step, to the conviction that there was land in the Western Ocean, within a practicable distance; that it was fertile; and finally that it was inhabited. Among the most remarkable incidents noted down by Columbus in his memoranda, is the testimony of his brother-in-law Pedro Correa, and other mariners, who had picked up pieces of wood curiously carved, but evidently not with an iron instrument, on the island of Porto Santo, and likewise 450 leagues to the westward of Cape St. Vincent, after a long continuance of westerly winds. Trees of unknown kinds, huge pine trunks, and large-jointed reeds, had been wafted to the Azores, and upon the island of Flores two dead bodies of men, whose colour and features were distinct from any hitherto known race, were cast on the shore, and a singularly wrought canoe was driven on the same coast.

Having, after long and patient investigation, satisfied himself respecting the reasonableness of his project, Columbus proceeded to seek assistance in carrying it out. His first proposal (according to his son Don Ferdinand) was made to John II. of Portugal, who approved of the undertaking, but refused to comply with the terms stipulated for in case of success; and was so ungenerous as to use the detailed plan laid before him, and privately dispatch a ship on the proposed expedition, employing the projector meanwhile in deceitful negotiation. The attempt failed completely; for the pilots, after steering westward for several days, alarmed by the stormy weather they encountered, and the apparently boundless waste of waters which lay before them, turned back in despair.

Columbus, fired by the unworthy treatment he had received, declined all the subsequent offers of King John, quitted Portugal in disgust, and proceeded, in the words of his eloquent biographer, "to beg his way from court to court, to offer to princes the discovery of a world."*

He sent his brother Bartholomew to England, to make proposals, in his name, to Henry VII. Bartholomew was taken captive by pirates on his voyage, and not heard of by his brother for ten years, eight of which Columbus was himself destined to consume in fluctuating and most perplexing intercourse with the court of Spain.† At length, wearied out with fruitless exertions, he resolved to quit Spain, and seek support elsewhere. In the beginning of February, 1492, he took leave of his friends, sallied forth from Santa Fé, pursued his lonely journey across the Vega, and had reached the bridge of Pinos, about two leagues from Granada, when he was overtaken by a courier from the illustrious Queen Isabella, who summoned him to return forthwith.

Her enthusiasm had at length been

* Washington Irving's *Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*; a work not only valuable as one of the most charming biographies ever written, but also as containing much interesting information respecting the discovery of the western world.

† In 1486, by the desire of Ferdinand, a council was held at the university of Salamanca, to discuss the feasibility of Columbus' project; on the whole its opinion was unfavourable, though many of the most learned men were convinced by his reasoning. Among the arguments adduced to confute him, were some drawn from the writings of Lactantius and St. Augustine, who were considered as almost evangelical authority. The passage cited from Lactantius is in a strain of ridicule unworthy so grave and learned a theologian. "Is there any so foolish," he asks, "as to believe that there are antipodes, with their feet opposite to ours; people who walk with their heels upward, and their heads hanging down? That there is a part of the world in which all things are topsy-turvy; where the trees grow with their branches downward, and where it rains, hails, and snows upward? The idea of the roundness of the earth," he adds, "was the cause of inventing this fable of the antipodes, with their heels in the air; for these philosophers, having once erred, go on in their absurdities, defending one with another." The objections urged on the authority of St. Augustine were of a graver nature, and shew the danger of wresting the words of Holy Writ to a purpose they were never intended to fill, by founding upon them arguments respecting the physical conformation of the earth. This renowned writer, though no less famous for profound erudition than for child-like piety, committed the great error of dogmatically pronouncing, that to assert that there were inhabited lands on the opposite side of the globe, was to discredit the Bible, by maintaining that there were nations not descended from Adam, it being impossible for them to have passed the intervening ocean.—(Irving, p. 39.)

roused, and overruling the scruples of her cool and wary consort, Ferdinand, whose coffers having been literally drained by the Moorish war, then just brought to a favourable conclusion, was averse to entering on the proposed adventure—she exclaimed, "I undertake the enterprise for my own crown of Castile, and will pledge my jewels to raise the necessary funds." This sacrifice was not, however, necessary.

For his undertaking Columbus required, in the first place, only 2,500 crowns to fit out a fleet, and was willing to, and did actually bear, one-eighth of the attendant expenses, on condition of receiving an equal share of the profits; he likewise stipulated, that he should be styled Don, and appointed "high-admiral of the Ocean Sea," and perpetual viceroy and governor of all the lands and continents which he might discover in the yet unexplored waters. (Irving, p. 62). The means of success at length rewarded the patient energy of the man, who, for eighteen years, had untiringly striven for them in the teeth of poverty, neglect, and ridicule. Columbus was now in his fifty-sixth year; but time, trials, and experience of the misery of dependence on the favour of princes, had rather increased than abated his lofty hopes, matured his intellect, and deepened his trust in Providence. On Friday, the 3rd of August, 1492, he quitted the Port of Palos, accompanied by the three brothers Pinzon, navigators of great ability, in command of three small vessels, of which his own was decked, while the other two were light barks, called caravels, with no deck in the centre, but built up high at the prow and stern, with forecastles and cabins for the accommodation of the crew. The character of the vessels employed is not the least marvellous part of this daring enterprise.

Three days after starting, a new cause of delay occurred; the rudder of one of the caravels, the *Pinta*, being broken, it became necessary to anchor at the Canary Islands, while a new one was made, which being accomplished, Columbus set sail on the 6th of September, steering for the unknown regions of the west.

The variation of the needle, a hitherto unknown phenomenon, soon created excessive alarm in the minds of the sailors, who, during the whole voyage, gave way to fits of despondency, viewing every strange occurrence in the most unfavourable light; while Columbus, on the contrary, would acknowledge nothing but favourable omens, whether in the strange birds that settled on the rigging, the large patches of herbs and weeds that drifted from the westward, or the bland and genial softness of the atmosphere, the serenity of the sky, and the singular clearness of the air at night, which latter peculiarities, in common with other voyagers who have sailed along this track, I can attest as affording exquisite delight. Another novelty, the influence of the trade-wind, which, following the sun, blows steadily from east to west between the tropics, and sweeps over a few adjoining degrees of ocean, although it favoured their progress, afforded a new source of alarm to the mariners, who imagined that the winds in these seas always blew from the east, and that every day which took them farther from their beloved Spain rendered their return more hopeless.

In vain Columbus strove, by keeping two reckonings, one true, the other false, to conceal from them the real distance they had attained; he could not disguise the fact, that they had sailed farther west than any were known to have proceeded before, and that, already beyond the reach of human succour, they were daily pressing onward into a mysterious and apparently illimitable abyss.

As they advanced, the ocean became covered with sea-weeds, so as to resemble, at a distance, an inundated meadow; and when these marine plants (which seem to derive their sustenance from the atmosphere), became dense and matted, so as to present some impediment to their little barks, they not only feared being in the neighbourhood of lurking shoals and rocks, but also that they might at last be completely hemmed in.*

Despondency and impatience ripened into a mutinous disposition, which the firmness and sagacity of the Admiral with difficulty enabled him to restrain from developing itself in open violence. On the 25th of September, Martin Alonzo Pinzon mounted the

* The alarm which these immense masses of sea-weed excited in the minds of the Spanish mariners, will appear natural enough to those who have witnessed similar incidents. A large steamer, in which I proceeded to the West Indies, was several days passing through mile after mile of this singular marine plant, which probably comes from the numerous reefs and banks in the Gulf of Florida, and then drifts along with the current, for the most part in regular parallel lines.

stern of his bark, crying, "Land! land!" Columbus immediately fell on his knees, and offered up his thanks to Him who rules the tempest and the ocean, while Martin repeated the *Gloria in Excelsis,* in which he was joined by his own crew, and that of the admiral.*

The fancied sight proved, however, to be what seamen term "Cape Fly-away"—an evening cloud—bearing the appearance of land, and not unfrequently an indication of its vicinity. Many such illusions occurred, exciting the hopes of the adventurers only to depress them the more deeply.

On the 7th October the vessels had traversed 750 leagues, and still the same wild waste of waters lay before them; but flights of small sea-birds were seen going towards the south-west, a circumstance which induced Columbus, in compliance with the wishes of the Pinzons, to change his course from west to west-south-west. After sailing thus three days, the manifestations of land became more evident; a pelican, heron, and duck, were seen; fresh herbage floated by, and tunny fish played about the smooth sea. All these good omens were regarded by the crew as so many delusions, and when they beheld the sun set once again on a shoreless horizon, they threatened to throw Columbus overboard if he did not yield to their desire of turning homeward. Perceiving the vanity of all attempts to pacify them by promises or expostulation, their indomitable leader took a decided tone, and assured them that their opposition was useless, for the expedition had been sent by the sovereigns to seek the Indies, and happen what might he was determined to persevere, until, by the blessing of God, he should accomplish the enterprise. Happily, unmistakeable signs of proximity to land presented themselves on the following day; a branch of thorns, with berries on it, a reed, a small board, and above all, a staff, artificially carved, were picked up by the sailors, whose gloom and mutiny then gave place to sanguine expectations. In the evening of the 11th October, when, according to invariable custom, the *salve regina,* or vesper hymn, had been sung to the Virgin, Columbus made an impressive address to his crew, pointed out the goodness of the Almighty in conducting them, by soft and favouring breezes, across a tranquil ocean, and cheering them onward continually with fresh signs.

He thought it probable they would make land that very night, and therefore ordered a vigilant look-out to be kept from the forecastle, promising a doublet of velvet to the person who should first descry the shore, in addition to the pension of 10,000 maravedis guaranteed by the sovereigns. The greatest excitement prevailed, and not an eye on board the little squadron was closed on that eventful night. The breeze freshened, and the vessels were ploughing through the waves at a rapid rate, when the Admiral, seated on high and scanning the western horizon, in deep anxiety, thought he beheld a light glimmering in the distance. Fearing that it was but a vision conjured by his eager hopes, he called to Pedro Gutierrez,—a gentleman of the king's household—who saw it likewise. The transient and uncertain gleams soon disappeared, and all was again doubt, until 2 A.M., when Martin Pinzon, who was a-head of the admiral, in the *Pinta,* fired a gun,—the joyful signal that land was in sight. The vessels shortened sail and lay to, awaiting the dawn; Columbus, his officers and seamen, remaining meanwhile in a state of tumultuous delight which no other persons have probably ever experienced.

With the morning light, the voyagers beheld for the first time a portion of the western world, a level thickly-wooded island, several leagues in extent, with numerous inhabitants, perfectly naked, and gazing with astonishment on the vessels. Dressed in scarlet, and bearing the royal standard, he hastened on shore, fell on his knees, kissed the earth, and returned thanks to God with tears of joy. His example was quickly followed by his companions, who, recently so mutinous, now thronged around him, embraced his feet, and bursting into the most extravagant transports, gave themselves up to unbounded joy.

The aborigines, on first perceiving the ships, supposed them to be monsters which had issued from the deep during the night, or descended from the sky; the more so when they beheld them moving about by means of huge wings (sails), shifted or furled at pleasure. But when the boats were lowered, and strange beings, clad in glittering steel armour, or in bright raiment of various colours, approached the shore, they fled affrighted to the woods. Meanwhile, Columbus commenced the perpetration of the first act of injustice in the New World. He drew his sword, unfurled the royal standard, and assembling his captains, the notary who accompanied the armament.

* Journal of Columbus.

and others, he gave the name of *San Salvador** to the island, and took possession of it in the names of the Spanish sovereigns. Little thought the natives, when recovering from their terror, they emerged from the woods, and watched with eager and admiring eyes the ceremonies of taking possession, that those apparently harmless acts would prove as the signing of a death-warrant to them, their wives, and children. Happy in their ignorance of the swiftly-coming future, they approached the Spaniards with great awe, frequently prostrating themselves, and making signs of adoration; as their fears abated they touched the beards (of which they were said to be deficient) of the strangers with astonishment, and admired exceedingly their white faces and hands. They were well made, of a copper hue, and had long black hair, broad and lofty foreheads, remarkably fine eyes, and pleasing features, although obscured and disfigured by paint. Their canoes, some capable of containing forty-five men, were dexterously managed with paddles; they had no iron, their lances being pointed with flint or fish-bone; and few objects of barter, except tame parrots, large balls of cotton-yarn, and a kind of bread called cassava, prepared from a large root named "yuca," which they cultivated. The avarice of the Spaniards was quickly roused by the sight of small gold ornaments worn by some of the natives in their ears and noses; on inquiry these latter intimated by signs that the precious metal was to be found in abundance in the south, and also that savage men frequently made marauding incursions upon them, and the numerous neighbouring islands, from a country in the north-west, endeavouring to carry them off, and many showed the scars they had received in battles with the invaders.

All he heard confirmed Columbus in his previous belief that he had arrived among the islands described by Marco Polo, as lying opposite Cathay in the Chinese Sea; the rich region to the south could, he thought, be no other than the famous island of Cipango, and the enemies, the natives spoke of, he concluded must be the people of the mainland of Asia, subjects of the great Khan of Tartary, who were represented by the Venetian traveller as accustomed to make war upon the islands, and to enslave their inhabitants. After three days' sojourn, during which he was treated with the most unvarying and deferential hospitality, the admiral quitted San Salvador, bearing with him seven natives†, to whom, believing himself, as we have seen, on the borders of what he called India, (i.e. Asia,) he gave the name of Indians, and, subsequently, applied the term of West Indies to the whole surrounding archipelago.

The next island taken possession of by Columbus was *Santa Maria de la Conception*, another of the Bahama islands; from thence he proceeded to the westward, and landed on a larger island, which he named *Fernandina* (now *Exuma*). The inhabitants were similar in every respect to those of San Salvador and Conception, excepting that they appeared more ingenious and intelligent. They were equally anxious to propitiate the Spaniards, whom they regarded with awe and admiration; offering them the fruits of their fields and groves, and leading the sailors, when in quest of water, to the coolest and sweetest springs; filling their casks, rolling them to the boats, and seeking in every way to gratify their supposed celestial visitors. Meanwhile the admiral reposed beneath the luxuriant shade afforded by the most beautiful trees, some of which had the appearance of being engrafted, as they had leaves and branches of four or five different sorts. The women wore mantles and aprons of cotton, and their beds were formed of nets of the same material, slung between two posts, which they called "hamacs," a name since in universal use among seamen. Their habitations were constructed in the form of a pavilion or high circular tent, of branches of trees, reeds, and palms. They were kept with a degree of cleanliness and neatness, very creditable to the native women.‡

* Then called by the natives *Guanahané*, now known as one of the *Lucayos* or *Bahama* group, which belong to Great Britain, and generally supposed to be that termed *Cat Island*.

† Neither Don Ferdinand Columbus, Washington Irving, or the other authorities respecting the proceedings of the admiral, state whether these seven natives accompanied the squadron willingly or by compulsion. Notwithstanding the kindness with which they were usually treated, and which their gentle and confiding conduct, as described by Columbus himself, amply merited, it would appear that they were either forced or duped into quitting their native island; for one of them, a few days afterwards, on seeing a large canoe filled with Indians, plunged into the sea, and swam to it. A boat put off instantly in pursuit, but could not overtake the light bark, whose crew, on reaching the land, fled to the woods, leaving their canoe to the sailors, who very dishonestly took possession of it.—(Washington Irving p. 84.)

‡ *History of Columbus*, by his son, p. 80.

Leaving Fernandina on the 19th of October, the adventurers proceeded to an island called *Saometo*, which Columbus named *Isabella* (now known as *Exumeta*, or *Isla Larga*), and described as more beautiful than any yet seen, the land being higher, with a verdant hill; and the coast a fine sand gently laved by transparent billows. "Here are large lakes," says he in his journal; "and the groves about them are marvellous; and here, and in all the island, everything is green as April in Andalusia. The singing of the birds is such, that it seems as if one would never desire to depart hence. There are flocks of parrots, which obscure the sun, and other birds, large and small, of so many kinds, all different from ours, that it is wonderful; and, besides, there are trees of a thousand species, each having its particular fruit, and all of marvellous flavour." The fish which abounded in these seas afforded, in turn, new objects of wonder and delight. They rivalled the birds in tropical brilliancy of colour, the scales of some of them glancing back the rays of light like precious stones, as they sported about the ships; while the delicate flying fish springing into the air, or diving into the sea, to avoid their enemies in either element; the changing hues of the captive dolphins, and other sights still beautiful, even to eyes accustomed to behold them, must have exercised an extraordinary fascination, when suddenly presented to the explorers of a new world.

No animals were seen in these islands excepting two species of dogs—one resembling mastiffs, the other beagles—neither of which barked; and a kind of coney, or rabbit, called *utia* by the natives. There were numerous lizards and guanas, which last were regarded with fear by the Spaniards, who supposed them to be noxious serpents; but they were found afterwards to be perfectly harmless, and their flesh esteemed a great delicacy by the Indians.

Notwithstanding the beauty and fertility that greeted the wanderers on every side, one thing was still wanting, without which they well knew all that they had achieved would be coldly viewed by the needy and covetous Ferdinand.

The shining yellow trinkets worn by the natives, and either freely given, or else thankfully exchanged, for the newer or more ornamental baubles offered by the Spaniards, were small and of little value; and to the oft-repeated question as to whence the gold of which they were fabricated was obtained, reply was invariably made by pointing to the south. Hearing repeated mention of an important island in a somewhat similar direction, called Cuba, and becoming more and more convinced that it must be the Cipango of Marco Polo, Columbus resolved to sail in quest of it. After three days' navigation, in the course of which he touched at a group of seven or eight small islands, termed by him *Islas de Arena*, (supposed to be the present *Mucaras Islands*,) and crossed the *Bahama Bank* and *Channel*; he arrived, on the morning of the 28th of October, in sight of the magnificent island of Cuba, whose bold coast-line, rich in harbours, promontories, and headlands, with a back-ground of stately forests, lofty mountains, and pleasant valleys, interspersed with extensive plains, watered by fine clear streams, offered to his delighted eyes a prospect surpassing in promise anything he had yet beheld. No wonder that "Cuba broke upon him like an elysium." (Washington Irving, p. 91.) On landing, there were various indications of more art and civilization than had heretofore been observed; the dwellings were better built, and contained rude statues and wooden masks, carved with considerable ingenuity; implements for fishing; and large stores of cotton, wrought into yarn, or nets for hammocks. The fields were cultivated with the agi or sweet pepper (pimento), maize, or Indian corn; a species of lupin or pulse, the before-mentioned yuca, the sweet potato, and other vegetables and fruits.

Columbus would have thought it strange indeed could he have been told that a custom, which he and his sailors here watched with astonishment, as a singular, unaccountable, and even nauseous practice, would become common among every civilized nation. They saw several Indians going about with firebrands in their hands, and certain dried herbs, which they rolled up in a leaf, and lighting one end, put the other in their mouths, and continued exhaling and puffing out the smoke. A roll of this kind they called "a tobacca," a name since transferred to the plant of which the rolls were made.

About this time, after close conference with Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who, like himself, had studied deeply the deluding volume of Marco Polo, and consequently appears to have misinterpreted the signs of the Indians into accordance with previously formed opinions, Columbus began to consider whether

he had not been mistaken in believing himself to have reached the island of Cipango, and at length was persuaded by Pinzon that Cuba was not an island at all, but that they had actually arrived at the mainland of Asia, or, as they termed it, India, and could be at no great distance from Cathay, the much desired limit of their voyage, and the residence of the great Khan, to whom the admiral forthwith dispatched an embassy, whose errand of course proved fruitless in its primary object, and was even unsuccessful in procuring information sufficient to render manifest the utter falsity of the premises upon which such illusory expectations had been founded.

Soon after this disappointment a worse trial awaited Columbus, in the desertion of Pinzon, with whom he had had several disputes during the voyage. With his own vessel, and the remaining caravel, he continued, notwithstanding, to prosecute his enterprise; and, as if to cheer him, the beautiful island of *Hayti*, with its lofty mountains, spacious harbours, and luxuriant vegetation, rose before him, its charming scenery enhanced by the transparent purity of a tropical atmosphere. Columbus erected a cross on a commanding eminence, and called the island *Hispaniola;* it was afterwards known as *St. Domingo*, but is now designated by its original native name. Its productions presented no fresh novelty. The people are described in the most favourable terms, as a well-formed race, fairer and handsomer than those of the other islands. The accounts given of them by their earliest visitors, as recorded and attested by contemporary writers, concur in offering a picture more nearly approaching the peaceful but very animalized felicity generally understood as the characteristic of a golden age, than perhaps can be paralleled in history, since the inhabitants of Hayti, and indeed of the Leeward Islands generally, appear to have been exempt from the gross sensuality which so often marks the milder class of savages (the Tahitians for instance). They lived in peaceful though indolent enjoyment, under the patriarchal rule of kings or chiefs, whom they termed "caciques," whose authority was hereditary, descending, in the event of the death of a cacique without children, to those of his sisters in preference to those of his brothers, for a very obvious reason, which however reflects more credit on the sagacity of the islanders than upon the chastity of their women. Few traces of idolatry were found among them, and vague ideas of the existence of a God and the immortality of the soul were prevalent; almost their only subject of anxiety arose from the incursions of the Caribs, the inhabitants of a neighbouring region afterwards explored and designated the *Windward Islands*.

The following quotations, the first from a letter addressed by Columbus to Luis de St. Angel, an officer in the Spanish court, who had materially favoured his suit to the sovereigns; the second from the valuable work of Peter Martyr, who derived his information from conversations with the admiral; testify how pleasing an impression was made on the mind of their discoverer by the manners and customs of the natives. Columbus writes:—

"True it is, that after they felt confidence, and lost their fear of us, they were so liberal with what they possessed, that it would not be believed by those who had not seen it. If anything was asked of them, they never said no, but rather gave it cheerfully, and showed as much amity as if they gave their very hearts; and whether the thing were of value or of little price, they were content with whatever was given in return. * * * In all these islands, it appears to me that the men are all content with one wife, but they give twenty to their chieftain or king. The women seem to work more than the men; and I have not been able to understand whether they possess individual property, but rather think that whatever one has all the rest share, especially in all articles of provisions."—(*Navarrete*, tom i., p. 167.)

"It is certain [says old Peter Martyr] that the land among these people is as common as the sun and water, and that 'mine and thine,' the seeds of all mischief, have no place with them. They are content with so little, that in so large a country they have rather superfluity than scarceness; so that they seem to live in the golden world, without toil, living in open gardens, not intrenched with dykes, divided with hedges, or defended with walls. They deal truly one with another—without laws, without books, without judges. They take him for an evil and mischievous man who taketh pleasure in doing hurt to another; and albeit they delight not in superfluities, yet they make provision for the increase of such roots whereof they make their bread, contented with such simple diet, whereby health is preserved and disease avoided."—(P. Martyr, decad. i., lib. iii.; translation of Richard Eden, 1555.)

Of the disinterested kindness of the people of Hayti, the Spaniards had especial evidence on the night of the 25th of December (Christmas-eve). The sea being calm and smooth, and the ship almost motionless, the admiral and crew retired to rest, upon which the steersman, in direct violation of a standing order, gave the helm in charge to one of the ship boys, and went to sleep. The remainder of the night-watch followed his example, and all were

buried in profound slumber, when the boy aroused them by a wild cry of terror. The treacherous currents, which run swiftly along this coast, had carried the vessel upon a sand-bank, where her keel was firmly imbedded. Every effort to float her off was in vain; the shock had opened several seams, and the swell of the breakers, striking her broadside, left her each moment more and more aground, until she fell over on one side. The officers and men took refuge on board the caravel, and sent a message to a powerful caeique, named Guacanagari, who ruled over this portion of the island, to inform him of the shipwreck. Guacanagari instantly despatched his people with all the canoes, large and small, he could muster, to the assistance of the admiral; and went himself with his chieftains, relatives, and friends, to console and cheer him. He appropriated three of his best dwellings to the reception of the Spaniards and their effects, in removing which from the wreck not the slightest attempt to pilfer was made, even amongst the lowest ranks. Columbus could not find words to express his grateful feelings. "So loving, so tractable, so peaceable are these people," he writes, "that I swear to your majesties, there is not in the world a better nation, nor a better land. They love their neighbours as themselves; and their discourse is ever sweet and gentle, and accompanied with a smile; and though it is true that they are naked, yet their manners are decorous and praiseworthy." The demeanour of the caeique, he described as betokening the inborn grace and dignity of lofty lineage, and his liberality as most princely. He placed a golden coronet on the head of the admiral, and encouraged his subjects in bringing gold and gold-dust, for barter, from the interior—this they did in such considerable quantities, as to reconcile Columbus to his disaster, and even to lead him to look upon it as a providential interposition in his favour, enabling him to penetrate the secret wealth of the country, instead of simply examining its coast-line. Yet his sanguine spirit was sadly deceived, for this shipwreck shackled and limited all his after discoveries, and linked his fortunes to an island, which for the remainder of his life proved a fruitful source of care, disappointment, and humiliation.

At the request of Columbus the caeique despatched a canoe in search of the *Pinta*, which was reported to have been seen at anchor in a river at the eastern extremity of the island; but this and another expedition failed of discovering any trace of her. The admiral then determined upon establishing a small Spanish garrison with a portion of the sailors who, from the loss of his own ship and the desertion of Pinzon, he was unable to take back to Spain in the small caravel which alone remained to him. Many of his crew were anxious to be left behind, and the caeique and his people were delighted at the project, which they were informed was devised for their especial protection against the Caribs. They lent ready and efficient aid to the construction of a small fortress called La Navidad, the materials being afforded by the wreck, and joyfully assisted in mounting the guns, and forming a wide ditch around the strong wooden tower, little thinking how soon all these preparations would be used not in the endeavour to defend, but to enslave and murder them.

On the second of January (1493), after gratefully thanking Guaneanagari and his people for their kindness, and emphatically warning the little Spanish settlement, consisting of thirty-nine persons, to be orderly among themselves, just and gentle towards the natives, and, above all, discreet in their behaviour towards the Indian women, Columbus set sail for Spain, and on the 6th, to his great relief, was joined by the *Pinta*, whose commander endeavoured to excuse his desertion by pleading stress of weather; whereas the admiral was privately informed that he had absented himself in hopes of being the first to discover and benefit by a golden region of which he had been told by one of the natives on board his caravel. Columbus, however, appeared to receive Pinzon's explanation as satisfactory, not venturing to risk an open breach with him on account of the powerful party of relatives and townsmen who had accompanied him in the armament; but finding, a few days after, that Pinzon had violently carried off four men and two girls from a river of Hayti, called Porto Caballo, he compelled their immediate restoration, well clothed, and with many presents, as amends for their forcible seizure.

In the middle of February, the little vessels encountered a fearful storm, and the *Pinta*, from the weakness of her foremast, being unable to hold the wind, was obliged to scud before it. Thus, once again the caravels parted company; and after encountering successively much peril on their

respective courses, both arrived safely on the same day, March the 15th, 1793, in the little port of Palos. Their reception was very different: Columbus was hailed with tumultuous applause, and peals of triumph were still ringing from the towers when the *Pinta* entered the river. Doubting whether the admiral had survived the tempest, Pinzon had written to the sovereigns requesting an audience, to acquaint them with the results of the expedition. The answer was a humiliating refusal, which so chafed the spirit of the proud Spaniard, already worn down with fatigue and anxiety, that he died a few days after. Doubtless he had erred, but he and his family had been the mainstay of the enterprise from first to last, and it was a melancholy ending to the career of one so skilful and daring.*

Columbus was received in Barcelona with great acclamation; his progress through the streets, bearing with him six Indians strangely painted and decorated with their national ornaments of gold; forty live parrots of various kinds; specimens of cotton, amber, rare plants and fruits, &c., resembled a Roman triumph. Ferdinand and Isabella awaited his arrival, seated on thrones under a rich canopy of cloth of gold, surrounded by the chief nobility of both kingdoms. Columbus, after expatiating on the probable wealth and magnitude of the lands he had discovered, presented the Indians to their majesties, with high encomiums on their goodness, gentleness, and intelligence, and concluded by declaring, that "God had reserved for the Spanish monarchs not only the treasures of the New World, but a still greater treasure, of inestimable value, in the infinite number of souls destined to be brought over into the bosom of the Christian Church."

His deep and solemn enthusiasm communicated itself to his hearers; the king and queen sank on their knees, in a transport of gratitude and delight; the whole assembly followed their example, and remained kneeling while the anthem *Te Deum Laudamas* was chanted by the choir of the royal chapel. The subsequent rapid and cruel destruction of the Indians by the Spaniards, and the neglect and ill-treatment of Columbus himself, is in painful contrast to this opening; but it should be observed that amid all the bright hopes of national and individual† wealth entertained by the Spaniards, they appear, one and all, to have contented their consciences, from the first, with the notion of converting the natives, without any idea of confirming their territorial rights, or raising their social position. On the 25th of September, 1493, the admiral quitted Cadiz roadstead, and proceeded again to the westward, in command of a fleet of seventeen vessels, laden with horses and other domestic animals, seeds, plants, &c. (including the sugar-cane), with a view to the establishment of a permanent colony. Thirteen priests accompanied the expedition, supplied by the queen with ornaments and vestments from her own chapel.

Desiring to fall in with the islands of the Caribs, of which he had heard such wonderful reports, Columbus steered considerably more to the southward than he had previously done. On Sunday, 3rd November, the fleet arrived at the extensive group, called the *Caribbee*, or *Windward Islands*,‡ which extend, in a semicircular direction, between the eastern extremity of Porto Rico, and the Gulf of Paria, forming a kind of barrier between the main ocean and the Caribbean Sea. The name of *Dominica* was given to the first island seen. *Marigalante, Guadaloupe,* (where the pine-apple was discovered,) *Montserrat, Redonda, St. Martin, Antigua, Santa Cruz,* and the cluster of *the Virgin Islands,* were successively met with. At Santa Cruz, the Spaniards received a painful proof of Carib courage. On landing, they found a village deserted by the men, but inhabited by a few women and boys. There a most unequal contest took place. A canoe filled with Indians, among whom were two females, approached the shore, and was intercepted by the Spaniards, who succeeded in upsetting it: the crew swam off, shooting their arrows meanwhile, and assembling upon a rock, covered with water, both men and women defended themselves resolutely; one of the latter flung her dart with such force that it inflicted a mortal wound on her assailant. An Indian was slain, the rest of the party were taken

* A sad fate, according to Oviedo, attended the sailor who first beheld land from on board the *Pinta;* for the promised pension being adjudged to Columbus, the disappointed expectant renounced his country and his faith, went to Africa, and turned Mussulman.

† Columbus himself expected to acquire such immense wealth, that he made a vow to furnish, within seven years, an army, consisting of 4,000 horse and 50,000 foot, for the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre, and an equal force within the five following years.

‡ In map of West India Islands, this chain is divided into *Leeward* and *Windward*, but the former term is more generally applied exclusively to the four large islands of Cuba, Jamaica, Hayti, and Porto Rico.

prisoners, placed in chains, and the chief personage among them, to whom the rest, even in their mutual bondage, paid great deference, was, with her son, sent to Spain, a very unjust and iniquitous proceeding. After this commencement it is no great wonder that the Spaniards, already prejudiced from the accounts they had previously heard, should have become inveterate against the whole of the Carib race. It is therefore necessary to make due allowance for the exaggerated and highly-coloured reports given of their cannibalism and ferocious barbarities. Their appearance must certainly have been calculated to inspire fear and aversion, from the unnatural contour of the head, flattened in infancy between two pieces of wood; the many-coloured feathers stuck in their long black hair; and the hideous painted scars which disfigured their faces. In some instances, a fragment of tortoise-shell or a fish bone was thrust through the cartilage of the nose (*septum narium*), and the arms and legs were decked with circlets made of the teeth of their enemies slain in battle. Columbus appears to have considered them as cannibals by habit, practising this unnatural crime as a sensual luxury; but Labat, who resided in the West Indies, at a period when some of the islands were still in the possession of the Caribs, declares his belief that it was never done except in an ebullition of rage and revenge; and confidently denies their ever making excursions to the larger islands for the purpose of seizing their inhabitants to gratify any such demoniac desire. Bryan Edwards, upon the authority of Rochefort and Du Tertre, describes them as being among themselves faithful, friendly, and affectionate; jealous beyond measure of their independence; and apt to consider all strangers as enemies: but their confidence once gained, equally staunch in friendship as implacable in hostility. To the inhabitants of the Leeward Islands they entertained an hereditary antipathy, for which there appeared no cause save the very insufficient one of difference of descent, attested by their respective languages, traditions, and customs.

On the 25th of November, the admiral revisited Hayti, where a terrible shock awaited him. The little fortress of La Navidad was in ruins, and the garrison had all perished, some having been slain in disputes with their own comrades, others in war with the subjects of Caonobo, a cacique who ruled in the interior of the island, in consequence of the brutal manner in which they had acted towards their women, and their outrageous proceedings in seizing the golden ornaments and other property of the aborigines.

The friendly cacique, Guacanagari, had done his utmost to protect the Spaniards; and, in striving to defend them against an expedition headed by Caonobo, he had himself been wounded, and his village destroyed. Thus the precise results Columbus had anticipated when he warned his countrymen against indulging in their fierce and brutal passions had actually taken place. Happy would it have been for him and his present companions had they been convinced by this event of the sure punishment which sooner or later attends all injustice, whether committed avowedly for the gratification of some selfish end, or perpetrated in accordance with that bigoted and cruel spirit which so often, (especially in that age,) has dared to arrogate the holy name of religious enthusiasm; and which, while it afforded a convenient cloak for the designs of the crafty and worldly-minded Ferdinand, narrowed and clouded the gentle and benevolent views of the pious though priest-ridden Isabella, and sadly misled Columbus by persuading him to follow the doctrines of ambition and expediency under the guise of duty. Thus we find the admiral sending back by the return fleet several men, women, and children whom he had captured in the Caribbee Islands, and proposing to establish a trade in Carib slaves, with Spanish merchants, in exchange for live stock, a duty to be levied on each slave for the benefit of the royal revenue. This project he professes to justify as a means of saving souls, and an advantage to the more peaceable tribes, but Isabella entirely disapproved, though even she was subsequently induced to consent to scarcely less iniquitous measures, urged under the same pretext; in particular, the exaction of compulsory labour from the natives. Wanton cruelty certainly formed no part of the character of Columbus, but he nevertheless systematically violated aboriginal rights, in a manner for which the contumely, injustice, and neglect that suddenly obscured his fame, even in its meridian splendour, and surrounded his later years with gloom and bitter disappointment, formed no unfitting retribution. By disregarding the welfare of the Indians at the onset, he opened a door he could not shut, and he was compelled to be the unwilling

spectator of the most cruel excesses perpetrated on the gentle race, who had kindly welcomed and generously befriended him in his hour of need. He founded the city of Isabella, in the northern part of Hayti, with the motley population (about 1,200 in number) who had accompanied him from Spain in the fallacious hope of at once finding mines of gold, and making speedy and immense fortunes. Disappointed in their expectations, and totally unprepared for the toil and hardship inevitably the lot of early colonists, they vented their spleen in virulently reproaching Columbus, and cruelly illtreating the unoffending natives, who, wearied with their unceasing importunity for provisions and gold-dust, shrunk away in fear and dislike, seeing them in many respects following in the steps of their predecessors at La Navidad.

The admiral vainly strove to control the colonists; and the natives, at length driven to despair, and seeing fortifications and settlements springing up in various directions, resolved to resist their oppressors. All the caciques in the island confederated, except Guacanagari, who remained to the last the firm friend of Columbus,* and determined to make a desperate stand for their lives and liberties. Their peaceful habits had completely unfitted them for such a struggle, and the admiral and his brother Bartholomew, at the head of 200 infantry, twenty cavalry, and twenty large bloodhounds, completely routed a force *said to consist* of 100,000 natives,† who fled at the first fire, closely followed by the cavalry and dogs, and fearful havoc ensued. The prisoners taken were condemned to slavery; and 500 of them were sent by Columbus to Spain, with a suggestion that they should be sold at Seville.‡ Caonabo, the powerful mountain cacique, who had destroyed La Navidad, remained unsubdued. He had formerly been a celebrated Carib leader, whom the people of Hayti had propitiated, by offering the sister of one of their caciques, the beautiful and richly endowed Anacoana, to him in marriage, if he would come and live among them as their friend. This he had done, and, in the present emergency, was the main stay of the people among whom he had become naturalized. He had looked from the first with a jealous eye on the intrusion of the white people, and was especially exasperated by the establishment of a fortress (St. Thomas) in the very centre of his dominions, which he unsuccessfully endeavoured to reduce. The commander, Alonzo de Ojeda, a bold and reckless cavalier, quite devoid of the inborn chivalry, which formed a conspicuous feature in the character of his foe, ungenerously played upon it as a means of ensnaring him. With ten companions he made his way to a populous town where the cacique then was, pretending to have come on an embassy from the admiral, who he said was desirous of entering into a friendly alliance with him. Caonabo willingly consented to accompany him to Isabella, but was attended by so large an escort that Ojeda dared not attempt his forcible seizure; and, therefore, had recourse to stratagem. Producing a set of manacles of burnished steel, which glistened like silver (a metal which, for its rarity and beauty, the natives prized far above gold), Ojeda informed Caonabo that they were regal ornaments worn on great occasions by Spanish monarchs. He invited him to put them on, and suffer himself to be placed on his (Ojeda's) steed. The unsuspecting cacique cheerfully complied, and was mounted behind the treacherous cavalier, who, putting spurs to his horse, galloped off with his victim, and delivered him into the hands of Columbus, by whom he was sent on board ship, that he might take his trial in Spain, his offence being that he had bravely defended his adopted country.§ When Columbus, with his tenderly loved brothers Diego and Bartholo-

* The fate of Guacanagari was a very sad one. Upbraided by his countrymen for deserting them, and disgusted by the ill-conduct of the beings whom he had thought little less than divinities, he retired into the woods and died, desolate and unhonoured. It is evident that strong personal attachment to the admiral alone dictated his adherence to his cause, for so great a dislike had he imbibed towards the Spaniards, that when Columbus, on his arrival in the island after the destruction of La Navidad, desired to suspend an imago of the Virgin about his neck, the cacique long refused to receive any symbol of a faith whose professors were so cruel and licentious.

† Southey's *History of the West Indies*, vol. i., p. 39.

‡ The sale of unransomed captives, of all ranks and ages, had been largely practised by Ferdinand in his wars with the Moors of Granada; and after the reduction of Malaga, no less than 11,000 persons are stated to have been suddenly thrown into a state of slavery.

§ The vessel in which he was embarked foundered on her homeward passage, and all on board perished. His unhappy widow, who, upon the death of her brother, succeeded him in authority, and was greatly beloved by her subjects, eventually fell a victim to Spanish cruelty, being treacherously captured, and then publicly hanged, by order of Ovando in 1505.

mew, some six years after, was, upon various pretexts—among which may be named cruelty to the natives, urged by the very men whose outrages he had striven to repress—sent across the Atlantic in chains rivetted upon him by the hands of one of his own menial servants; he must have had leisure to think remorsefully on the injuries he had helped to inflict on the caciques and their unhappy people.

The Indians, after the capture of their favourite leader, courageously but vainly endeavoured to revenge his loss, and retain their liberty. They were rapidly subjugated; where, as in the case of Caonobo, force failed, treachery was called to its aid.

The subsequent well-known history of Columbus cannot here be detailed; his proceedings, so far as they were connected with the British West Indies, will be noticed in the description of the respective islands; now little more need be stated than that exploratory expeditions were dispatched in different directions, Columbus still fancying himself in the Chinese seas, and believing Cuba,* after coasting along it for a considerable distance, to be a portion of the Asiatic continent, in which mistake he remained to the day of his death.

On the 2nd of May, 1494, Jamaica was discovered; Trinidad on the 31st of July, 1498; and on the 1st of August in the same year, the admiral made the main-land of America, and named it *Tierra de Gracia*, and on the 12th of August the island of *Grenada* was seen. Thus the Spaniards gradually extended their investigations over the whole of these seas, and gave the different islands and groups the several designations they now generally bear; founded colonies at Cuba, Jamaica, Trinidad, &c.; and, proceeding from the islands to the main-land, conquered and settled Mexico, Peru, and other places. The newly-discovered territories were all densely peopled; the islands alone must have contained several million inhabitants, who, in the first instance, as previously stated, had everywhere received the Spaniards with hospitality and friendship. They were, however, speedily converted into enemies; and their destruction was swift and terrible. The evidence on this point is irrefutable. According to Las Casas,† the Leeward Islands possessed a population of no less than six millions, "abounding with inhabitants, as an ant-hill with ants." Benoni states, that there were two million natives in the island of Hayti alone; Oviedo reckons them at one million; and Peter Martyr, at one million two hundred thousand. Taking the lowest computation, the slaughter must have been terrific which, in fifteen years, reduced the number to sixty thousand;‡ in forty-three years to five hundred, and soon ended in their complete extermination. In this butchery Columbus led the way, not so much in actually aggressive warfare, as in wrongfully enforcing compulsory labour by claiming from them tribute, which he, coming in the peaceful guise of a discoverer, not a conqueror, could have no shadow of right to

* While exploring the coast of Cuba, Columbus (July 7th, 1494) went on shore, erected a cross, and celebrated mass, as was his custom in newly visited localities. While thus employed, a cacique and some Indians approached, who, at the termination of the ceremony presented the admiral with a calabash filled with fine fruit, and one of them, a venerable old man, made an oration after the manner of his country. "This which thou hast been doing," said he, "is well, for it appears to be thy manner of giving thanks to God. I am told that thou hast lately come to these lands with a mighty force, and subdued many countries, spreading great fear among the people; but be not therefore vain-glorious; know that, according to our belief, the souls of men have two journeys to perform, after they have departed from the body—one to a place dismal and foul, and covered with darkness, prepared for those who have been unjust and cruel to their fellow-men; the other pleasant and full of delight, for such as have promoted peace on earth. If then thou art mortal, and dost expect to die, and dost believe that each one shall be rewarded according to his deeds, beware that thou wrongfully hurt no man; nor do harm to those who have done no harm to thee." This speech was translated to the Admiral by his Lucayan interpreter, Diego Colon—(Washington Irving, vol. i., p. 231.) The same speech, differing only in a few unimportant particulars, is recorded by Herrera, Don Ferdinand Columbus, Peter Martyr, Cura de los Palacios, Bryan Edwards, and others.

† This good man, so distinguished in the annals of the New World, accompanied Columbus during his first voyage, and was so favourably impressed by the gentleness of the Indians, that he became an ecclesiastic in order to devote his life to their conversion. The cruelties exercised upon them by his countrymen, excited his lively indignation, and he was continually hurrying from one hemisphere to the other in his endeavours to procure redress for the wrongs, or to solace the sufferings of the unhappy natives. The hope of checking the licentiousness and cruelties of the Spaniards, induced Las Casas to accept the bishopric of Chiapa, in Mexico; but finding his new dignity ineffectual to enable him to accomplish the good he had anticipated, he resigned the Episcopate, and endeavoured to enlist the sympathies of humane and unprejudiced minds in favour of the Indians, of whom he declared, in his treatise on the tyranny of the Spaniards in America, *fifteen million had been wantonly destroyed*.—Raynal, vol. ii. p. 295.

‡ In consequence of the rapid decrease of the Haytians, 40,000 Lucayans were forced or decoyed into filling their place and sharing their fate.—(Robertson.)

demand; and by compelling them to work in the gold mines, a species of employment for which their former easy mode of life, and delicate though healthy frames, nourished almost exclusively upon vegetable diet, completely unfitted them.

Beyond all question, Columbus was deliberately instrumental in the establishment of slavery in the West Indies; and that, too, in opposition to his royal patroness, who ever recommended him most earnestly to watch over the welfare of the Indians, and who, when she heard of his distributing them as slaves, exclaimed indignantly—"what right has the admiral to give away my vassals?" and ordered all who had been brought from Hayti, to be restored to their homes, including both prisoners-of-war and others who had been transported to Spain by private individuals. At this juncture, a letter of Columbus was on its way, advising the continuance of the system of slavery instituted by him as a measure of policy, necessary to the welfare of the colony.*

Las Casas, Montesinos, Ximenes, Boyle, and the whole of the Dominican missionaries who were contemporaries with Columbus, remonstrated against the enslaving of the natives in any degree, and especially against the system of repartimientos or distributions, by which the natives were divided among the Spaniards, "and even," says Robertson, "refused to absolve or admit to the sacrament such of their countrymen as continued to hold the natives in servitude."

The taxes imposed by Columbus immediately after the defeat of Caonabo and the other caciques, on the people, were most severe. Thus, in the vicinity of the gold districts, each individual above fourteen years of age was expected to pay every three months the measure of a Flemish hawk's-bell of gold-dust, equal in value to about five dollars of that epoch, or to fifteen dollars of the present time. The caciques were compelled to furnish a much larger amount; and each individual, on rendering his tribute, received a copper medal, which he was obliged to wear as a certificate of payment; those who were found without these tokens being liable to arrest and punishment. Guarionex, one of the five leading caciques, who severally governed the island at the period of its discovery, complained of this unreasonable and grievous system of taxation. His richly fertile plain yielded no gold; and though the mountains on his borders contained mines, and the torrents washed down the glittering dust into the river beds, yet his subjects were unskilled and unfit for the laborious work of collecting it; he therefore proffered, instead of the tribute required, to cultivate with grain a band of country stretching across the island, from sea to sea, "enough," says Las Casas, "to have furnished all Castile with bread for ten years." This offer, which, if accepted, might have tended to the rapid development of the agricultural resources of the country simultaneously with its mineral wealth, was rejected; nothing could be accepted in the stead of gold. To aggravate the misery of the natives, the most depraved criminals were sent among them as free colonists; and these newly-released convicts from the dungeons of Castile,† on arriving in Hayti, assumed the airs of grand

* The pertinacity of the admiral, in continuing to make slaves of all captives taken in war, and the assertion of some of the malcontent colonists, that he entered into hostilities with that view, was the main reason which induced Isabella to consent to a commission being sent out to investigate his conduct, and if necessary, to supersede him in the command.

† The settlements soon lost their *prestige*. The sufferings of the early adventurers, from the disappointment of their hopes, and from virulent diseases, for the most part caused by their own excesses, had given a very unfavourable character to the islands; so much so, that in 1497 Ferdinand and Isabella issued a proclamation stating, that as all the persons whom they had ordered to embark for the Indies were not sufficient to form a colony "such as it behoves for the service of God and our service," it was expedient that others should go and live there at their own expense; they therefore decreed "that all and every person, men and women, who may have committed *any murders and offences* whatsoever" (except heresy and certain other crimes) should at pleasure have their punishments commuted to temporary banishment to Hispaniola (Hayti); thus, if condemned to death they were to maintain themselves there for two years instead, or for one if they had incurred any minor punishment, even though it amounted to the loss of a limb. They were, moreover, promised a free pardon for every crime committed up to the day of the publication of the proclamation. Magistrates were at the same time desired to make banishment to Hispaniola the most frequent penalty for crime. To these miscreants "lands, mountains, and waters" were to be granted in perpetuity.—(Southey, vol. i., p. 47.) This pernicious measure was suggested by Columbus himself, who lived long enough to witness its effects. In a letter written to the king after his return to Spain, he says, "I am informed that since I left this island [Hayti], six parts out of seven of the natives are dead, all through ill-treatment and inhumanity; some by the sword, others by blows and cruel usage, others through hunger. The greater part have perished in the mountains and glens, whither they had fled from not being able to support the labour imposed upon them."—(Irving, vol. ii., p. 215.)

cavaliers; men who had come out as miners, labourers, and scullions, would not go a furlong from their houses except they were borne on palanquins; each kept several concubines, seizing for this purpose the daughters and sisters of caciques, and had two or three slaves to serve them.

Columbus, in his dispatches, complained bitterly of the conduct of the colonists, declaring that "they robbed the Indians; abused the women in the most shocking manner; and lest their hands should get out of practice, used, for pastime, to try who could most dexterously strike off the head of an Indian, so that it should fly clean from the body to the ground;" yet he follows up his exposition of the cruelties practised by his countrymen, with a declaration that "one evil only must be borne for some years; that the Spaniards should be permitted to use the Indians, made prisoners of war, as slaves:" (*Southey*, vol. i., p. 59,) overlooking the fact, that the solitary evil he deemed it inexpedient to abolish was alone sufficient to account for and originate every other.

The oppressions of the natives greatly increased during the brief sway of Bovadilla, who, trusting to obtain the favour of the sovereigns, by amassing, no matter at what cost of blood and suffering, a large amount of gold, divided the aboriginal population into classes, and then distributed them among the colonists, suffering these latter to inflict upon their wretched victims blows and lashes, and even death itself, according to their own wicked wills. Isabella, on hearing of these proceedings, indignantly ordered the recal of Bovadilla,* and the release of the natives, who immediately left the Spaniards, and deeply disgusted with their previous conduct, could not be induced to labour for hire, or to receive from them religious instruction. This latter fact weighed deeply with Isabella, who unhappily gave her consent to the renewal of the compulsory system, to the end that they might be brought within the pale of the Romish church, but specially urged that they should all be well paid and gently treated, particularly those who should become Christians. Ovando, the new governor, availed himself of this permission, and distributed the natives among his favourites, giving fifty to some, and one hundred to others. This was done by virtue of a writing called a *repartimiento*, which ran thus—"To you ——, we entrust so many Indians under such a cacique, and you are to have them instructed in our holy Catholic faith." At first they were to work in the mines for six months. Afterwards the term was increased to eight; and as they died off rapidly, Ovando supplied his favourites with more to keep up their complement, instead of giving repartimientos to others. This plan he pursued all the time he remained governor of the island, and it afterwards became general throughout the West Indies and South America. Both natives and colonists suffered severely from famine, in consequence of the neglect of cultivation, and from various new diseases, one in particular arising from the promiscuous intercourse of the Spaniards with the Indian women, became fearfully contagious, and spread havoc and alarm among the colonists; their joints swelled, their blood became as it were poisoned, their noses, hands, fingers, and toes, putrified and dropped off, their bones rotted, many died raving mad; others returned to Europe, hoping their native air would cure them; there they spread this horrible and heretofore unknown malady, which, on its first manifestation amongst the Spanish and French armies, inflicted wide-spread destruction, and spread an almost universal panic, as recorded in the works of early medical writers on this loathsome subject. To return to the Indians:—the death of Queen Isabella, in 1506, removed the only check which had partially restrained the ferocious cruelty of her subjects, who now gave loose to the most demoniacal excesses: bets were made during their drunken revels, who could soonest cleave the skull of an Indian, and divide him at a single blow; their dogs were fed with the flesh of their victims, and it was not unusual to borrow a quarter or a limb of a human being, from a neighbour, for the use of the blood-hounds, promising a similar return on the ensuing day. In the search for gold, towns and villages were laid waste, and burned; the slightest resistance was avenged by indiscriminate slaughter—the caciques were murdered in cold blood—the women who tempted the lust of the invaders were reserved for their sensuality; tortures of the most barbarous nature were resorted to for the purpose of forcing a discovery of that gold for which the Spaniards

* On the 1st of July, 1502, he set sail with a fleet of thirty-two sail, for Europe, richly laden with ill-gotten gold, twenty sail of which, with all on board, including Bovadilla, the unfortunate cacique Guarionex, and others, perished in a storm within twenty-four hours of their departure from Hayti.

thirsted with such insatiate desire—those whose lives were spared were kept as slaves, and sent to work in the mines, where they perished rapidly: while such as escaped to the mountain fastnesses and forests in the several islands, perished of hunger; and many destroyed themselves to avoid the cruel torments to which they would have been subjected by their persecutors. The eloquent Las Casas, and other eye-witnesses, have related deeds of horror enacted by these fiends in human form, which almost exceed belief, and are frequently of a character too fearful and disgusting to be dwelt upon. It was with a view of saving the remnant of the miserable Indians, that the importation of Africans was proposed by Las Casas, his overwhelming sympathy for the suffering he witnessed leading him to overlook the cruel injustice of serving one people at the expense of another. Eventually negroes were introduced, but it was not to save, but to supply the place of the unfortunate race who had been swept from off the face of the earth. Thus crime begets crime; and man, left a prey to the guilty passions of his unregenerate nature, goes on in his awful career until the cup of iniquity is full.

For many years the other nations of Europe did not interfere with the Spanish monopoly of the West Indies. The first English vessels seen there were two ships of war under Sebastian Cabot and Sir Thomas Pert in 1516. The earliest trader visited the islands two years later; she was fired on by the colonists at St. Domingo, and the Governor was blamed for not sinking her, and thus preventing any additional information being conveyed to England. In 1536, the French began to molest the Spaniards in their new acquisitions; as did the English soon after under Hawkins, Drake, Duddeley, Raleigh, Baskervil, Saville, the earl of Cumberland, Sherley, and others. At the commencement of the 17th century, the English, French, and Dutch, began to form settlements on the islands and parts of the main-land not pre-occupied by Europeans. Disputes soon arose as to the rights of first location; but in some instances the subjects of two nations (as, for instance, English and French at Montserrat) partitioned an island between them. The Spaniards, however, long endeavoured to maintain exclusive possession of the West Indian seas, and even of those islands which they were unable to colonize. Hostilities were carried on against the ships of all nations, attempting to navigate any part of the newly discovered hemisphere, and the most barbarous cruelties were practised on all persons found there; even shipwrecked mariners, when their lives were spared, were doomed to the terrible slavery of the mines. This led to depredations on their colonies, and attacks on their annual "plate-fleet," by Buccaneers, Flibustiers, Corsairs, and other adventurers, and to a desultory warfare on the part of the English, French, and Dutch, against the Spaniards, even when their governments at London, Paris, the Hague, and Madrid, were at peace. Despite these proceedings, and notwithstanding the absence of any protection from the crown, many Englishmen located themselves on different islands, colonized Barbadoes, and commenced a traffic with the Spanish Main, as the coast of southern America was then called.

The Spaniards did not quietly submit to these encroachments on their assumed exclusive jurisdiction. In 1629 they seized 600 English settlers at St. Christopher's, and condemned them to subterranean bondage in their mines. In the following year (15th of November, 1630) a treaty was signed at Madrid, between Charles I. of England, and Philippe IV. of Spain, which was a renewal of that entered into in 1604, between Queen Elizabeth and Philip II., but no notice was taken of the possessions which the English had, in the interval, acquired in the West Indies; the Spaniards consequently deemed themselves at liberty to pursue their determination of exterminating all interlopers; they attacked the English settlers at Tortuga in 1638, at New Providence in 1641, and at Santa Cruz in 1650, massacred indiscriminately men, women, and children, plundered the settlements, burned the habitations, and then left the islands. These and other atrocious proceedings, which Charles I. was unable to prevent or punish, checked the early attempts made by British to settle peaceably in the west. When, however, Oliver Cromwell had decided on keeping peace with France, he resolved on punishing the flagrant perfidy of Spain, diminishing its exorbitant pretensions, and increasing the resources and influence of his own country, by gaining possession of the West Indian colonies, which then poured such wealth into the coffers of the Spanish monarch.

With these views, and probably also with a desire to get rid of General Venables, who

was plotting the restoration of monarchy, the Protector determined to seize Hispaniola. He therefore despatched an armament thither, composed chiefly of the inmates of the various goals, then crowded with petty delinquents and partisans of royalty. The fleet and troops, under the joint command of Admiral William Penn and General Robert Venables, sailed from Portsmouth early in 1655; rendezvoused at Barbadoes, where they were joined by numerous volunteers, and on the 13th of April, 7,000 infantry and a troop of horse were landed, with three days' provision, ten leagues to the westward of the city of St. Domingo. On the 15th, three regiments disembarked two leagues to the westward of the city. Both detachments met with unforeseen difficulties; were attacked vigorously by the Spaniards and negroes, and completely routed, owing to their cowardice and want of discipline.

Of 9,700 men landed, only 8,000 re-embarked on the 3rd of May;—when Venables directed the 7th of May to be kept as a day of humiliation, and issued an order, that in any future contests, whoever should be found to turn his back to the enemy, and attempt to flee, should immediately be run through the body by the officer in the next rearward division; who, if he failed to perform this duty, was himself to suffer death without mercy. The fleet proceeded to Jamaica, and captured that island, as will be stated in the ensuing chapter.

The demand in Europe for sugar, coffee, and other tropical products, and the suitableness of the soil and climate of the West Indies for their growth, together with the proximity of these islands, rendered them important as affording means for the rapid acquisition of wealth. The slave trade on the African coast, supplied, as has been previously stated, the wretched victims, by whose blood and sweat, sugar and coffee were raised; and to the millions of Indians who had perished in the search for gold—was now added millions of Africans, torn from their homes, and condemned under the torture of the whip and the goad, to cultivate the land for their European taskmasters, and to enrich the coffers of England, France, Spain, Holland, and other states, who all vied with each other in their haste to grow rich, at the expense of suffering humanity.

Life—so far as the negro was concerned—was a mere question of money; it was long a moot point of political economy among the planters, whether it was most profitable to work a gang of slaves to death rapidly, and replace them by fresh importations, or by less severe labour, to extend the duration of existence over a longer period. Many, in the very recklessness of brutality, adopted the latter opinion; they separated husband and wife, permitting no intercourse between them, and this, together with the inequality of numbers between the sexes, and the licentiousness, as well as cruelty of the colonists, occasioned such an enormous waste of life, as to require in the middle of the eighteenth century, an annual supply of about ninety to one hundred thousand Africans.

The amount of sin and suffering, national and individual, perpetrated and inflicted in the West Indies, is appalling. England rushed madly onwards in a career of crime and oppression; she put forth all her strength to become the mistress of these blood-stained islands. When war arose in Europe, it was carried on in the New World with a bitterness and fury outvying that manifested in the Old; and hostile fleets for years incarnadined the tranquil western seas with the blood of thousands, in the attempt to retain or acquire possession of these sugar fields for their respective countries. In a mere pecuniary view, the expenditure of men and treasure must have been enormous. The wealth which England squandered in this contest* largely contributed to swell the National Debt. A so-called "West India Interest" was gradually formed, which became a source of great evil, not only by blinding the nation to the wrongs which were being committed, morally and socially, but also by establishing a monopoly in the supply of tropical produce, and usurping to itself exclusively the title of *Colonial Interest*, and thus throwing into the shade all our other transmarine dominions, preventing the occupation of valuable islands like Java, and causing the immense territories of the British crown in the East Indies to be underrated and neglected. The purchase of parliamentary nomination boroughs by the wealthy owners of sugar plantations; the acquisition of similar estates by members of the peerage; the common cause made by, and complete organization of, the whole body of

* It terminated in 1810, by her conquest of nearly every European possession in the West Indies, though some of the most valuable were afterwards restored to their previous owners.

planters and proprietors, gave a political power to the West Indian interest, which made its co-operation effective in the perpetration of any job, enabled it to resist for twenty years the efforts of Pitt, Fox, Wilberforce, Grenville, Wellesley, and others, for the suppression of the slave-carrying trade; and from 1807 until 1834, prevented the abolition of slavery in the West Indies.

Truly is it remarked by the pains-taking and faithful recorder of West India annals, from the period of their discovery in 1492 to 1816, that their "history presents little more than a melancholy series of calamities and crimes. The islands have been laid waste by hurricanes and visited by pestilence; but the sufferings which have arisen from natural causes, are few and trifling in comparison with those which moral and political circumstances have produced."*

The annihilation of the Indians, the introduction of slavery, the ferocious proceedings of the Buccaneers, the sanguinary intercolonial wars, the ravages caused by yellow-fever, and the destruction which earthquakes and hurricanes have produced, find, happily, no parallel in the annals of mankind. To some of these painful subjects it will be necessary to advert in the history of the several possessions of Great Britain; but the chief objects of the writer are, rather, to afford an exposition of their present state, to set forth the intrinsic value of their yet very partially developed resources, and to investigate both the antecedents and the results of the still recent measure of emancipation on the condition, character, and prospects of the coloured and white population.

The following table shows the name, area, date of occupation by European powers, &c., of the chief islands or groups of islets included under the general term of the West Indies. To those named therein as belonging to England, may be added some territory on the South American Main, called British Guiana, which comprises Demerara and Berbice; and the settlement of Honduras in Central America. The Bermudas in the Atlantic cannot with propriety be designated West Indian islands, but they are commonly viewed as such, and were, until 1834, officially included among the western slave colonies; their description will, therefore, be comprised in the present Division.

Name of Island.	Area in square miles.	When first occupied.	By what People.	To whom belonging.
Jamaica and the Caymanas	6,400	1509	Spaniards	Great Britain.
The Bahamas	5,500	1672	English	Do.
Virgin Islands (Tortola, &c.)	250	1648	Dutch Buccaneers	Do.
Trinidad	1,700	1535	Spaniards	Do.
Tobago	104	1632	Dutch	Do.
Grenada and the Grenadines	109	1650	French	Do.
St. Vincent's	131	1719	Do.	Do.
Barbadoes	166	1624	English	Do.
St. Lucia	225	1639	Do.	Do.
Dominica	290	1610	French	Do.
Antigua	93	1632	English	Do.
Montserrat	78	1632	Do.	Do.
Barbuda	90	—	Do.	Do.
Nevis and Redonda	20	—	Do.	Do.
St. Kitt's, or Christopher's	70	1623	Do.	Do.
Anguilla	30	1640	Do.	Do.
Cuba and I. de Pinos	54,000	1511	Spaniards	Spain.
Porto Rico	4,140	1509	Do.	Do.
Martinique	370	1635	French	France.
Guadaloupe	675	1635	Do.	Do.
Deseada	25	—	—	Do.
Mariegalante	90	—	—	Do.
St. Thomas	40	1671	Danes	Denmark.
Crab Island	—	1717	Do.	Do.
St. John's	40	—	Do.	Do.
Santa Cruz	100	1643	Dutch	Do.
St. Martin	90	—	—	Netherlands.
St. Eustatia	22	—	—	Do.
Saba	10	—	—	Do.
Curacoa	600	—	—	Do.
St. Bartholomew	60	1635	French	Sweden.
Margarita, Tortuga, &c.	354	—	—	Carraccas.
St. Domingo—Hayti	30,000	1493	Spaniards	Independent.

* *Chronological History of the West Indies*, in three vols., by Captain Thomas Southey, R.N., vol. iii., p. 616.

CHAPTER II.—JAMAICA.

POSITION, AREA, SPANISH OCCUPATION, BRITISH CONQUEST, HISTORY OF THE ISLAND, EFFECTS OF SLAVERY, EMANCIPATION, MISSIONARY LABOURS, AND THEIR RESULTS.

JAMAICA, called *Xaymaca* by the aborigines, in consequence, it is supposed, of the abundance of wood and water found there, is situated in the Caribbean Sea, to the southward of the eastern extremity of the island of Cuba, between the parallels of 17° 40′ and 18° 33′ N. lat., and the meridians of 76° 12′ and 78° 23′ W. longitude, 4,000 miles to the south-west of England, and 600 miles to the northward of Chagres on the isthmus of Panama. The island extends in an east to west direction about 143 miles, the breadth diminishes at either end, and in the centre measures 40 to 45 miles. The area is estimated at about four million acres.

HISTORY.—The blue mountain-tops of Jamaica were first seen by Columbus on the morning of the 3rd of May, 1494, during his second voyage. A large party of Indians offered some resistance to his attempt at landing on the northern shore, near the headland named by him Santa Maria; he therefore proceeded somewhat further, and anchored in a harbour about the centre of the island, to which, from the great beauty of the surrounding country, he gave the name of Santa Gloria. Attempting, on the following day, to enter a more sheltered haven, where his ship could be careened and caulked, as it leaked considerably, he was again opposed by the natives, among whom he forcibly landed, slew several, put the rest to flight, and let loose a powerful dog* trained to attack human beings, which pursued them with sanguinary fury, and from their previous want of acquaintance with savage beasts of any kind, terrified them beyond measure. Columbus proceeded to take formal possession of the island, where he remained for ten days, but having learned from the natives, whom he had conciliated by presents, that no deposits of gold were known to exist, he returned to Cuba, and for eight years after Jamaica remained unvisited by Europeans. At the expiration of that time the Admiral, during his fourth and last voyage in search of a western passage to India, sought refuge for himself and his companions, when in imminent danger of foundering at sea, by beaching his two shattered caravels,† in a small haven of Porto Santa Gloria, which still retains the name of *Don Christopher's Cove*. Here the worm-eaten vessels were securely shored up, close along-side one another, and covered over from stem to stern, the water being almost up to the deck. The Indians evinced the most generous forgetfulness of the injuries they had formerly received from Columbus, who obtained from them ten canoes, two of the larger of which, called piraguas, he despatched under the charge of Mendez and Fiesco, accompanied by twelve Spaniards and twenty Indians, to inform Ovando, the governor of Hayti, of his situation. The undertaking was extremely arduous, the distance being forty leagues, and the sea turbulent, but it was successfully accomplished. Ovando, on the plea of having no ships of sufficient burden at hand, to enable the admiral and his crews to leave Jamaica, allowed them to remain eight months longer in their painful and wearisome position, neglecting even to furnish them with supplies of food, and leaving them dependent on the natives, who, from their desultory mode of labour, were ill able to meet the large and long-continued demand for provisions which had so suddenly arisen.

The difficulties of Columbus were enhanced by extreme personal suffering from gout, and by the mutinous conduct of some of his own people, whose proceedings excited the anger and distrust of the natives, and even led them to refuse holding further communication with the party on the wrecks. The prospect was really alarming, for the sickness of many of the sailors, and the idleness and discontent of nearly all, had prevented their making any attempt to raise food for themselves. In this emergency, the admiral took advantage of an approaching eclipse of the moon to terrify the Indians into compliance, persuading them that it was a special interference of Providence in his favour, and a token of the sure destruction which would overwhelm them, if they failed to supply him abundantly with provisions. This they promised, and were then told that intercession had been made for them, and that the threatening gale, he had entreated Ovando to permit his ships to enter the harbour of St. Domingo, and to detain the fleet then about sailing for Spain. Both these requests were scornfully refused. By keeping close in shore he weathered the storm, his vessel being the only one uninjured of the whole fleet; and the consummate seamanship of his brother Bartholomew (the adelantado, or lieutenant-governor), enabled him to keep afloat a vessel which had been before considered scarcely seaworthy. Among the treasure lost on this occasion, was the famous mass of virgin gold, said to weigh 3,600 castellanos, which had been discovered by an Indian girl in a brook, to the great delight of the miners, who, to express their joy, roasted a pig whole, and carved it upon the gold, boasting that no monarch ever ate off so costly a plate.

* These fierce creatures would spring upon a man and tear out his bowels: all the early documents prove that they were extensively and systematically used by the Spaniards in their cruel warfare against the aborigines. A large dog, named Bezerillo, did more execution than any soldier, and was allowed in consequence the pay of a cross-bow man, and a share and a half of prize-money. Southey, who records the circumstance, does not attempt to explain in what shape Bezerillo received his revenues, but adds with all gravity that "he was killed in battle by an arrow." (vol. i., p. 113.)

† He had previously lost two of the four vessels attached to his expedition, partly through damages sustained in the hurricane in which Bovadilla perished (see note to p. 14). Remarking indications of the

ened danger was averted. It is remarkable that Columbus, while thus profanely wresting the great laws of creation, and misinterpreting them wilfully for his private ends, was actually believed by many of the sailors to be deeply versed in necromancy;* nor was his own mind free from a similar superstition, for in a letter written from Jamaica, he assures the sovereigns that the people of Cariari (Central America) were great enchanters, using magic powders and other charms; and he adds that his seamen attributed all the delays and hardships experienced on that coast to the influence of witchcraft.

After remaining above a year, cooped up on the stranded vessels, Columbus was relieved through the indefatigable exertions of Diego Mendez, who, despairing of obtaining assistance, had hired and victualled a ship at the expense of his commander, and was about despatching it alone, when Ovando, whose conduct had been severely commented on by the San Domingo colonists, thought to avoid the reproach of having utterly neglected his duty, by sending a caravel at the same time.

On the 28th of June, 1504, Columbus quitted Jamaica, and proceeded to Hayti, whose state then afforded an appalling contrast to its condition at the time of its discovery only ten short years before. The five great caciques—the sovereign princes of the island—had all fallen victims to Spanish cruelty, and their tribes, which had peopled the mountains and valleys, and rendered by their towns and tracts of cultivation, the rich levels of the interior so many "painted gardens," had been nearly swept away, the remnant being condemned to life-long and most oppressive bondage.

After unsuccessfully pleading that the natives might be less cruelly treated under the unjust system of slavery which he had himself instituted—at least as regarded the so-called prisoners of war—Columbus, in deep sorrow and disgust at the ruthless brutalities he witnessed, sailed for Spain, and after a tempestuous voyage, arrived there, thus terminating his last and most disastrous expedition. But his personal trials were far from being ended; it yet remained that he should descend in sorrow to the grave. When he reached Seville, suffering intensely from bodily infirmities, his noble-minded patroness lay upon her death-bed, sinking under the effects of a deep and incurable melancholy which had undermined her constitution, and given fatal acuteness to her bodily ailments. The death of her only son, her grandson, and a beloved daughter, together with other severe domestic trials, had outweighed the triumphs of a brilliant reign, and her last moments were embittered by a knowledge of the cruelties inflicted on the Indians, and especially of the fate of the beautiful and gifted Anacoana, the widow of Caonabo (p. 11). With her dying breath she exacted a promise from Ferdinand, that Ovando should be immediately recalled; but this was not done until four years after; the avarice of the king being meanwhile gratified by the revenues so mercilessly extorted.

Columbus urgently solicited the discharge of the arrears due to his seamen; for himself he sought less for pecuniary indemnification than for the restoration of the offices and dignities for which he had expressly stipulated in the first instance. Ferdinand met his demands by the most unworthy evasions, and his old and faithful servant expired on the 20th of May, 1506, his body, worn out by sickness and hardship, and his mind cankered by ingratitude and neglect. After his death, his son, Diego, claimed as his lawful and acknowledged heir, the long-withheld concessions, and wearied with vainly importuning his sovereign, instituted a memorable process against him before the Grand Council of the Indies, at Seville; and this court, with laudable integrity, adjudged his claims to be well founded, and declared him hereditary viceroy and admiral of all the territories discovered by his father. Ferdinand, however, could only be brought to confirm to him the title and authority of viceroy and governor, and admiral of Hayti. Diego, whose interest had been strengthened by his marriage with Maria de Toledo, proceeded to Hayti, attended by a brilliant retinue—he bearing the much desired titles, and his wife, who accompanied him, being styled the vicereine. To his mortification, he soon learned that the king had invested in two other persons, Alonzo de Ojeda† and Diego Nicuessa, not only separate and distinct governments, which comprehended all the adjacent continent as far as it had been discovered by Columbus, but had also included the island of Jamaica, as a joint appendage, to be used as each pleased, either as a garden for the production of food, or a reserve whence to procure slaves to work in the mines.

The newly appointed governors quarrelled respecting the partition of Jamaica, upon which, Don Diego stepped in, asserted his prior claim, and in November, 1509, sent thither, as his representative, a Castilian, named Juan de Esquimel, with about seventy men, to found a colony on the shores of the haven, where Columbus had been detained so long. Shipwreck and various calamities overwhelmed both Ojeda and Nicuessa; neither were able to offer any resistance to Esquimel, who landed at Porto Santa Gloria (now St. Ann's Harbour), and founded on its shores the town of Sevilla Nueva, afterwards called Sevilla d'Oro, from the circumstance of some gold ornaments having been obtained from the Indians. Herrera, in describing the early colonization of Jamaica, says, "the affairs of the island went on prosperously; because Juan de Esquimel having brought the natives to submission, *without any effusion of blood*, they laboured in planting cotton and raising other commodities, which yielded great profit." Long, however, in his *History of Jamaica*, gives a different account of its first occupation; declaring that "the lieutenant-governor, soon after landing on the island, began to parcel out and distribute the country and inhabitants among his followers; which the Indians disliking [as well they might], betook themselves to the mountains, and stood on their defence; but Esquimel, after several engagements, in which the dogs he had brought with him were almost as destructive as his musketry, found means at length to cut off the chiefs or leaders of the malcontents; the rest submitted; and after being divided according to his original plan, they were employed in planting cotton and provisions." This writer adds, "that Esquimel, perceiving the Indians more tractable than he had

* *History of Columbus*, by his son, p. 237.

† This Ojeda was the capturer of the unfortunate Guarionex (see p. 11); he was eventually reduced to extreme poverty, and, according to Harris, actually died of want. Nicuessa also perished miserably, being forced by the turbulent Darien colonists to put to sea in an old rotten bark, with about seventeen of his men, who, it is supposed, were all drowned.—(Kerr's *Collection*, part ii., book ii., chapter iv., pp. 297–403.)

expected, soon won them over to subjection by the moderation of his government, without *further* effusion of blood." (Appendix, vol. iii., p. 959.)

Unhappily, the administration of this comparatively gentle ruler was, before the lapse of many years, terminated by his death. His sueeessors appear to have been either unable or unwilling to prevent the same horrible earnage from spreading here which was rapidly desolating Hayti. In both cases, the tractable character of the people left their exterminators equally without excuse. Had their disposition been belligerent, inhospitable, or vindictive, they would have had little difficulty in sinking the miserable barks in which Columbus made his second visit, or in coping with his jaded, diseased, and almost starving erew; nor did he fail to aeknowledge the mercy of Providence in eonducting him, under such trying eireumstances, to a place where provisions were abundant, and the inhabitants so well disposed. All who have written respecting them have reiterated the same favourable opinion, describing them as "a tractable, docile people, equal to any employment; modest in their manners; of a quick and ready genius in matters of traffic, in which they greatly excelled the neighbouring islanders; more devoted, also, to mechanic arts; more industrious; and surpassing them all in acuteness of understanding. They dwelt in cottages; and the island was so populous, that it appeared to Columbus to be full of villages. These consisted of several houses; and the buildings must have been extensive, since the eustom was for a whole generation to live together in one house." (Long's *History of Jamaica*, Appendix to vol. iii., p. 951.) They eultivated various grain, roots, vegetables, fruits, and cotton, in large quantities;—some of their habitations were furnished with ehairs of highly-polished ebony; and none were deficient in varieties of earthen and wooden utensils, curiously wrought. In the total absence of animal food, fish, both salted and fresh, was eaten extensively; the lines and nets employed were of bark. From the immense trunks of the cedar, or the cotton tree, they formed flat-bottomed canoes, or the much deeper and larger vessels, called *piraquas;* the latter were employed for sea voyages, and in carrying on trade with their neighbours, had raised gunwales and sharp keels. In eustoms, religion, historical songs, and in their agricultural tools, domestic utensils, and warlike weapons, the natives of Jamaica resembled the rest of the Leeward Islanders. Their attachment to their chiefs was unbounded and inviolable. Too generous to be revengeful, they frequently refrained from destroying the Spaniards when they had them in their power, although their ferocious cruelties might in the eyes of pagans have fully justified the most vindictive retaliation. They were, unquestionably, says Long, "the most generous of foes, and their national disposition truly amiable, benevolent, and noble."—(App. vol. iii. p. 957.) Such were the people who in a few short years were utterly exterminated by Europeans, professing to be Catholic Christians.

The Indians of Jamaica did not, however, perish without some desperate struggles for life and liberty, if, as is alleged, the depopulation of the city of Sevilla d'Oro was occasioned by its Spanish inhabitants being cut off in native warfare—as also those of the small village of Melilla—situated about thirty-three miles to the eastward, at the harbour now called Port Maria.

Two other reasons have, however, been assigned for the desertion of the northern portion of the island in the early part of the 16th century. Sir Hans Sloane, who visited the ruins of the city in 1688, and beheld the remains of an unfinished cathedral, within whose stately walls timber trees upwards of sixty feet in height, were growing; and other costly fabries, abandoned while still in course of erection, relates as the eause of this desolation, a plague of ants, whose innumerable swarms completely devastated the provision grounds.—(Sloane's *History of Jamaica*, vol. i. p. 66.) It is a singular coineidence that Oviedo should record, in 1519 and the two succeeding years, a similar visitation as having nearly depopulated the whole of Hayti. The other alleged reason is, the incursions of the "flibustiers," or French pirates, who about the year 1528 commenced making frequent descents upon the northern coast.

Possibly all of the above eireumstances concurred in eausing the overthrow of Sevilla d'Oro, in the very midst of its growing wealth,* while its resources were being developed, plantations of cotton and the sugar-cane rapidly extending; the vine being brought into cultivation; immense herds of cattle multiplying rapidly on the neighbouring pastures, and every thing seeming to prosper in the hands of the invaders, who had set at nought the rights of the natives, even to the enslaving of their persons.

The town of St. Jago de la Vega (of the plains) now commonly called Spanish Town, was founded by Diego Columbus, shortly before his death, in 1525, or the beginning of 1526.† It grew rapidly to importance, by means of the labours and sufferings of the natives; whom, however, the short-sighted avarice of the colonists speedily placed beyond the reach of oppression. Equally minute records of the barbarities which they commonly practised here, as in Hayti and the Spanish Main, have not descended to posterity, but there is abundant testimony that they were no less tyrannical, licentious, and—for no other word will express it—fiendish.‡ In 1558 the aborigines were almost wholly exterminated, more than sixty thousand

* A striking illustration of the power and influence which Jamaica had rapidly obtained, is afforded by the then Governor Garay having been able to fit out an expedition in 1523, comprising nine ships, and two brigantines manned by 850 Spaniards, accompanied by numerous Indians, with a view of founding a settlement on the American continent, near the river Panneo.—Southey, vol. i. p. 152.

† Edwards, *Hist. of the West Indies*, vol. i. p. 173.

‡ Many instances recorded by Las Casas, who, it should be remembered, published his account of the scenes he had witnessed, while the actors were yet living, are so horrible as to surpass the belief of those who have yet to learn the strength of the incentive to evil afforded by entrusting men with irresponsible power over their fellows, especially where the restraints of civilised society are by common consent thrown aside, and obligations of more constraining character unknown. To such minds a narrative like the following, distressing as it is, may not be without its use. Several writers have quoted it, among them Bryan Edwards, vol. i. p. 111, who cites the edition of Las Casas, published at Antwerp in 1579: "I once beheld," says the venerable ecclesiastic, "four or five principal Indians roasted at a slow fire; and as the miserable victims poured forth dreadful screams, which disturbed the commanding officer in his afternoon slumbers, he sent forth word

having perished in about sixty years. Mountain caverns, sheltering ground covered with human bones and skulls, preternaturally compressed, attest the fate of multitudes of wretched Indians who chose to encounter the agonies of famine rather than fall into the hands of their unrelenting persecutors. Gage (the earliest English historian of the West Indies, whose work* was greatly instrumental in directing the attention of Cromwell to this Archipelago), says, "Women as well here as on the continent [of America] did kill their children before they had given them birth, that the issues of their bodies might not serve so cruel a nation."

By the marriage of Isabella, the lineal descendant and sole heiress of the family of Columbus, its rights and titles became vested in the royal house of Braganza, and was from thence eventually transferred to the Spanish monarchy.

On the union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal, the people of the latter country emigrated in numbers to Jamaica, which had before been exclusively colonized by Spaniards. A bartering trade arose in provisions, cacao, hides, and lard; sugar and ginger were also partially cultivated; but national jealousies and distrust impeded the progress of commerce, and in 1605 left the capital an easy prey to Sir Anthony Shirley, a British admiral, who, while cruising in the neighbourhood with a fleet of five ships, a galley and pinnace, attacked and plundered the island, and then retired. About forty years after, a descent was made from the Windward Islands by a force of about 500 men under Colonel Jackson, who is said to have been bravely but unsuccessfully opposed by the inhabitants. After losing forty of his men, he entered St. Jago de la Vega (Spanish Town), sword in hand, exacted a heavy ransom as the price of its preservation, and returned with his booty, uninterrupted to his ships.

From this period up to the time of its capture by England, no important feature marks the history of the island. The colonists sank into a state of poverty through their own apathetic indolence, and in 1655 the whole white population numbered only from 1200 to 1400; of whom about 500 were in arms to meet the enemy. The negroes imported from Africa, and the mulattoes, were about equal in number to the Europeans. Of the aborigines not a single descendant existed.† The attacking fleet (see p. 16) was not perceived until a few hours before it came round Careening Point (Port Royal); it advanced directly up to Passage Fort, the only fortification that defended the capital, and the troops were landed under cover of the galley which conveyed the commanders to the shore. After a feeble struggle, the colonists were driven back upon St. Jago de la Vega, which was only six miles distant. Instead of pursuing them, and attacking the town forthwith, General Venables repaired on board ship to take his repose—the soldiers remained under arms all night, and were not suffered to march until late the next morning; the inhabitants, meanwhile, busily employed themselves in removing all articles of value, together with their women, children, and negro servants, some little distance in the country. After a week's negotiation, articles of capitulation were signed by Governor Sasi, by which the colonists were bound, either to remain subject to English laws and institutions, or to quit the island; in the latter case surrendering their slaves and effects to the discretion of the conquerors. Most of the Spaniards refused to abide by these conditions, and fled to the interior, where they were followed by the British. The higher, or "hidalgo" class, contained only eight families, among whom nearly the whole island had been apportioned in as many "hatos" or districts; these found means of escaping to Cuba, whither they were followed by Sasi, leaving behind them some of their poorer brethren, and the chief part of their negroes, whom they charged to guard their properties as far as possible until succour should arrive. These directions were obeyed, and Jamaica being, as Peter Martyr had said long before, "a rugged theatre for military operations," the new occupants had great difficulty in meeting the guerilla warfare maintained by the wary refugees, to whom the name of "Maroons"‡ was subsequently applied.

The dearth of provisions, resulting from the imperfect and limited state of cultivation, and distempers contracted from the exposure to heavy rain and other hardships which had attended the unfortunate attack of Hayti, had reduced the troops to so miserable a condition, that Penn determined to return to England with great part of the fleet, represent their condition, and seek succour. Venables, on the plea of failing health, accompanied him; both were severely reprimanded by the Protector, and ordered to the Tower. Major Sedgewicke was sent out as commissioner, with extensive powers; and Colonel D'Oyley, the senior field-officer, was appointed president of the military council then formed. Sedgewicke who bore the reputation of a judicious and honest man, brought with him abundant stores of provisions; but the soldiers, both officers and men, notwithstanding their recent sufferings from want, systematically thwarted his plans for preserving the present supplies, and being desirous either of obtaining their recal to England, or employment in military operations against the opulent Spaniards, in which they might obtain plunder, could neither be forced or persuaded into planting corn for a bare subsistence, but essayed by every possible waste and carelessness to create a perpetual demand for necessaries, and thus compel the Protector to relinquish his design of forming permanent settlements in this part of the world, by wearying him with their expense and unproductiveness. Sedgewicke complained bitterly of their unprincipled conduct, in seizing all the land about the town, and neither cultivating it themselves, nor permitting the planters to do so; and of their wanton destructiveness and perverseness in refusing to assist

that they should be strangled; but the officer on guard (I know his name, and I know his relations in Seville) would not suffer it; but causing their mouths to be gagged, that their cries might not be heard, he stirred up the fire with his own hands, and roasted them deliberately till they all expired. I saw it myself."

* *The English American, his Travail by Sea and Land, or a Survey of the West Indies*, published in 1648.

† Southey, vol. ii., p. 6.

‡ The derivation of this word is disputed. According to Long, it signifies hog-hunters, and was applied in consequence of the fugitives subsisting chiefly on the flesh of the wild boar, with which the woods abounded; but it is elsewhere explained as being a corruption of a Spanish word, signifying *monkey*, which was applied as a term of reproach to the runaways.—(Edwards' *History of the West Indies*, vol. i., appendix, p. 523.)

in strengthening the fortifications. Cromwell was exceedingly annoyed at their ill-conduct; but so far from being deterred by the obstacles thrown in the way of his project, applied himself only the more vigorously to its execution, by adopting various measures for the settlement of the island. He encouraged the wives of the soldiers to join them, desired his son Henry, then major-general of the forces in Ireland, to engage two or three thousand persons of both sexes* to proceed from thence as settlers, and corresponded with the chief authorities in Scotland, and with the governors of the American colonies and the British Windward Isles (then very populous), respecting the best mode of promoting emigration to Jamaica. He interested himself most warmly respecting the welfare of the army, severely reprimanding their immorality as being fatal alike to their temporal and eternal welfare.† Unfortunately the exhausted state of the treasury compelled him to leave them in long arrears of pay,‡ and the disaffection thereby created, aided in inducing them to continue deaf to his remonstrances, and to a great extent to defeat his plans, by gaining for the place so bad a name as materially to check the immigration he so strongly desired. Notwithstanding the good conduct and steady labour of the sailors belonging to the ships left to guard the island, who, in addition to constructing a battery at Careening Point, and repairing the tower at Passage Fort, also formed a plantation; a scarcity approaching to a famine was the result of the avowed determination of the troops rather to starve than work; the most unwholesome substances that could be used to sustain life, were eagerly devoured; a fearful epidemic dysentery ensued; and for a considerable time 140 men perished weekly;§ Sedgewicke himself sinking, less from bodily disease than from the painful responsibilities of a position for which his amiable and gentle disposition was ill adapted. Upon his death the chief authority devolved undivided on Colonel D'Oyley, who took severe measures to bring the army into a better state of subordination, by dismissing considerable numbers of the most unruly, executing the ringleader of an attempted revolt, though a man of rank and influence,‖ and portioning out plots of land to the private soldiers, with the assurance that they should cultivate and employ them, unmolested by their officers.

To encourage trade there, Cromwell, in 1655, issued a proclamation, that all adventurers should be exempt from payment of excise or duty on any goods which they should transport to Jamaica, for seven years from the Michaelmas of that year: also, that no tax should be levied on any commodity, the produce of the island, when imported into the dominions of the Commonwealth, for the space of ten years: and further, that no embargo or hindrance, upon any pretence whatsoever, should be laid upon ships or adventurers bound to Jamaica. In 1659 the foundation of the celebrated "Navigation Laws" was laid by an enactment of the Commonwealth, that no goods should be imported into, or exported from, the plantations, but in British-built ships, wholly owned by British subjects, and navigated by crews three-fourths of which were also British.

In 1657 and in the following year, two desperate attempts were made for the recovery of Jamaica, by the Spaniards, who landed and occupied the northern part of the island; but after a second complete defeat, in which they lost 380 privates, several officers, and two priests, and the English only twenty-three privates and four officers,¶ no other attack of any importance was made. The few remaining Spaniards were not long in quitting the island, but the Maroons remained, and became, as Sedgewicke had truly predicted, a thorn in the side of the conquerors. Their sudden and unlooked-for emancipation, bestowed by no generous impulse, or deliberate act of high principle, but simply resulting from circumstances over which neither slaves nor slave-holders had any control, produced its natural results. The inestimable prize of freedom they resolved to hold at all hazards, and though a portion of them accepted the offers of pardon and freedom made by the English, the majority viewed all friendly overtures in the light of treacherous endeavours to entrap them again into bondage. They and their descendants maintained, for nearly a century and-a-half, their position among the mountain fastnesses, whence, with occasional intervals of peace, they harassed the settlers by predatory expeditions, often attended with bloodshed, undeterred by the cruel punishment which attended them if captured in open hostilities, or tracked to their caves by bloodhounds. These latter auxiliaries were frequently employed in chasing the original Maroons, as well as runaways from the negroes imported by the new colonists, by whom their numbers were subsequently augmented. An order preserved in the State Paper Office, proves their use as early as August 1569: it directs "Mr. Peter Pugh, treasurer, to pay unto John Hoy the summe of twenty pounds sterling, out of the impost money, to pay for fifteene doggs, brought by him for the hunting of the negroes."

The death of Cromwell, in 1658, and the restoration of monarchy, made no change in the policy pursued towards Jamaica. Charles II. confirmed the previous measures, carried out the Protector's intention of forming a civil administration, conferred on Colonel D'Oyley the office of Governor, and ordered that the troops should be disbanded and settled throughout the country.

In 1662, a municipality was formed, judges of session and magistracy were appointed, a militia organized, the island divided into seven parishes, and land granted on free soccage tenures. A royal proclamation issued at the same time for the encouragement of the planters, declared, "that all the children of our natural born subjects of England, to be born in Jamaica, shall, from their respective births, be

* The endeavour of the Protector to maintain a due proportion between the sexes, was a praiseworthy feature in his colonial policy.

† Seven ministers of religion accompanied the armament when despatched from England, but the majority perished from the climate. Among the records in the State Paper Office is an order dated August 14th, 1656, and signed, Edward D'Oyley, for the distribution to the army of 1,701 Bibles!

‡ The charge to the Commonwealth of England for the forces maintained in Jamaica, according to an account rendered to the House of Commons, 26th March, 1659, amounted to £110,228 11s. 3d. The annual issues afterwards, until the Restoration, were about £54,000.—(Southey, vol. ii., p. 31.)

§ Edwards, vol. i., p. 206.

‖ Major Throckmorton was tried by court martial, and executed the very next day. Colonels Raymund and Tyson, for a similar offence, were shot in 1660.

¶ Long, vol. i. p. 276.

reputed to be and shall be, free denizens of England, and shall have the same privileges to all intents and purposes, as our free-born subjects of England." The population was increased by various individuals of note, connected with the Parliamentary party, who took refuge here, and whom Charles II. wisely suffered to remain unmolested, and some wealthy planters emigrated from Barbadoes; in 1684, the persons convicted in England of participating in the "Rye House Plot," were sent out for the period of ten years; in 1686, an extensive immigration of Jews gave a stimulus to commercial prosperity, and added another distinctive feature to the motley character of the inhabitants. African slaves were exported from time to time.

In January, 1664, the first legislative assembly, consisting of thirty members, was elected; and for a period of sixty-four years was engaged, with little intermission, in carrying on a contest with the Crown respecting the right of taxation, and in resisting the imposition of a tax of four-and-a-half per cent. on the gross produce of the island.

Previous to its disbandment, disease had fearfully thinned the ranks of the army, notwithstanding the reinforcements sent out under General Brayne, in 1656; for the entire population, in 1662, was stated to amount only to 4,355 persons, including 552 negroes, 1,600 settlers from Nevis established under General Stokes, and other immigrants. During the latter part of the administration of Colonel D'Oyley, a rapid tide of wealth set in, the source being neither more nor less than a system of legalized piracy, in which under the name of retributive and protective policy, the first rulers of Jamaica bore no inconsiderable share. After the second endeavour on the part of the Spaniards to regain their lost dominion, D'Oyley thought it best to carry the war into the enemy's country, by making a descent upon the Spanish Main, destroying the town of Tolu, and burning two galleons, bound from Carthagena to Porto Bello. Several rich captures had been before made by the squadron, and many others succeeded. Such examples were not likely to be lost upon a population of whom the minority were respectable planters, and the great majority men of disorderly habits, who, if they had not been positively convicted of offences against society, were at least regarded as bad subjects, whom the authorities in the parent state, or in the colonies, as the case might be, were glad to be rid of. The Spaniards themselves had tempted aggression, by endeavouring to monopolise the navigation of the American seas, and had incensed the merchants of other nations, by treating as pirates the crews of all trading vessels encountered by them in these regions.* The consequence was, that they were in turn deemed fair plunder; the class of men termed buccaneers, sprung up and rapidly increased, and England and Spain being then at war, their enterprises were authorised by D'Oyley and his successors as a means of relieving the former power from the expense of maintaining a large fleet for the defence of the island, and compelling the latter to abandon its exclusive policy, and enter into a solid and durable peace. The Jamaica privateers, from very small beginnings, mustered at last 3,000 fighting men, and thirty sail of well-equipped vessels. Reckless of hazarding or destroying life, improvident beyond measure, and constantly requiring new supplies, they were terrible foes to the Spaniards, being ever on the alert to intercept ships returning from Mexico, laden with the gold and silver, jewels and spoils of the western world; boasting that they avenged the wrongs perpetrated on the wretched natives, and though they did not dare to attack the assembled fleet, they waited—rarely without success—for any straggler detached by stress of weather or other circumstances. The demand for provisions, especially in the neighbourhood of Port Royal, the favourite resort of the buccaneers, gave a great stimulus to farming and agriculture; hence it happened that the planters and settlers, even when possessed of allotments of land not exceeding thirty acres, were able to maintain themselves comfortably by attending to the production of some one or other of the numerous smaller articles for which a ready money market was constantly open. The history of Morgan, the most remarkable of the buccaneers, forms a marked feature in the annals of Jamaica, but his character and conduct have been so variously represented, that it is difficult to form a correct estimate of either. This at least seems certain, that he was a bold and unscrupulous adventurer, essentially a man of war, whose abilities the English were glad to employ against the Spaniards, sanctioning his daring exploits, rewarding the political ends gained thereby, and wilfully ignoring the barbarity, licentiousness, and greediness of gain, by which they were accompanied.

Morgan and his followers were the dread of the Spanish Americans, not only by sea but by land, their settlements, as well as their vessels, being frequently the prey of these desperadoes, whose most extraordinary exploit was the capture of Panama, the great depôt for the merchandise and treasure of Chili and Peru. It was assaulted by Morgan, at the head of 1,200 men, in August, 1670; and although defended by a force much superior in point of number and resources, the invaders entered the city sword in hand, and after a fearful interval spent in slaughter, rapine, and pillage, they set it on fire, and in a few hours reduced it to ashes. The costly and magnificent public buildings, and the houses, 7,000 in number, were all destroyed. Laden with an immense booty, the buccaneers returned in triumph to Jamaica, to lavish in the wildest, maddest debauchery, the spoils of the sacked city, and the heavy ransoms of its impoverished people, flinging away in reckless prodigality the wealth they had hazarded life to gain. In this respect they did not follow the example of their leader, who had always carefully husbanded his gains, and who, upon the proclamation of peace with Spain, immediately after his return from Panama, and the consequent endeavours of the English government to suppress buccaneering, settled down as a planter, and was subsequently created a knight, and appointed Lieutenant-governor of the island, in which position he continued until 1674.†

Jamaica had at this period made marvellous progress in respect to population and agricultural resources, but in a moral point of view its condition

* In the course of the negotiations entered into by Cromwell soon after he assumed the Protectorate, the Spanish ambassador is stated by Thurlow to have declared, that "to ask a liberty from the inquisition and free sailing in the West Indies, was to ask his master's two eyes, and that nothing could be done in these points but according to the practice of former times."

† By some writers Morgan is said to have died peaceably in Jamaica, by others to have perished in an English prison.

was truly deplorable. The strife, vice, and misery attendant on slavery, became early manifest; the attempts of the wretched captives to regain their freedom, and the predatory incursions of the Maroons, even then scourged the colonists. Port Royal itself, united to more than regal opulence, the worst vices, and the lowest depravity that ever disgraced a seaport; nor could any thing else be expected in a city whose most honoured denizens were buccaneers, most welcome visitors, slave traders.

It scarcely needed the inspiration of a prophet to foretell that so much wealth and so much wickedness conjoined, would have a fearful ending; nor could any believer in a superintending providence, be surprised at the series of calamities which overwhelmed Port Royal at the time when its seeming prosperity had attained its climax. The doom went forth, and a fearful earthquake engulphed the scene of splendour and profligacy, burying in the ruins 3,000 individuals. The catastrophe was equally sudden as appalling. On the morning of the 7th June, 1692, the Governor and Council were met in session, the wharves laden with bales of the richest merchandise, the markets and stores displayed the glittering spoils of Mexico and Peru, and the streets were thronged with people; when the clear and serene sky became overshadowed by partial darkness, broken by faint gleams of red and purple, and a tremendous roar, like that of distant thunder, broke from the base of the mountains, and reverberated through the valleys to the beach, while the sea, impelled by the same mighty convulsion, rose in a few minutes five fathoms deep over the houses of the devoted town.

The scene was appalling beyond description, shrieks and lamentations rent the air, mangled corpses floated on the waters, or were flung upward by the violence of the shocks. Although there was no wind, billows rose and fell with such violence that the vessels in the harbour broke from their moorings, and one of them, the Swan frigate, was forced over the tops of the sunken houses, and afforded a means of escape to many persons. Several individuals were wonderfully preserved, being swallowed up during the awful concussion, and thrown back again through an aperture quite distinct from that which had yawned to receive them, without sustaining any material injury. Of the whole 3,000 houses, about 200, with the fort, remained uninjured: amidst the destruction of so much property, not the least was the irreparable loss of all the official documents and records. The whole island felt the shock and shared the disastrous effects of a visitation which happily stands alone in the annals of Jamaica; no other, before or since, having been known to compare with it. Chains of hills were riven asunder, new channels formed for the rivers, mountains dissolved with a mighty crash, burying alive the people of the adjacent valleys, whole settlements sunk into the bowels of the earth, plantations were removed *en masse*, all the sugar works destroyed; in fact, the whole outline was drawn afresh, and the elevation of the surface considerably diminished. The sentence of desolation was, however, yet but partially fulfilled; a noxious miasm, generated by the shoals of putrifying bodies that floated about the harbour, or lay in heaps in the suburbs, slew 3,000 of the survivors. As if that so fearful a warning might not be forgotten by posterity, the sunken houses of Port Royal remain permanent memorials of divine justice, being in calm weather still visible beneath the surface of the ocean; in striking contrast, relieving the deep melancholy of the scene, is a monument erected at Green Bay, on the opposite side of the harbour, which commemorates the preservation of Louis Caldy, a native of Montpelier, in France, who left his country on account of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and, after having been swallowed up during the earthquake, was, by the great providence of God, flung into the sea by a second shock, where he continued swimming until rescued by a boat, and lived forty years afterwards.

The colonists attempted to reconstruct a portion of the walls of their desolated town, but their efforts were defeated by a hurricane. They had hardly time to rally from the prostrate and ruined condition to which they were reduced, when the alarming intelligence arrived, that the French were preparing to take advantage of their deplorable state, by making a descent upon the island. Accordingly, on the 17th June, 1694, a fleet of three men-of-war and twenty privateers, having on board 1,500 land forces, commanded by General du Casse, the Governor of Hispaniola (Hayti), appeared off Cow Bay, where 800 of the soldiers were landed, with orders to desolate the country as far as Port Morant. These instructions were obeyed with fearful precision. They not only set fire to every settlement they came to, but tortured their prisoners in the most shocking manner, and murdered great numbers in cold blood, after making them behold the violation of their wives by their own negroes.* These disgraceful outrages were committed with impunity, the militia having been drawn off this part of the country to guard the capital; but when the invaders—having plundered and destroyed all the plantations within reach, and returned to their ships—subsequently attempted to land at Carlisle Bay, they were gallantly resisted by a much smaller force, who kept them at bay, and by the aid of reinforcements of militia, dispatched by the Governor, Sir William Beeston, from Spanish Town, drove them off with considerable loss. It is asserted, that the English lost 100 killed and wounded, and the French upwards of 700; but that the latter succeeded in carrying off considerable spoil, and about 1,300 slaves.†

To carry on in minute detail the history of Jamaica, from this period to the present time, would be to record a melancholy series of calamities, dissension, and misrule, the latter mainly occasioned by the vices or incapacity of the individuals appointed to the office of Governor, who, though generally of high rank, appear to have been selected with a view rather to the benefit their drained resources would receive from the handsome salary attached thereto, than from any good the island was likely to derive from their services. Their respective characters and administration are detailed at some length by Long‡ and Bridges, in the works already quoted in these pages. The first of these historians is strictly trustworthy, though from his position as a large hereditary land

* Edwards, vol. i., p. 231.

† Bridges' *Jamaica*, vol. i., pp. 322-'3.

‡ "A faithful description of our provincial governors, and men in power, would be little better than a portrait of artifice, duplicity, haughtiness, violence, rapine, avarice, meanness, rancour, and dishonesty, ranged in succession; with a very small portion of honour, justice, and magnanimity, here and there intermixed, to lessen the disgust which otherwise the eye must feel in the contemplation of so horrid a group."—*The History of Jamaica*, in three volumes quarto: London, 1774; introduction, p. 4.

and slave-holder, naturally not unprejudiced; the second wrote his clever volumes under the direct patronage and pecuniary aid of the House of Assembly during its most stormy period of opposition to the emancipating policy of Great Britain; and even his facts, much more his inferences, must be received with caution. The main feature in the history narrated in many respects so ably by the above authors, is, however, passed hastily over by the one, and too often wilfully mistold by the other; and certainly their readers would be little likely to form from their statements a just idea of the workings of slavery in Jamaica, or of the extent of internecine strife and moral degradation which characterized alike its wealthiest, and its most impoverished condition.

Edwards, though himself a planter and slaveholder, has furnished much valuable detail on this subject, as have also the indefatigable Captain Southey, R.N., and the worthy Dr. Coke; but the best information is contained in the ponderous mass of documents published by various parliamentary committees during the last half century. From these and other incidental sources, I have framed the following sketch of the establishment and growth of a system, which being founded on wrong, and maintained by oppression, never could produce any other results but sin and suffering to all concerned in it. The alternate visitations of earthquake and pestilence, war and famine, hurricanes and conflagrations, which have desolated one of the loveliest spots in the world, were nothing more than the counterpart of the moral plagues of extravagance, cruelty, and licentiousness, which, long before the slave trade was abolished, had involved the inhabitants in hopeless insolvency.

Slavery in Jamaica.—There is no complete record of the total number of negroes brought into the island from the period of its conquest, in 1655, to the abolition of the carrying trade, in 1807-'8. For the first seven years of British rule, the importation was comparatively insignificant, but on the establishment of a civil government in 1662, it increased largely, by means of the Chartered African Companies, patronised by royalty; and subsequently through the working of the infamous Assiento contract. The destruction of the public records in 1692 prevents any correct estimate of the extent of the importations up to that period, but it must have been considerable, for in 1698 Governor Beeston reported the population at 17,365 souls, of whom 40,000 were blacks. In the ten following years, ending June, 1708, 44,376 negroes were introduced, or on a yearly average, about 4,437, and though some of these were exported to other islands, the growing preponderance of the bond over the free inhabitants, was deemed so alarming, that in 1704 an act was passed obliging the planters to maintain fourteen white servants for every 300 negroes.* From 1709 to September, 1775, annual returns give a total of 472,761. The number imported during the entire year 1775 was no less than 18,648; at this time Governor Keith, on the authority of the rolls of the respective parishes, stated the population at 12,737 whites, 4,093 free negroes, and 192,787 slaves, adding that these latter were underrated by at least 10,000, "as there were many 'jobbers and others' who did not give in their negroes."†

According to an aggregate return, between 1655 and 1787, 676,276 negroes were imported. I can find no record of the numbers introduced during the ensuing four years. The annual average, from 1791 to 1807 inclusive, was upwards of 9,000. If to the numbers officially stated to have been imported during the entire period of British rule, we could add returns for the aforesaid four years—and procure anything approaching a fair estimate of the Africans surreptitiously brought in, the aggregate amount would probably exceed one million.

After making large allowance for the proportion of slaves re-exported and emancipated, the amount of life which remains to be accounted for is truly appalling, when it is considered that, notwithstanding the vast immigration continued during a period of a century-and-a-half, the slaves, with their descendants, at its close numbered only 319,351.

The market value of a slave varied from £30 to £50, and this excessive cheapness of labour, together with an apparently unlimited supply, rendered it in the eyes of the planters a more profitable business to buy than to rear slaves. The working of this policy on the oppressed class was most disastrous; it removed the protection with which self-interest would have surrounded them, had healthy and strong frames been less easy of replacement, in the event of death or disease; and it fearfully aggravated the breaking-up of all social ties among the slaves, which, had their offspring been a matter of regard to their masters, would have been of necessity to some extent respected. During the seven years preceding the abolition of the carrying trade (1807), the *excess of deaths over births* was 41,772. In the above-named year, an act which had been passed for a limited period granting a premium of £3 to overseers of plantations in which the births should be found to exceed the deaths, was allowed to expire from the terrible nature of the facts it revealed. The evils of the system under which so many thousands perished, are rendered the more striking from the fact that the climate itself agrees well with the African constitution. Sir Hans Sloane bore witness, "that when he was at Jamaica, in 1688, he knew blacks of 120 years old, and that 100 years was very common among such of them as were temperate livers."‡ They were decimated by the direct effects of cruel usage, and insufficient food. How many perished by actual violence, it would be useless to inquire—no Las Casas has portrayed the deeds of the West Indian colonists in the eighteenth century, or the extent and ferocity of the public and private butcheries then committed; but we have at least partial records of the sanguinary codes of English and French jurisdiction, and they alone may suffice to teach us rather to deprecate the odium and the punishment incurred by the Spaniards in a former age, than to censure with virulence, conduct which is perhaps far from being unparalleled, even in our own annals.

Again, it behoves all unbiassed searchers after truth to judge leniently of the frail and sinning oppressors, and not to allow sympathy for their victims to overpower with indignation all temperate feelings. Never is this caution so necessary as in the case of slavery, that blighting curse, which more or less deadens the affections, warps the judgment, and pollutes the morals, of all under its influence. In Jamaica it poisoned every phase of society, and its effects were visible in the general state of demoralization, and in the terrible incertitude consequent upon the energies of a comparatively small section of the population, being all directed to the unjust subjection of a far more numerous, and, physically speaking, more powerful class.

* Southey, vol. ii., pp. 179, 196, 202.

† Southey, vol. ii., p. 421. ‡ *Idem*, vol. ii., p. 146.

Maroon Wars and Slave Insurrections.—The conduct of the negroes left in the island by the Spaniards, was a significant token of the danger and difficulty attendant on attempting to enslave a race so fond of liberty, and so ready to endure extreme hardships, and hazard life in its defence. But the planters appear to have imbibed not a little of the buccaneering spirit, which drowned all forethought in the cup of immediate gain or enjoyment; and provided they could secure the temporary cultivation of their sugar and coffee estates, were quite heedless of the ulterior consequences of the means employed. Coercion, in its most bloody form, armed with the whip and the goad, with instruments of torture and mutilation, almost without number; with the cross, the faggot, and the gibbet, would, it was considered, strike terror into the boldest heart, and prove, with all-convincing arguments, the inborn right of the white race to use coloured men as useful and domesticated animals, if they could tame them; or to shoot, hunt, and destroy them like fierce beasts, if they could not. Still, notwithstanding all their resources, their sanguinary slave code, backed by regular troops, a trained militia, and large packs of blood-hounds, the slaves were often too strong for them, and many a murdered family and ruined homestead served to throw a light upon the depth of the abyss which frequently threatened to engulf them. The very year (1556) after the conquest, the Maroons succeeded in revenging some trifling successes by the defeat and slaughter of a detachment of forty men. In 1663 and 1664, being already reinforced by fugitive slaves, they maintained possession of the interior, so that no colonist dared settle any considerable distance from the coast, as they slew, without distinction of sex or age, every white person who came within their reach. "In this way," says Edwards, "they continued to distress the island for upwards of forty years, during which time forty-four acts of assembly were passed, and at least £240,000 expended for their suppression."*

An eye-witness describing the general state of society in 1722, says—"the English subjects are computed at 7,000 or 8,000, the negroes at 80,000; a disproportion that, together with the severity of their patrons [masters], renders the whole colony unsafe. Many hundreds of them have at different times run to the mountains, where they associate and commit little robberies upon the defenceless and nearest plantations, and which I imagine they would not have done but for the cruelty of their usage, because they subsist very hard and with danger, by reason of parties continually sent out by government against them, who have £5 a head for every one killed, and their ears are a sufficient warrant for the next justice to pay it: *if the negro be brought in a prisoner he is tormented and burnt alive.*"†

In 1730, the Maroons, under a very able leader named Cudjoe, had grown so formidable, that it was considered necessary to strengthen the colony against them by two regiments of regular troops, which were afterwards formed into independent companies, and employed, with other hired parties, and the whole body of militia, in their reduction. In 1833, it was stated in one of the legislative acts, that they "had within a few years greatly increased, notwithstanding all the measures that had been concerted and made use of for their suppression;" and several barracks, fortified by bastions, and strongly garrisoned, were erected as near as possible to the enemy's favourite haunts. "Every barrack was also furnished with a pack of dogs, provided by the churchwardens of the respective parishes."‡ In 1734, Captain Stoddart attacked one of their chief villages, called Wanny, situated on the top of a high mountain, and having succeeded in bringing up some portable swivel guns unperceived, he fixed them on a small eminence commanding the huts in which the negroes were asleep, and fired so effectively that many were slain in their habitations, others were made prisoners, and several threw themselves headlong down the precipice.§ Notwithstanding this and other disasters, the Maroons still proved so far superior to their antagonists in bush-fighting, that the Assembly in 1737 thought fit to enlist (as they had done on a previous occasion) 200 Mosquito Indians from the coast of Central America, to assist them in the war.‖ Even with their aid so little substantial advantage was gained, that the colonists, wearied out with the harass and expense of a contest in which they had everything to lose and nothing to gain, induced Governor Trelawney to make overtures of peace, which were gladly accepted. Two distinct treaties were formed with the principal chiefs, Cudjoe and Quao, of which the main article was the settlement the insufficient tract of 1,500 acres on the followers of the former, and 1,000 on those of the latter, to be possessed by them and their descendants in perpetuity. On their part they were required to deliver up all slaves who should henceforth take refuge among them; and as it was sufficiently evident that if they had any spark of kindly or national feeling, they would be very unwilling to hinder their countrymen from obtaining the freedom they prized so highly themselves, laws were passed by the Assembly, decreeing most severe penalties against all who should venture to harbour the wretched fugitives, and offering a premium of £3 per head for their apprehension. With all these precautions it was nevertheless a dangerous experiment to distribute a body of nearly 600 persons who had snatched their liberty by force, in the midst of a slave-holding community, fixing them at five different points, (Trelawney Town, Accompong Town, Scots' Hall, Charles Town, and Moore Town,) more especially as no endeavour whatever was made to civilize or convert them. Mr. Long, though strongly prejudiced against the negro race, felt the impolicy of this neglect, and urged that they would probably prove more faithful allies and better subjects, if pains were taken to instil into their minds a few notions of honesty and religion; and he recommended the establishment of schools, and the erection of a chapel in each of their towns, as measures of indispensable necessity.¶

* Edwards, vol. i., p. 525.

† See Atkins' *Voyage to the West Indies*, p. 245.

‡ Edwards, vol. i., appendix, p. 528.

§ *Idem*, p. 525.

‖ Upon the renewal of peace, these Indians were sent back to their homes with their stipulated rewards, and many protestations of friendship, but these latter were so badly kept, that their shores were often visited for the sake of carrying them off as slaves; and to such an extent was this traffic carried on, and fostered by the ungrateful Jamaica colonists, that, in 1741, the Assembly passed an act prohibiting their further importation, but not interfering with what Mr. Bridges styles "the property already obtained." In 1764, Governor Lyttleton compelled the magistrates to make returns of the number of Indian slaves, and prosecute the offenders, in consequence of which just and vigorous measures, many were restored to liberty, but some were privately retained, whose descendants may yet be traced by their long hair and features.

¶ Long, vol ii., p. 347.

These suggestions were disregarded, the Assembly ostensibly contenting themselves with excuses for the omission of an obvious but onerous duty, resembling those of the Rev. Mr. Hughes, who thought it not unbecoming his holy calling to declare, in allusion to the whole of the negroes, that although to bring them in general to the knowledge of the Christian religion, was undoubtedly a great and good design, yet, "for reasons too tedious to be mentioned," he believed the difficulties attending it were and ever would be insurmountable.* Unhappily it would appear that this opinion was shared by a large proportion of the Church of England clergy then in Jamaica, and it is to be feared that their character and conduct were in general little calculated to remove the lamentable and almost contemptuous indifference commonly evinced in respect to religion.

It would occupy too much space to record in detail the long series of struggles made by the negroes. The dates of the more extensive insurrections and conspiracies are as follows:—1678, 1684, 1686, 1691, 1702, 1717, 1722, 1734, 1736, 1739, 1740, 1745, 1758, 1760, 1765, 1766, 1769, 1771, 1777, 1782, 1795, 1796, 1798, 1803, 1807, 1809, 1824, 1832.

Besides these there were many minor outbreaks on single plantations, occasioned by the wanton cruelty of overseers appointed by absentee proprietors. The leaders and originators of the wider and more deeply-laid plots were almost invariably found to belong to the class called "Coromantines," which comprised the warlike natives of Ashantee, Fantee, and Akim; and these, when first imported, rarely failed to form concerted plans for obtaining their liberty, taking as a first step the "great oath" of secrecy (see African Division, p. 188), so rarely if ever violated, even under the influence of extreme torture.

In 1760 a conspiracy was projected, in which almost all the Coromantines in the island are supposed to have been concerned. Sixty white persons perished, and about 1,000 negroes were either killed in action, died by their own hands, were executed, or transported.† The cost of this single rebellion is stated by Long at £215,000, viz., the suppression £15,000; making good the losses sustained, replacing the slaves, &c., £100,000; erecting parochial barracks in consequence, £100,000. Their losses infuriated the colonists, but could hardly palliate, much less justify, the vengeful atrocities perpetrated by them upon the captured negroes. The Rev. Mr. Bridges, a popular minister in the Established Church at Jamaica, and the avowed champion and apologist of the planters, thus describes some of the scenes enacted. "The records of crime and punishment can hardly equal or excuse the horrible barbarities and exquisite tortures which were inflicted by and upon these condemned rebels. Some of them were burned, some were fixed alive on gibbets; one of them lived 210 hours, suspended under a vertical sun, without any sustenance or even a drop of water; yet they all behaved to the last moment with a degree of hardened insolence and brutal insensibility which drowned compassion, and almost authorized their doom; and the reader will probably feel far more for the fate of these wretched sufferers than did the most humane of those who witnessed their expiring agonies."‡ Perhaps most readers will be inclined to attribute admirable fixedness of purpose, and unalterable courage to the victims, and "brutal insensibility" to the ruthless bystanders. Other writers have given further details respecting these enormities, and the perfect self-possession, or, as Long also terms it, the "hardened insolence" of the victims. Richmond, the sufferer who survived so long, is described as having on the morning of his death been convulsed from head to foot; on being opened after his decease the lungs were found adhering so tightly to the back, that it required some force to disengage them. (Long. vol. ii. p. 458.) Those destroyed by fire suffered even fiercer though less prolonged tortures than their crucified associates, for the burning was performed by making the victim sit on the ground, the body was then chained to an iron stake, and the fire gradually applied, beginning with the feet. Bryan Edwards, describing the conduct of one of the Coromantines who was thus consumed, says—"he uttered not a groan, and saw his legs reduced to ashes with the utmost firmness and composure; after which, one of his arms by some means getting loose, he snatched a brand from the fire that was consuming him, and flung it at the face of the executioner."§ Numbers upon learning the fate of their confederates destroyed themselves, for "parties of militia frequently came to places in the woods, where seven or eight were found tied up with withes to the boughs of trees; and previous to these self-murders they had generally massacred their women and children."—(Long, vol. ii., p. 461.)

The conduct of the Maroons during the conflict was afterwards the subject of much discussion, some parties considering them to have done good service to the colonists; others declaring them to have been favourable to the negroes, against whom they took no part until their cause had become manifestly hopeless; an assertion which seems sufficiently probable. After the defeat of a body of the insurgents at a property called Heywood Hall, a detachment of Maroons, who subsequently arrived at the scene of action, were ordered to pursue the fugitives, and incited to commit as much slaughter as possible by the promise of a considerable reward for every pair of ears they should produce. Whether from desire of gold, or fear of being deemed traitors if they came back empty-handed, the Maroons soon returned with a sackful of the frightful trophies demanded by the colonists, who thus put a premium upon murder, since the aged and the defenceless, however innocent, were the most likely to fall the victims of the savage and destructive spirit thus fostered in the breasts of these barbarians. In this case, however, no additional blood, guilty or innocent, was shed, the Maroons having, as it was afterwards discovered, obtained their loathsome credentials by mutilating the bodies of the unfortunate negroes left by the conquerors in unburied heaps. The same device they frequently resorted to, and perhaps if Englishmen had, by a similar artifice, succeeded in escaping the two-fold danger of capital punishment, or confiscation of land, on the one hand; and risking life to slay those with whom they sympathized, on the other; they would have been more praised for their cleverness than censured for their insincerity.

Connected with this insurrection, an anecdote is recorded, which is interesting as illustrating the illiberality with which the Jews were treated at this

* Long, vol. ii., p. 429.

† Six hundred were transported to the British settlement at Honduras, the logwood cutters gladly purchasing the outcasts, notwithstanding their antecedents, because "they cost so little."—(Long, vol. ii., p. 462.)

‡ Bridges, vol. i., p. 99. § Edwards, vol. ii., p. 79.

period—although, in a commercial point of view, extremely valuable citizens; it likewise affords evidence of the reasoning powers of an uneducated African. "One of the rebel leaders," says Long, "having been taken prisoner in Westmoreland, was confined in irons in the barrack of Savanna la Mar to wait his trial. It happened, that on the night after his captivity, a Jew was appointed to stand sentry over him: about midnight, the rebel, after reconnoitring the person of his guard, took the opportunity of tampering with him to favour his escape. 'You Jews,' said he, 'and our nation (meaning the Coromantines) ought to consider ourselves as one people. You differ from the rest of the whites, and they hate you. Surely, then, it is best for us to join in one common interest, drive them out of the country, and hold possession of it to ourselves. We will have a fair division of the estates, and we will make sugar and rum, and bring them to market. As for the sailors, you see they do not oppose us; they care not who is in the possession of the country. Black or white, it is the same to them; so that after we are become masters of it, you need not fear but they will come cap in hand to us, (as they now do to the whites,) to trade with us.' Though backed by the promised revelation of a hidden treasure, the Jew was either 'too honest or too unbelieving' to be induced to set his prisoner at liberty, and the next day reported what had passed to his superior officer."*

Shortly before the outbreak, the Assembly of Jamaica had increased the severity of the slave-code by an act, decreeing the punishment of death to any slave having gunpowder or weapons without a licence, and forbidding, under heavy penalties, their being allowed two successive days as holidays, suffered to dance to their national music, the tom-tom or drum, or to enjoy their accustomed diversions. After the insurrection was put down, yet more stringent and severe restrictions were enforced. No slave was suffered to quit his plantation without a ticket of leave; if found playing at any sort of game, to be scourged through the public streets; and every proprietor who "should suffer his negroes to beat a drum, blow a horn, or make any other noise" on his estate was to be fined £10. Every free negro and mulatto was to wear a blue cross on his right shoulder, on pain of imprisonment; and none allowed to hawk or sell anything except fish and milk: and an act was passed to prevent grants and devises from white persons to negroes, by which, all real estates, though bequeathed to them, were to go to the heir-at-law, and personal estates to be included under the Statute of Distribution. Mulattoes, unless born in wedlock (of which there was scarcely an instance), were incapacitated from purchasing property exceeding in value £2,000 currency; and any devise made them, even by their own parents, above that value, was declared void.†

In 1765, an insurrection broke out in the parish of St. Mary, which was not suppressed without the loss of many valuable lives, and the expenditure of a vast treasure, which the colony could ill afford. In the following year another outbreak occurred, in which nineteen white persons, in the space of one hour, fell by the knives of a few Coromantines. "Conspiracies" says Bridges, "were daily developed; insubordination and alarm reigned universally; the gaols were crowded with dangerous criminals;" and all this in defiance of the "sanguinary punishments" to which this writer states, apologetically, the "harassed planters were provoked."‡

Mr. Long, writing in 1774, gives an account of the Jamaica "Code Noir" of that period, by which it appears that ten distinct offences—including the reception of stolen goods, the possession of fire-arms or offensive weapons; running away into the woods; attempting to escape in any ship or boat, and harbouring a fugitive slave—were punishable with death or dismemberment, such as amputation of the toes, which was the punishment of fugitives. There was no trial by jury; the planters made the laws, pronounced the sentences, and were the executioners thereof. Thus, by an enactment of 1760, any body composed of two justices of the peace, and three freeholders, were empowered to inflict capital punishment on *Obeah* men, pretended conjurors or priests, or any negroes found with arms in their hands.

Protection for life and limb there was in reality none; for though, in 1751, a law was passed "to prevent the bloody, inhuman, and wanton killing of slaves," which provided that any person so offending should be adjudged, on the first offence, to suffer imprisonment for a term not exceeding twelve months: yet it was next to impossible, even had it been desired, to procure evidence of the crime committed, since the testimony of a slave against a white man could not be received, but only against one another. Deliberate murder might therefore be committed with almost complete impunity, for a plea could never be wanting while *any person* was authorized to kill a negro "in the act of stealing, or running away, or found in the night out of his owner's or employer's estate, or on the road and refusing to submit," without becoming "liable to action or damage for the same." And, further, the several parishes were compelled to pay the value of all slaves who should be executed within their respective jurisdictions; so that a proprietor with an unmanageable, diseased, or unsaleable slave, had nothing to do but to accuse him of some one or other out of the long list of capital offences, and receive the blood-money wherewith to purchase a more profitable victim, or to appropriate in any other manner he might think fit.

Long, even while endeavouring to vindicate this sanguinary slave-code, admits that the punishments it decreed were arbitrary and ill-defined; that the slaves were in general quite ignorant of the penalties they incurred, and "might as well be condemned on the laws of Japan or Crin Tartary,"§ and that the law as it then stood, plainly taught the negro—"If a white man murders a white man he ought to die for it, but if a white man murders a black man he ought to be acquitted!" adding—"Is not the negro led to espouse the very same principle and creed, *ex converso?*"‖ "The early West Indian planters," he says, "thought it no greater sin to kill a negro than to knock a monkey on the head." His own statements would lead the reader to doubt whether their descendants had made much progress in humanity, since he vainly urged, even as a matter of policy, that wanton murder, when proved, though committed by a white man upon a black, should be judged worthy of death; wanton maiming or dismemberment, of fine and imprisonment; and if perpetrated by the master upon his slave, the latter to be manumitted. All punishments by mutilation should, he considered, be utterly abolished and prohibited as "scandalously cruel; not warranted by necessity, nor justified by

* Long, vol. ii., p. 460.
† Southey, vol. ii., pp. 334, 339.
‡ Bridges, vol. ii., appendix, p. 500.
§ Long, vol. ii., p. 488. ‖ *Idem.*

utility:" and punishment by whipping should be brought within some limits; and as the degree of correction so the instrument should be regulated, and none permitted which might lacerate or disfigure the body.* Interference in this matter was certainly very necessary; for though the law forbade the infliction of more than a certain number of lashes *at one time for one offence*, the spirit of the injunction was of course susceptible of the most direct violation, even while the words were closely abided by. Among the innumerable hardships under which the negroes laboured was, liability to be seized for bond and simple contract debts, and hurried from one part of the island to another, which, says Long, "renders their servitude more bitter and intolerable; and produces a very great annual loss to the public, by the mortality which it occasions."

The above paragraph, by the strong though indirect proof it affords of the frequency of insolvency, leads naturally to the consideration of the commercial and social condition of Jamaica at this time, before the abolition, even of the slave-carrying trade was mooted—and that condition once understood, affords a clear explanation of the sure destruction in which the landed proprietors were rapidly becoming involved. The testimony of Mr. Long is invaluable, as being incidentally given by a slaveholder and planter, the representative of one of the oldest and most respected families in the island. Though blinded by hereditary prejudice to the inherent curse attendant on slavery, he remonstrated forcibly with his countrymen upon the mad career of dissipation which many of them were pursuing; and in so doing has unwittingly exposed a state of things which, if described by the pen of an abolitionist, would have been deemed gross calumny and misrepresentation.

The mischiefs attending absenteeism, he showed to be incalculable;—large estates, lying in different parts of the island, being often entrusted to the charge of a single agent, who could not possibly reside upon, or even visit them frequently. The superintendence, therefore, devolved upon the overseers, whose chief aim being to raise large and immediate profits, forced the negroes to labour beyond their abilities, heedless of the waste of life thus occasioned; while the absentees, who had judged of the condition of their properties by the increased remittances sent them for a year or two, and were ignorant of the heavy losses sustained in their production, suddenly found both property and income largely abridged, and then having overshot the bounds of economy, too often endeavoured to extricate themselves by hopelessly exhausting their resources, either by overworking their remaining slaves, or purchasing others. "The purchase of new negroes," says Long, "is the most chargeable article attending these estates, and the true source of the distresses under which their owners suffer; for they involve themselves so deeply in debt to make these inconsiderate purchases, and lose so many by disease, *or other means, in the seasoning*, that they become unable to make good their engagements, and are plunged in law-suits and anxiety." The absence of any regular increase of population by natural means, is abundantly accounted for—the relative number of the sexes being disproportionate in the extreme—there being "upon some estates as many as five men to one woman" and by the overworking and flogging of the women, especially on the sugar plantations. The afternoon of Saturday was usually allowed them to labour on their own provision ground; the whole of Sunday was applied in a similar manner, no religious instruction of any kind being extended to them, and thus the weary frames that had laboured during the week, from sunrise to sunset,—stimulated by an incentive more powerful than the lash—renewed their toil with such ardour as to produce more in one day's labour for themselves, than the worth of a fortnight's hire." † Simply in a pecuniary sense, as a means of preserving their strength, it would have been better for their masters to have inculcated the value, and shared with them the privileges of a Christian Sabbath, prohibiting the system of Sunday markets, even at the cost of surrendering a week-day's labour. But at this time the very entrance to a share in religious ordinances, might be said to be barred against them—the baptismal fees payable for each negro being no less than £1 3s. 9d.

In reference to the character and conduct of the clergy of the Established Church, Long remarks: "I shall say but little. There have seldom been wanting, some, who were equally respectable for their learning, piety, and exemplary good behaviour: others have been detestable for their addiction to lewdness, drinking, gambling, and iniquity; having no control but their own sense of the dignity of their functions, and the censures of the Governor." "Some labourers of the Lord's vineyard have at times been sent [by the Bishop of London], who were much better qualified to be retailers of salt fish, or boatswains to privateers, than ministers of the gospel."‡

After referring to the "infatuated attachments" formed by the white colonists to black women, "in which not one in twenty can be persuaded that there is sin or shame," he remarks on the fashionable detestation in which marriage was held, the expense of keeping up the necessary establishment, being pleaded in excuse by men who lavished their fortunes on coloured women of the lowest class, and became the abject dupes of their artifices, thefts, and infidelities. His account (vol. ii. p. 328-9) of the immoral lives led by the most wealthy planters, cannot be transferred to these pages. He alludes also to the notorious and disgraceful circumstance of strangers, on first arriving in the island, being "shocked at seeing a group of white legitimate, and mulatto illegitimate children, (the latter generally slaves) all claimed by the same married father, and all bred up together under the same roof," adding, "habit, however, and the prevailing fashion, reconcile such scenes, and lessen the abhorrence excited by their first impression."—(vol. ii. p. 330.)

The inevitable results of intemperance and immorality did not fail to send numbers, in the pride of manhood, to their graves, so that the proportion of young widows formed a marked feature in society. Governor Lawes, in allusion to this fact used to say, that the female art of growing rich quickly in Jamaica, was comprised in two short words, "marry and bury." As to the overseer class, and indeed the white servants in general, they were largely composed of the very dregs of the three kingdoms, who had commonly more vices, and much fewer good qualities, than the slaves over whom they were set in authority. Their masters, with an inconsistency by no means rare, expected to find in the same person strict honesty and gross immorality; they did not desire, and in most cases would not employ, married men as overseers. To check the shameless and disgrace-

* Long, vol. ii., p. 497. † *Idem*, vol. ii., p. 491.

‡ *The History of Jamaica*, vol. ii. (4to edition), p. 238.

ful policy observed in this respect, Long advised the recognition by the legislature, of the freedom of all mulatto children, thereby making it the interest of the planters to check, instead of foster, illicit intercourse with their slaves. But this suggestion was disregarded, being quite contrary to the tone and feeling prevalent in the Assembly.

Such a state of things as the above paragraphs reveal, seems almost incredible in a British colony, at a period comparatively recent: but something yet remains behind which makes the picture more repulsive—viz., the common practice of producing intoxication of a peculiarly demoralising kind, by means of laudanum; the planters, their wives and concubines, wresting its valuable medicinal uses by taking it for the same purposes for which its crude preparation, opium, is employed by the Chinese.

"I have known," says Long, "a whole company of men in Jamaica, at table, pledge one another in this liquor. The women, in general, are more moderate in the quantity they take at once, but although they sip it drop by drop, it is repeated so frequently that the whole they take in a twelvemonth is pretty near as much as what others drink who recur to it seldom, but in larger doses at a time; and its effects in both cases are equally fatal. Some ladies are never without a bottle of it in their pocket; * * * they pretend it is absolutely requisite for their comfort and happiness," and by this practice are at times "deprived of their reason, and driven into the most incoherent ravings in their conversation, and the wildest extravagancies in their conduct, thus sacrificing sense, beauty, health, fame, and even virtue, to this pernicious habit." * * * To the excessive use of laudanum, Long attributes the drawling faltering speech so frequent among the colonists, and says: "this notorious vice has ruined, and still ruins, the beauty of many a fine woman in this island, both in complexion and constitution, for it so poisons the whole corporeal mass as to render the lips of a deadly pale or livid hue, and the face cadaverous. After frequent repetitions of it, so importunate and strong are its solicitations as to admit of no denial, till in the end it constrains even debauchees to abuse it."* The historian then gives some personal illustrations of the operation of this deleterious drug, which correspond exactly with what I myself witnessed in China, (as stated in my report on the opium trade,) and with the descriptions given in official documents published by the Chinese authorities, respecting its ruinous effects on the moral character and physical structure of man.

In truth, the extensive use, or rather abuse, of opium in Jamaica, explains not only the immorality and crime which pervaded the island, but also, viewed in conjunction with slavery, accounts for the mercantile affairs of the planters having become so hopelessly involved. It is well known in China, that when once a merchant becomes a confirmed opium smoker, his business goes rapidly to ruin, and he becomes bankrupt in fortune, as well as in health of body and soul.

The victim of this devilish vice has his natural sense of right and wrong completely perverted; licentious indulgence absorbs every faculty; the exercise of cruelty becomes a delight; the slightest opposition calls into fearful activity the most violent passions; when strength is wanting, cunning is resorted to as an instrument of malice; intense selfishness prevails; and, until the corporeal strength fails, man is converted, not into a brute, but into a demon.

In 1792 a Consolidated Slave Act was passed, for which the Jamaica Assembly took to themselves great credit, and whose modified provisions would, they probably hoped, check the growing feeling of sympathy for the enslaved Africans, and blind the British public to the numerous and cruel laws which remained unrepealed by the present enactment. Mutilation, or dismemberment, was prohibited, and made punishable by a fine not exceeding £100, and imprisonment for a term not exceeding twelve months; wilful murder was declared a capital offence; "iron collars, with projecting bars or hooks," were no longer to be fixed at the owner's pleasure round the neck of any slave, or his body or limbs to be loaded with chains, irons, or weights of any kind, "other than such as are absolutely necessary for securing the person of such slave." These were certainly mitigations, if carried out; but while no coloured person was allowed to give evidence against any white person, and the testimony of every coloured person was received against his fellow, the chance of the oppressed race being able to obtain a verdict against a planter, from planter judges, was poor indeed, even supposing no suborned or compulsory perjury to be resorted to in the matter. One very important clause in this act was that which enjoined every proprietor to plant in the proportion of at least an acre of land to every ten negroes, with ground provisions, in addition to the appointment of a sufficient quantity of land for every slave, and time to work the same, in order to provide for his own maintenance. This was a most necessary decree; the neglect of the cultivation of food had been already attended with fearful results, for in an island which, in the time of its occupation by a handful of Spaniards, had afforded animal food in the greatest abundance, and which was capable of producing an almost incalculable amount of vegetable supplies, 15,000 negroes are stated to have perished in a period of little more than six years (between the latter end of 1780 and the beginning of 1787), either from famine, or diseases contracted by scanty and unwholesome diet.† The planters attributed the scarcity to the prohibition of foreign supplies by Great Britain, and to the destructive hurricanes by which the island had been visited; but the true cause was the insufficient ground, and yet more insufficient time for labour, apportioned to the slaves. The planters had, from an early period, found it to be their interest to compel the negroes to maintain themselves, which they did with the exception of a small quantity of salt provisions dealt out to them weekly. All that they could raise, beyond what was necessary for their own consumption and that of their families, they were allowed to sell, and hence arose the system of Sunday markets, held by them and the Jews, which so long disgraced Jamaica. The time generally allotted them to provide for their own sustenance, was the afternoon of Saturday (except in crop time, when the labour was continued day and night), three days at Christmas, two at Easter, and two at Whitsuntide; to which the act of 1692 added a day in every fortnight. The slaves of Jews were better off, having the whole of every Saturday as well as Sunday at their disposal. The incitements to labour, even on their own account, were however few, and the discouragements very heavy.

No law guaranteed to slaves the possession of property they must have striven so diligently to earn,

* *History of Jamaica*, vol. ii., pp. 545-'7.

† Southey, vol. ii., p. 15.

the master might at any time seize it, and his slave would have no remedy. The highest and most honourable object, the purchase of his freedom, of that of his wife, or his children, was in most cases quite beyond his reach; he could not demand it on payment of any reasonable sum. Cattle, horses, mules, asses, &c., they were forbidden to acquire, under pain of confiscation. In fact, the condition of the negro depended almost entirely upon the character of his master, or more frequently upon that of the overseer, to whom little less than irresponsible power was delegated.

To check the decrease occasioned by the extortion of excessive labour, wanton mutilation, and the infliction of whipping and other punishments, the justices and vestry of every parish were formed into Councils of Protection, and directed to investigate any case of the kind with which they might become acquainted, and bring the offenders to justice.* This measure does not, however, appear to have produced much, if any, mitigation of the deep-rooted evil it was professedly designed to remedy. Another cruel hardship, which could not but damp the energy of the negro, and lessen the pleasure he might otherwise take in cultivating his small allotment of land, was the uncertainty of its continued possession, for even under the kindest master, the most considerate of overseers, his position was yet fraught with cruel uncertainty. He might have spent years of unremitting anxiety, toiling still, when almost wearied out with labour, for his master, upon his own cherished spot of ground; he might have built himself a house, obtained a wife, and become surrounded by a young family, but he was at any moment liable to be sold by his master's creditors, and made subject, in a course of administration by executors, to the payment of all debts, both of simple contract and specialty. However irreproachable his conduct, he might be seized on by the sheriff's officer, dragged to public auction, purchased by a stranger, separated from his wife and children, and perhaps sent to terminate his miserable existence in the mines of Mexico.

The parliamentary act authorizing such proceedings, passed in the reign of George II., for "the more easy recovery of debts," was repealed in 1797, and the Assembly were directed to adopt measures to remedy so crying a grievance, but they paid not the slightest heed to this intimation. The extent of misery which must have originated from this source alone, may be partially understood from a statement made by the House of Assembly, in 1792.

"In the course of twenty years, 177 estates in Jamaica have been sold for the payment of debts; 55 estates have been thrown up, and 92 are still in the hands of creditors; and it appears from a return made by the Provost-Marshal, that 80,121 executions, amounting to £22,563,786 sterling, have been lodged in his office in the course of twenty years."

Last Maroon War.—It has been already stated that no endeavour whatever was made by the colonists to introduce among the Maroons the rudiments of Christian civilization. It was taken for granted that they were incapable of receiving any such instruction; and the only species of good conduct expected from them, and to which they were incited by the hope of reward, was the capture and betrayal of fugitive slaves; and as they were useful in this respect, and as a body, inoffensive in others, they were suffered to remain unmolested. This state of things was disturbed by the bloody revolution which broke out in Hayti (San Domingo) in 1790; the smouldering flame of rage and despair, having been fanned by the declaration of the National Assembly of France, that all men were free, the negroes and mulattoes flew to arms, and, after a desperate struggle of several years, succeeded in obtaining their liberty, and ultimately acquiring from France (by the payment of a heavy ransom) the recognition of their independence, and undisturbed possession of the island. Such proceedings as these were not likely to be viewed with indifference by an insulated slave-holding community, not ninety miles distant. The idea of a possible coalition between the slaves and Maroons readily suggested itself, and was followed by an endeavour to increase the aversion already existing between them. This was done by an act passed in 1791, which admitted without reserve the testimony of slaves against the free people, who had often, pursuant to legal requisition and encouragement, captured and brought them home, when attempting to escape to the woods. Such a measure was, under the circumstances, nothing less than a direct invitation to revenge.† The Maroons had increased considerably since the pacification of 1739. Though nominally confined within the liberties of their respective towns, they were really allowed to wander through the country; many employed themselves as pedlars, and, in spite of the ill-feeling sedulously fostered between them and the slaves, an intercourse sprung up, which was cemented by the alliance of blood, if not of interest. The legislature considered such connections dangerous, because likely, according to Bridges, "to interfere with the active pursuit of deserters, the occupation most congenial to the temper of the Maroons, and most serviceable to the country;"‡ and therefore proceeded with their usual tyranny and violence, suddenly to confine the people within the precincts of their towns, to remove their captain or superintendent (to whom they were enthusiastically attached) on account of his alleged laxity of discipline, and to place another person in his stead.

At this crisis the Earl of Balcarres arrived as Governor. Impetuous and prejudiced, he appears to have taken for granted that all the coloured population were ready to follow the example of their brethren in San Domingo; he was consequently on the watch for the slightest demonstration from any quarter that could be construed into rebellion, that he might crush it in the bud. This readiness with regard to the Maroons helped to produce the very disasters it was intended to prevent; the imprudent chastisement of two of them for the theft of some pigs, by the hands of a negro slave, created great discontent, and led them to dismiss, but without violence, the new superintendent, to whom they attributed the ignominy with which they were now treated. The earl at once proclaimed martial law, declared them rebels, marched up large bodies of troops, and surrounded Trelawney Town with an armed force of 1,200 men. Their aged leader, named Montague, with thirty-seven of his best marksmen, surrendered unconditionally, declaring that his countrymen only waited to see how they would be treated, to do the same. Lord Balcarres had them bound hand and foot, and cast into prison, but afterwards released two of them, and sent them into the woods, to hasten the submission of the rest. Their report, as might have been expected, produced an opposite

* Edwards, vol. ii., p. 173.

† Southey, vol. iii., p. 49. ‡ Bridges, vol. ii., p. 223.

result; the main body, indignant at the treatment received by their leader, instantly set fire to their scattered abodes, collected all their strength, fled to the woods, and there, for four months, a body alleged to have comprised only 300 fighting men, held their ground against 1,500 European troops, and more than double that number of colonial militia. Well acquainted with every cavern and footpath, they made the most of the natural advantages offered by the impenetrable character of the country, and defended themselves so skilfully as to generally lose but one man where their trained and well-armed assailants were deprived of thirty.*

Lord Balcarres' plan of clearing the woods, enclosing the besieged people by a cordon of troops, and starving them into submission; even if practicable, must have been very slow in its operation. Christmas was approaching; and the brief season of relaxation then universally allotted to the negroes was much dreaded, lest they should be tempted to join the Maroons. It was therefore of great importance to terminate speedily a war which had already cost many valuable lives, including those of Colonels Sandford and Fitch. The latter officer, by the influence of his personal character, had endeavoured to pave the way for peace, which the enemy, without doubt, earnestly desired; but having no authority to make terms, he proposed a temporary truce, and permitted two of them to pass through his lines and visit their imprisoned comrades. These had been placed on board ship for security, which the deputies concluded to be a preparatory step to their transportation, and probably enslavement, in some distant place of punishment, such as they well knew was the doom of rebellious or ill-conducted slaves. They returned to their defile; at once renounced all further friendly intercourse, and prepared for a death-struggle. Artillery was brought; the outposts of the army were advanced; and Colonel Fitch, habitually careless of danger, pressed forward with a few followers, into the deep and pathless forests, with a view of examining the most defensible and advantageous positions. His more wary guides, alarmed by finding in various places the dying embers of Maroon fires, entreated him to return; but, heedless of their warnings, he continued his progress though mountains of great height rose before him, and the prospect at every step became more gloomy and forbidding. At length, when about to enter a narrow track, scarcely to be called a path, a voice near him commanded him to return, for no white man had ever passed that boundary. Fatally daring, Fitch still kept onwards, but had not proceeded many yards when a volley of musketry† was poured upon him from among the surrounding rocks, and he fell mortally wounded.

The governor had returned to the capital before the death of Colonel Fitch. General Walpole succeeded to the command, for which, both from skill, discretion, and humanity, he was well adapted. Fresh troops were ordered up, the horrible resource of shells was used to destroy the lives and habitations of the Maroons; and all these means, added to immense superiority of numbers, proving insufficient, a body of chasseurs and trained bloodhounds were sent for, and actually arrived from Cuba. Happily, in time to prevent this last atrocity of hunting men, women, and children like wild beasts, the wise policy of the general procured their voluntary surrender on the simple terms, "that they should on their knees beg his majesty's pardon; that they should occupy in peace and subjection *whatever land the governor might think proper to allot them*, and that they should deliver up all the slaves who had deserted to their standard."‡ The second condition clearly implied that territory would certainly be allotted them; but the Maroons, naturally distrustful, and, as the event proved, with only too much cause, insisted on receiving the personal pledge of the general, who engaged, by a solemn oath, that if they submitted immediately, they should not be banished the island. He was in fact only too glad to end hostilities so easily, having shortly before assured the governor that "there seems but little chance of any but a Maroon discovering a Maroon." "Dogs (he adds) cannot scent but on a recent step, and I fear the Maroons are now so deep in the woods, that no expedition can be supported against them, without risking a failure of food and water for those animals; with a great probability, even if it could be sustained, of never finding the enemy. The die is cast, and it is now too late, unless they discover themselves; for I am told that the Spaniards say, that they could live in these woods for ever; that they never saw such woods for sustenance anywhere."

The governor hastened to the spot, but the apprehensions of the Maroons, the real difficulty of collecting their scattered body, and the time required to communicate the information to each other, detained them beyond the day appointed for their surrender. Heedless of the remonstrance of General Walpole, that the time allowed was too short, and that he had given assurance to the Maroons, who were delayed by sickness, of a little longer indulgence to come in with their families, Lord Balcarres ordered the dogs into the woods; and although the terrified people came as speedily as possible, he took advantage of their temporary failure to excuse the infringement of the very article which they had so specially insisted upon, and transported all who placed themselves in his hands, on the ground of the non-fulfilment to the very letter, of a condition which can hardly be considered to have formed a part of the treaty, but was rather superadded as a convenient plea for the violation of a solemn pledge. General Walpole indignantly appealed to the Assembly, who refused to hear him; he then addressed both public and private communications to the governor—declared that the Maroons had come in on the faith of the promises given, for that before the last expedition (with the dogs) had been sent against them, they had proceeded more than half-way, with loads on their back of clothes and children." The opinions of the field-officers, he said, had never differed; all agreed that unless the Maroons had been induced to capitulate by the offer of favourable terms, treble the number of troops would not have brought in so many in twelve months more. The general's just arguments were quite unheeded, but the legislature voted him a splendid sword in token of their sense of his services: he refused it, and declared his intention of resigning the command, and quitting the service, stating that he would make public the facts, and leave the world to judge how far he ought or ought not to be impli-

* Bridges, vol. ii., p. 235.

† In Jamaica, as in the Cape of Good Hope and other colonies, neither regard for life and property, restrictive duties, prohibitory laws, penalties, or any other consideration, sufficed to counterbalance the temptation of large profits, and prevent the sale of fire-arms and gunpowder by the small traders to the natives.

‡ Journals of the House of Assembly, vol. ix.

cated in the guilt and infamy of such a proceeding.*

Upwards of £500,000 were spent, long before the conclusion of the war, and after it the sum of £25,000 was devoted to the transportation of the captive Maroons, 600 in number,† to Nova Scotia. To wilfully expatriate a people under such circumstances was an act of flagrant injustice, but to expose negroes whose sufferings from the slightest coldness of temperature were known to be intense,‡ to the rigours of a North American climate, was the very refinement of cruelty.

Probably, the energetic and disinterested conduct of General Walpole alone preserved them from being condemned to that lowest depth of suffering and degradation, the mines of Mexico. He vainly pointed out the *expediency even* of retaining them in Jamaica, indicating how useful the abilities they had evinced might be made, and showing that they really wanted nothing but judicious treatment to become contented and valuable subjects. That he was right was sufficiently proved by their conduct in Nova Scotia. Notwithstanding the trying temperature, they were cheerful and contented. Measures were instantly taken for instructing them in Christianity, teaching the youths and children to read, write, and cipher, and leading them to adopt the more simple usages of civilized life. "I have no doubt," says Governor Wentworth, "but that these will be a useful and happy people. * * * Last Sunday I attended public worship in their chapel, at opening the church. The Maroons were particularly attentive, decent, and most exceedingly delighted. Next Sunday many are to be baptized, and the remainder in due course. They are solicitous for this duty, and appear desirous of instruction, from whence civilization will naturally result." Eventually, through the exertions of Granville Sharp, they were removed to the free African settlement formed at Sierra Leone, where their descendants are now fulfilling Governor Wentworth's prediction, by proving useful and happy citizens.—(See Div. vii., Africa, p. 178.) These active mountaineers must have doubtless been very displeasing to the assembly of Jamaica, whose members could ill brook the sight of coloured men in possession of even personal, much less civil and religious liberty.

The planters probably foresaw that the enlightenment of the mind could scarcely long co-exist with the enslavement of the body; they therefore sedulously discouraged every species of instruction which should raise their victims above the degraded and brutalized state in which they desired to keep them. Devoid of any fixed religious principle themselves, it was of course useless to reason with them respecting the benefit which they would derive from the improved morality of their slaves; nor could they be expected to understand how completely sound Christian teaching counteracts the spirit of strife and sedition, which knowledge without piety rarely fails to rouse in the breasts of either white or coloured men.

In Jamaica and in too many other West Indian Islands, the experiment was fully tried, of whether human beings might not be so completely bowed down by the yoke of slavery, so spirit-broken, as to endure, not in the strength of that Christian fortitude which wins the martyr's crown—but from mere brutish indifference, to labour on through life, with no other incentive than the cart-whip, until the time should come when, physical power ceasing, dust should return to dust. Meanwhile, so utterly was the image of the Creator expected to be blotted out, that none of those vents were allowed through which even the most barbarous savage implores the mercy or deprecates the wrath of the, to him, unknown God.§ Every manly impulse was to be nipped in the bud, and how could this have been more ably attempted than by preventing the formation of marital and parental ties, encouraging animal instincts, and smothering every better feeling by compelling men to witness tamely, and even to inflict cruel and indecent punishments on their own children, and on the mothers of those children? But the impious endeavour failed, numerous and increasingly dangerous insurrections proved that the negroes were men, and not a superior kind of ape,‖ and a conviction of the fact began to dawn upon the unwilling minds of their masters. In vain they quoted the examples of various nations in support of a system as impolitic as it was sinful; they could not or would not see the difference between the cases they cited and their own. Slavery especially, in a very mild form, might exist for ages *under a despotic government* among a semi-civilized race, whether engaged in the peaceful pursuits of husbandry, or living in constant warfare; but its prolongation among a free and uneducated people, whose political and social rights formed the never-wearying theme of public and private discussion, was

* Southey, vol. iii., p. 105.

† The Maroons of Trelawney Town were principally concerned in the outbreak. As Bridges states that the Maroons had increased from 600 (their number in 1739) to 1,200, it would appear that about 600 must have remained in different parts of the island, having never been engaged in the contest; but the records on this head are so imperfect, that it is difficult to understand clearly the state of the case. Reports were circulated, some of which have been recorded by Mr. Dallas in his *History of the Maroon War*, of indignities supposed to have been perpetrated on the dead bodies of British officers and soldiers—but all these were eventually proved to be wholly without foundation.—(Bridges, vol. ii., appendix, p. 479.)

‡ Edwards says that "when the mornings are chill and foggy, as frequently happens even under the zone, the sensations of the negro are distressful beyond the imagination of an inhabitant of frozen regions;" and he mentions that those who do not come with sufficient speed to their work, to which they are summoned before daybreak and not released till after sunset, are punished for their sluggishness by the driver's whip.—(Edwards' *History of the British West Indies*, vol. ii., p. 158.)

§ The excessive severity of decreeing the punishment of death against any one who should assume the character of an Obeah-man, or sorcerer, was excused by the planters on the plea of their frequently administering poison to the subjects of their spells. Wilberforce, in his admirable *Appeal on behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies*, shows that this was not the view taken of the proceedings of the Obeah-men. The colonists, he says, preferred employing "the devilish instrument of persecution" to root out pagan superstition, rather than the mild but efficacious instrument of Christian knowledge (p. 29). But besides this, a leading motive doubtless existed in the jealous distrust with which slaveholders would naturally view the influence acquired by a slave over his followers, even when beneficially used.

‖ Long does not scruple to express his acquiescence in the "common known proverb, that all people on the globe have some good as well as ill qualities, except the Africans," and, remarking upon the narratives of ouran-outangs carrying off negro women to the mountains, he adds, "*ludicrous* as the opinion may seem, I do not think that an ouran-outang husband would be any dishonour to an Hottentot female."—(Vol. ii., pp. 353-364.) The conduct of the European colonizers of the Cape of Good Hope, contrasts strangely with this opinion.

an impossibility. The field negroes were indeed in great measure out of the reach of this powerful influence; treated like beasts of burden,* they might learn to think themselves created for no other purpose; but the domestic slaves, occupied in personal attendance on their master's household, could hardly be expected to listen unmoved to the doctrine of resistance to oppression, which they heard so frequently enunciated and applauded. Under such circumstances it was evident that sooner or later the negroes would become leavened with a desire for freedom, and probably for vengeance, the knowledge of their numerical superiority would quickly follow, and then the issue of a struggle between some 300,000 enraged blacks and 30,000 whites could not long be a matter of doubt. Religious instruction, however contradictory the assertion may at first sight appear, was the only efficacious means of rendering them peaceable and orderly slaves, or qualifying them to receive, without danger to themselves or others, the inestimable boon of freedom. I know it is not the general, and is very far from being the popular view of the subject, but a long and totally unprejudiced course of inquiry, reading, and reflection, has nevertheless impressed upon me the conviction that Jamaica was saved from the fate of St. Domingo mainly through the instrumentality of the persecuted missionaries. It is a painful confession for a member of the Church of England to make, but the testimony of both friends and foes proves that with some exceptions her unworthy representatives confined their efforts, such as they were, to their white congregations, and openly declared that their ministrations were not designed to extend to the negroes.

The "Establishment" was liberally, if not lavishly provided for, but the clergy were completely under the control of those who annually voted their stipends in the House of Assembly, with whom in other respects their interests were closely identified, for most of them were slave-owners, many of them openly kept concubines,† and some, having formerly been overseers of plantations, had renounced the office, but not the feelings of the slave-driver. Under such circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the few who really valued religious teaching, should seek for it through a less corrupted channel, and by this means awaken the degenerate clergy to some sense of the deep responsibility attached to the functions they were so grossly neglecting, and bringing into disrepute. Jamaica is far from being the only arena in which the zeal and self-sacrifice of non-conformists have taught the Church of England a humiliating but salutary lesson.

The first labourers in the wide field of negro conversion in this island, were the United Brethren, or Moravians; three members of that society being sent out, in 1754, mainly at the expense of a few proprietors, who set a good example by themselves attending the ministrations of the missionaries. Their proceedings being confined to a very few estates, attracted little attention, and they might probably have been long suffered to remain unmolested, had not the rebellion of 1760 broken out. They then refused to carry arms, and thus excited the indignation of the freeholders of the parish of St. Elizabeth, who presented a petition against them to the House of Assembly, but without result; the circumstance of no negro connected with them having taken part with the insurrectionists, but, on the contrary, having been remarked for their fidelity, possibly being a strong plea in their favour. A body of Quakers, principally from Barbadoes, who had at an earlier period settled near Kingston, had been driven from Jamaica by the obligation imposed by the militia laws on all males capable of bearing arms. Their doctrines carried them farther than the Moravians, because they not only refused to be personally concerned in war, but also to contribute to its pecuniary charges, to which the latter sect appear to have offered no objection.

Notwithstanding its promising commencement, the mission made little progress in Jamaica for more than half a century; meanwhile the Wesleyan and Baptist Societies entered the lists. So late as 1789, the immense mass of heathenism remained almost wholly unbroken, the Moravian brethren acting chiefly as chaplains on the estates to which they were attached; and although some members of the Baptist denomination had arrived from America at the close of the revolutionary war, their circle of influence was very limited. The visit of Dr. Coke,‡ the representative of the Wesleyan body, marks the commencement of a new epoch. After preaching four times in a private house at Kingston to increasing congregations, a Roman catholic gentleman offered him the use of a more convenient apartment, which had frequently been employed as a public concert room. Gladly availing himself of the opportunity, Dr. Coke addressed an assembly of 400 white people, and about 200 negroes, there being no space for more; choosing for his text, "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." He had scarcely commenced when he was rudely interrupted by a number of white persons, calling themselves gentlemen, who pressed towards him, calling out "Down with him! down with him!" The intrepidity of a lady (Mrs. Smith),§ who, at no light peril to herself, stepped between the preacher

* Dr. Pinckard, who visited Jamaica in 1797, incidentally adverts to the manner in which slaves were there treated, as unlike anything he had seen in the Windward Islands; he observed, in Kingston, "sixteen or eighteen negroes, linked in a sort of harness, and forming a regular team, drawing an immense trunk of mahogany, conducted by a driver with a cart-whip, who went whistling at their side, and flogging them on, precisely as an English carter does his horses."—(*Notes on the West Indies*, 2nd edition, 1816; vol. ii., pp. 371-'2.)

† *Vide* Long's remarks on the state of the clergy, quoted at p. 29; Dr. Coke's *History of the West Indies*, vol. i., p. 416; and the Rev. P. Duncan's *Wesleyan Mission to Jamaica*, p. 8.

‡ On Dr. Coke's second visit to Jamaica, he was treated even more disgracefully than before. "The persecution [he says] which we have experienced in this place, far, very far, exceeds all the persecutions that we have met with in the other islands, unitedly considered. Mr. Hammett's life was frequently endangered. Mr. Bull several times narrowly escaped being stoned to death, particularly one night, when he eluded the vigilance of the rioters by being disguised in a suit of regimentals. We forbear to record specific instances of brutality and wickedness, or to mention the names of those whose sons shall blush their fathers were our foes."—(Coke's *West Indies*, vol. i., p. 421.)

§ Mrs. Smith was born in the United States, but came to Jamaica about the time of the war of independence, and was one of the eight persons (three whites and five free blacks) who formed the first "Methodist Class," as it was termed: shortly before her death, in 1822, at the advanced age of eighty years, she was informed that the Wesleyans then numbered about 8,000, upon which, raising her hands to Heaven, she exclaimed, with streaming eyes, "I was once one of eight, but God has permitted me to see the little one become a thousand."—(Duncan's *Wesleyan Mission to Jamaica*, p. 12.)

and the infidel mob: her bold remonstrances, together with the christian composure of Dr. Coke himself, exercised such an influence over the meeting, that the disturbance ended more quietly than might have been expected; and was even satisfactory as proving that though many were inclined to persecute, or, at best, tacitly discountenance so new an experiment as the evangelization of the negroes; some were disposed to favour and encourage it.* A missionary, the Rev. William Hammett, was sent out in the following year, and a small society was formed, whose members continued to extend their operations without interference, until they found it necessary to quit the inconvenient and obscure house they had hitherto occupied, for a spacious building, which comprised a good chapel, meeting-room, and dwelling-place. The grand jury of Kingston, in 1790, declared their chapel a nuisance, and urged that Methodist teaching was injurious to the peace of the town. The magistrates do not appear to have taken any steps with regard to this presentment, but neither would they interpose to prevent the systematic annoyance offered to the missionaries, or punish the attempts made to injure their persons, and destroy their premises.

Notwithstanding various discouragements the mission prospered, and gradually spread to different parts of the island, by means of the negroes themselves. The contemptuous indifference with which its commencement had been viewed by the local authorities, was exchanged for alarm and aversion, which soon manifested itself most unequivocally. Towards the close of 1802, a small body of Wesleyans, newly formed at Morant Bay, of free coloured persons and slaves; being repeatedly molested in their prayer meetings, applied for a licence for the houses in which they were in the habit of assembling. This was refused by the magistrates, and the houses were indicted at the next quarter sessions, as nuisances. The Assembly determined to apply the axe to the root of the tree, and passed "an Act to prevent preaching by persons not duly qualified by law," under the penalty of being treated as rogues and vagabonds; if of free condition to be sent to the work-house (*i.e.*, the House of Correction), to be kept at hard labour one month for the first offence, and six for the second; or in the event of the offence appearing of "extraordinary heinousness," to suffer such punishment as the judges of the next supreme or assize court should see fit to inflict, not extending to life. If a slave, the offender was to be publicly flogged,—and any person permitting unlicensed prayer meetings in his or her premises, to be fined £100 for each offence, and compelled to furnish whatever securities the judges might think fit.

This disgraceful act was signed by Governor Nugent the following day, and was of course a most formidable weapon in the unscrupulous hands of the planters. "Not only," says Dr. Coke, "the Methodist missionaries, but many pious and useful preachers of different denominations, were involved in its influence. Mr. Reid, the Scotch missionary, and Mr. Swiegle, the Baptist minister, [a man of colour,] together with all the local preachers and exhorters throughout the island, were silenced in an instant." The first person who suffered under this act was a free coloured man, of exemplary character, named John Williams, who had done much good in the capacity of a local preacher. He applied to be qualified according to law, but was refused, and reprimanded, as were others who made a similar request.

On the evening of the day on which his application had been made, about twenty persons having assembled in his house, he joined them in singing a few hymns, and offering up prayer to God, but he did not venture either to teach or preach. He was, nevertheless, taken before five magistrates on the following day, and found guilty of singing and praying, and encouraging others in committing the same offences, which, by some strange species of casuistry, their worships decided to be equivalent to preaching, and he was sentenced to a month's imprisonment and hard labour—but only the former part of the sentence was performed—the authorities probably fearing the notoriety that would result from such an evidence of the first working of this intolerant measure, when known in England. As it was, a month's imprisonment in a close unhealthy room, paved with brick, was no slight punishment. Mr. Campbell, a white missionary, was soon incarcerated in the same place, for having ventured to preach on the authority of the licence he had received in England, and was afterwards obliged to escape to Europe, in consequence of the numerous attempts made to arrest him and subject him to a fresh prosecution, on the plea of his having committed the crime for which he had been already punished, in his own house. The magistrates, therefore, could not only compel him to pay the penalty of £100, but were also authorised, as before shown, to require such sureties for his future good behaviour, as *they should think fit*; and as he was well aware that he could find none, which might not, for very plausible reasons, be rejected, it was clear that he was threatened with nothing less than perpetual imprisonment. The same proceedings were instituted against Mr. Williams, but were happily cut short by George the Third's disallowance of the intolerant enactment under which they were commenced.

The House of Assembly, when informed that His Majesty in Council had refused to sanction the Act passed by them respecting preaching, by persons not duly qualified, and had sent the draft of another bill for that purpose; formed themselves into a committee, and resolved, *nem. con.*, that such an attempt to direct or influence their proceedings on a matter of internal regulation, was an interference to which it was their bounden duty never to submit.

Long before this the Assembly of Jamaica had been in the habit of indulging in intemperate invective against the mother-country, more especially since the abolition of the carrying trade, and the ameliora-

* Among the extraordinary and unlooked-for results which attended this meeting was the effect it exercised upon the minds of many who heard of it only by report. For instance, a free coloured woman residing at Manchioneal Bay, nearly sixty miles from Kingston, learned that Dr. Coke had especially urged the performance of two duties; namely, that people ought to meet together to pray to God, and that instead of living as they were doing, they ought to be regularly married. She set to work forthwith, and assembled a few neighbours, who joined with her in prayer. The solemnization of matrimony was a worse difficulty—negro marriages had never been heard of; the parish church was between twenty and thirty miles distant, and no minister of the Gospel ever visited the district. In this emergency she thought it best to take upon herself the clerical duty, and actually married several couples, who were among the first of their race united by any christian ceremony in the island. Gradually her mind became more enlightened, and she continued learning and teaching for the rest of her life, dying in peace in 1840, having numbered, it was believed, little short of ninety years.—(Duncan, p. 20.)

tion of the condition of their slaves, had been so warmly advocated. When the decree was at length finally issued (1807) for the complete renunciation of the foreign traffic by British subjects in every part of the globe, their anger was unbounded.

By their own accounts they had for the last fifty years been constantly becoming more deeply involved in debt and embarrassment; some of their earlier reports on this head have been already cited. A gleam of prosperity had followed the revolution in St. Domingo, in consequence of the increased price for sugar and coffee, occasioned by the temporarily diminished supply; but this soon passed away, for a Report of the Assembly, issued in 1804, and published by the House of Commons, 25th February, 1805, states that—"Every British merchant holding securities on real estates, is filing bills in Chancery to foreclose, although when he has obtained his decree he hesitates to enforce it, because he must himself become the proprietor of the plantation, of which, from fatal experience, he knows the consequence." The document proceeds to assert, that sheriffs' officers were everywhere selling property "at less than half the original cost;" that "all kind of credit is at an end;" that "confidence has ceased," and that "a faithful detail would have the appearance of a frightful caricature."

In 1807, a West-India Committee of the House of Commons reported that "since the year 1792 there had taken place a progressive deterioration in the situation of the planters." A report of the House of Assembly in the same year declared that within the five or six previous years sixty-five estates had been abandoned, thirty-two sold under decrees of chancery, and that there were 115 more, respecting which suits in chancery were pending, and many other bills preparing. Moreover that "the sugar estates lately brought to sale and now in Chancery in this island and in England, amount to about one-fourth of the whole number in the colony." The committee anticipated "very shortly the bankruptcy of a much larger part of the community, and in the course of a few years that of the whole class of sugar-planters," with few exceptions.

The most sceptical inquirer could scarcely desire stronger evidence of the ruinous tendency of the system so blindly pursued. Several of the best informed British statesmen beheld its working with alarm, and scrupled not to declare their belief that the suppression of slave importation was a measure demanded not only for the sake of justice and humanity, but also necessary to save Jamaica from utter ruin. This view of the case the colonists could not understand, nor could they be induced to believe the abolitionists actuated by any better motive than a sickly sentimentality to be gratified at their expense. For a long time they had repudiated the idea of the forcible suppression of the slave-trade, as an infraction of their rights of internal traffic which England would never venture to attempt, much less to enforce; and so late as 1793, Bryan Edwards had declared, that no man could "hesitate a moment to pronounce, that an attempt to prevent the introduction of slaves into our West Indian colonies, would be like that of chaining the winds, or giving laws to the ocean."* This grandiloquent declaration proved to be nothing better than bombast; it showed, however, how deeply this clever though prejudiced writer was imbued with the principles of his fellow-colonists. The decree of abolition went forth, and its most active promoters were content to wait quietly and watch its effect, hoping that the increased value of the slaves would lead to their improved treatment, and that consequently their numbers, instead of annually diminishing (by the preponderance of deaths over births) might be yearly augmented. But they did not calculate upon the effect of the fierce passions roused into action, in the minds of men already soured by disappointment and debased by the habitual exercise of tyrannical power, nor in the bitter animosity which would be manifested to the negroes.

* Bryan Edwards, vol. ii., p. 137.

The missionaries did not escape unscathed. On the 15th of June, 1805, a bye-law was passed by the common council of Kingston, enacting heavy penalties against any person who should hold a meeting for the purpose of preaching, teaching, praying, or singing, without being authorized by licence to officiate in that particular place; and even, if licensed, as aforesaid, the same penalties were attached to preaching, praying, &c., if performed before six in the morning, or after sunset. This effectually prevented any instruction being afforded to the negroes in the week-days, and almost precluded it even on the Sabbath. Still the planters were not satisfied; they desired nothing less than the expulsion of the missionaries; but the well-known character of the sovereign, his deep-rooted religious feelings, evinced in many acts of his long reign, and impressed upon them by the fate of their recent enactment, forbade the hope of acquiring the royal assent to any measure bearing upon the face of it a tendency to keep back spiritual instruction from the negroes. They therefore embodied the obnoxious measure in a law, or rather code of laws, professedly passed "for the protection, clothing, and for the better order and government of the slaves, and for other purposes," which really contained several clauses calculated to improve their condition, and would, the assembly trusted, by its general tenor, outweigh the disapprobation that might be excited by a provision which forbade "any Methodist missionary or other sectary, to presume to instruct our slaves, or to receive them into their houses, chapels, or conventicles under the penalty of £20." This unqualified intolerance was attempted to be justified upon the plea of an ardent desire for the instruction of the slaves exclusively in the doctrines of the Established Church; but for the performance of this duty by masters and overseers, no rules were laid down, and for its neglect no penalty was attached; and it is to be feared that it was urged with no better view than to blind the home-government to the utter indifference, not to say aversion to every species of religious observance entertained by the major part of the community.

Mr. Renny, writing in 1807, says—

"Surely there never was greater inconsistency than a profession of religion here; in some parishes, which are larger than our shires, there is no church; in others there is no priest, and in most of them there is not a sermon above once in a quarter of a year, and even then the white inhabitants never think of attending. * * * In the town of Port Royal, which though only the ghost of what it was, is still a place of considerable trade and wealth, where the church, from age and neglect, had gradually decayed, a subscription was opened for building a new one, when, strange to tell, there was not one righteous person found in the whole town (at least if one may judge from this part of their conduct), since not one would subscribe a single *bitt* (a Spanish coin value 7½*d.* currency) for this pious purpose. In the town of Kingston (the commercial capital of the island), which contains

between twenty and thirty thousand inhabitants, there is but one church, while the attendance of the people is really at first sight somewhat surprising. When you enter the church on Sunday, you see the curate, clerk, sexton, one or two magistrates, and about a dozen gentlemen, with nearly double that number of ladies. The mulattoes, who are more ignorant, more unhappy, and consequently, perhaps, more devout, attend to the number of about one hundred or one hundred and fifty, and this composes the congregation of the faithful in Kingston."* "Nothing," he adds, "troubles the inhabitants of this island less than the concerns of religion; and, like the philosophers of old, they are neither elated or comforted with its hopes, nor depressed or tormented with its fears. When a people disregard religion, not from a serious belief of its being an imposition, but either from a carelessness of its truth, or the example of others, in a country too where the laws do not require, or do not exact any credit to its doctrines, attention to its precepts, or attendance on its ceremonies, and where they have not only the necessaries, but the luxuries of life in abundance, while a great majority of them are kept in the most abject slavery—there, laziness, pride, cruelty, and the most irregular desires will naturally prevail in the conduct of the inhabitants. These general observations will I am afraid be but too applicable, not only to the Jamaicans but to the inhabitants of all the West India islands. Christianity is so contrary in its spirit, in its doctrines, and its injunctions to their conduct, their prejudices, and their interests, that it is not at all surprising it should be very obnoxious, and though not much spoken against, yet secretly despised and openly neglected." * * * [Writing from personal observation, he states that in the towns many of the stores were open on Sundays; amusement, idleness, and debauchery prevailed among the clerks and negroes; the gentry passed the sabbath in smoking, drinking, playing cards, or dancing. Few of them were married, but almost every householder kept a "housekeeper," without being at all thought guilty of any breach of morality or decorum; and so completely had this arrangement superseded a holier tie, that the "parents of brown ladies never think of seeing them married,"† but would in fact have regarded the position of the wife of a mulatto, much less a negro, as far inferior to that of the "housekeeper" of a white man.]

The act of November, 1807, was eventually disallowed, as its predecessor had been, but it continued in operation until August, 1809, the labours of the missionaries being meanwhile completely stopped. It was quite evident that if the local authorities were permitted to continue making laws; enforcing them until they were disallowed, and then repeating the same subterfuge over and over again, the supreme power of England was an empty name, and could afford no real protection to any injured class of persons, whether white or coloured.

To prevent a repetition of the same conduct, the governors of the West Indian colonies were directed to withhold their assent from any law relative to religion which should be devoid of a suspending clause, to prevent its provisions being carried out until it should have received the royal sanction. The Assembly of Jamaica resented this most necessary precaution with such intemperate violence, that the Duke of Manchester, although a "planter's governor," was compelled to dissolve the house. The corporation of Kingston, availing itself of a clause in its charter,‡ forbade the missionaries to reopen their chapel in that city; at Morant Bay they were for a time more successful, but they were at length compelled to relinquish preaching there also, and the only places which remained open to them were Spanish Town and St. Thomas-in-the-Vale. Notwithstanding the numerous impediments heaped in their path, through divers public and private channels, the sectarians, as they were reproachfully termed, still strove to hold their ground, and towards the close of the year 1815 they succeeded in obtaining, through the influence of some worthy proprietors, leave to reopen the chapels at Kingston and Port Morant on the Sabbath before dark, but not on any week-day, excepting at such times as divine service should be performed at the parish church. Even this was a great boon, notwithstanding the severe restrictions by which it was fettered, and the coloured people attached to the mission received it thankfully. The chapels were opened with much rejoicing; at Kingston, the ceremony was performed by the hands of the venerable lady who some six and twenty years before had interfered to preserve Dr. Coke from the personal violence offered him at the very commencement of his benevolent enterprise. (See p. 34.) Mrs. Smith accompanied the act with a fervent prayer, that the Father of Mercies would never more permit those gates to be closed against his worshippers by oppression or intolerance, and her petition was granted, the chapel having been ever afterwards exempt from magisterial interference.

In 1813, the Baptist Missionary Society in England having been informed of the efforts made by coloured people of their own denomination for the improvement of the slaves, and of the considerable number who, in despite of imperfect teaching and great external discouragements, still adhered to the ministrations of Mr. Lisle's§ zealous though illiterate disciples, determined upon sending them a duly qualified instructor, which was accordingly done in the following year. Mr. Rowe, the gentleman selected for this arduous service, possessed both the piety and discretion necessary to enable him to act as a successful pioneer in a work in which his suc-

* *A History of Jamaica, with Observations*, &c., by Robert Renny, Esq., quarto. London, 1807, p. 326-'7.

† *Idem*, p. 327-'8.

‡ Southey, vol. iii., p. 468.

§ George Lisle and his wife had formerly been slaves to a British officer, who brought them to Jamaica in 1782; and when he died, bequeathed to them their freedom. Lisle first preached on the race-course at Kingston, and pleaded so earnestly, that he succeeded in raising a public subscription, amounting to several hundred pounds, towards the construction of the first dissenting place of worship in the island. His funds proving insufficient, he was imprisoned by the builder, and although urged to take the benefit of the insolvent act, in order to regain his liberty, he refused to do so, and remained incarcerated until he was enabled to pay the whole debt. As may be easily conceived, much contumely was heaped upon the "black parson." One Sabbath morning, during the celebration of the Lord's supper, a gentleman, so called, rode into the chapel, and urging his horse through the midst of the people to the very front of the pulpit, exclaimed, "Come, old Lisle, give my horse the sacrament." Mr. Lisle mildly replied, "No, sir; you are not fit yourself to receive it." On a similar occasion three young men went up to the communion table, and one of them took the consecrated bread, broke it, and gave it to his companion, who, with a horrid oath, swore it was good ship bread, and presented it to the third of the party, who refused to take it. The Rev. F. A. Cox, in recording the above incident, says, "It is not unworthy of remark, that the two former individuals were, in a few days, removed into the presence of that God, with whose institution they had so profanely trifled. One died in a state of raving madness, from brain fever; the other went out of the harbour in a boat, which was upset, and never seen after."—(Cox's *History of the Baptist Mission*, vol. ii., p. 15.)

cessors were destined to suffer and accomplish so much. His own labours were arrested by death in June, 1816; but the legal prosecutions which had impeded the progress of all missionary teaching having been meanwhile suspended, his place was soon filled, and Moravians, Baptists, and Wesleyans were allowed to pursue their course, comparatively unmolested, for several years.

Meanwhile the condition of the slaves was much what it had been before the abolition of the carrying trade. Their increased value, by reason of the cessation of external supplies, had effected little if any amelioration in their condition, and the evident policy of augmenting their number by births, had been counterbalanced by the constantly progressing decay of estates, by which resources being diminished, and hands lessened, the negroes were too generally becoming harder worked and worse fed.

From a dread of the effects which exposure of the practical working of the system might produce on the British public, the only enactment that ensured even partial evidence of natural increase or loss (see p. 25) was set aside at the very time when the question became of paramount importance. In 1815, Mr. Wilberforce and others having reasonable grounds for believing that negroes were surreptitiously brought into the British West Indies, introduced a bill into the House of Commons for the purpose of obtaining in every island the registering of the number, age, and condition of each slave; H.M. ministers consequently forwarded to the Jamaica Assembly a courteously worded but positive intimation, that a law for this purpose must be forthwith passed, leaving its details to be framed according to the feelings of the planters. The law being, after much violent declamation, reluctantly passed, affected, not the slaves only, but also guarded the free coloured inhabitants. The following circumstance may serve to illustrate the strong necessity that existed for such a measure. A free woman, named Ann Higgins, and her three children, had been seized by a man named Rutherford, and kept in a state of slavery, though they were removed two degrees at least from any servile stock. The mother was separated from her infants, transported to Honduras, and there sold as a slave, whence she succeeded in returning to Jamaica, bringing an action against her oppressor, and obtaining a verdict of £350 (currency),* but he nevertheless continued to detain her children in slavery. Nor was it until after nearly six years of obstinate litigation, through which she found friends to uphold her, that she (in 1813) obtained the restoration of her children.† A single case like this was alone sufficient to show the necessity of general and complete registration, unless indeed white men were to be suffered to commit the last outrages upon coloured men, even though confessedly as free as themselves, without the slightest prospect of punishment. The days of such unbroken tyranny were fast passing away; the free coloured race were steadily improving, under missionary influence, and though, as a class, orderly and well-conducted, they were no longer disposed to submit to the hopeless dead-level of inferiority in which they had heretofore been kept. In 1813 their firm, though temperate, remonstrances, presented in the form of a petition signed by 3,000 of their number, induced the House of Assembly to pass a bill, expressly for the extension of their privileges, which rendered them for the first time capable of giving testimony against a white man, either in civil or criminal cases. This was a great point gained, and such the white inhabitants of Kingston evidently considered it, for they first petitioned the Assembly to throw it out, and failing in this, appealed to the privy council of the island to protect them from the measures of their representatives by refusing their assent, but with equal ill-success. The preamble of the bill was almost as ungracious as even the Kingston faction could have desired—it expressly precluded the free people of colour from ever holding civil or military rank, or in any shape interfering with the legislation of the island.

In the following year, the onerous enactments by which free coloured persons were exposed to the alternative of providing one or more white persons for the militia service, in proportion to the number of slaves they possessed, or of paying a very heavy annual fine; and the absolute restraint placed upon devises of land, or bequests of personal property, were repealed. These were certainly concessions; but the spirit in which they were made was very evidently that of compulsion rather than of justice or liberality; they therefore were not likely to be received with any grateful feeling. The same remark applies, still more forcibly, to the slaves who, from the intemperate language of the planters themselves, especially since the Registration Act, were led to attribute every amelioration in their state to the direct interference of England, and with only too much cause, for even the most moderate portion of the abolitionist party—those who, like their great leader, Wilberforce, had hoped to see the social improvement, and eventually the emancipation, of the slaves gradually brought about by almost unfelt transitions—through the workings of just and holy principles in the minds of both master and bondsman, found their hopes disappointed by the perverse and short-sighted conduct of the colonists, and especially of the House of Assembly, and could not but feel that England alone possessed the power of forcibly arresting, in her West Indian colonies, the ruin of the dominant, and the extermination of the servile class.

In 1823, Mr. Buxton moved a resolution in the House of Commons, declaring that "slavery was repugnant to the principles of the British constitution and of the Christian religion, and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British dominions." One chief means which he proposed was the emancipation of all children of slave parents who should be born after a certain stated period. This motion was negatived: but Mr. Canning moved and carried a resolution expressive of the desire entertained by parliament for the adoption of effectual and decided measures, for the improvement of the condition of the slaves, and for their emancipation at the earliest period compatible with their own well-being, and with "a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private persons." To this end, circular letters were addressed by the government to the different colonial authorities, recommending them to adopt various reforms—such as the abolition of the Sunday Markets, and the allowance to the negroes of equivalent time on other days; the admission of the testimony of slaves (*quantum valeat*) in

* The nominal difference between Jamaica currency and sterling was 40 per cent.; but this did not include the premium on bills, which varied. The average real difference was greater, being about £60 per cent. In 1841 the currency was assimilated to that of the United Kingdom.

† Stephens' *Defence of the Registration Bill*, pp. 49, 50.

courts of justice, and the legalization and protection of their marriages. Reform in this last respect, as in so many others, was loudly called for in Jamaica, marriage being still far from general even among the white population, and among the slaves almost wholly unknown, except in four parishes, where the Wesleyan missionaries insisted on the union of those whom they received into their society being consecrated by the sanction of religion. In these parishes the number, in fifteen years, amounted to 3,467; in the whole of the remaining portion of the island there were only 109 marriages between 1808 and 1822.

Notwithstanding the reasonableness of the measures suggested by the British government, the West Indian legislatures, for the most part, viewed them with unqualified disapprobation. When H. M. orders in council were sent to the Jamaica House of Assembly by the governor for its consideration, it was proposed that they should be thrown over the "bar" of the House, and there burned by the hands of the common hangman; it was intimated that the Assembly had 18,000 bayonets at its command, a force which recent events had shown to be "most truly great, most truly powerful, and most truly formidable;"* and that with such means of defence it would never submit to be dictated to by H. M. government. Despite this insulting and absurd language, and very much more of the same description, the British ministers, aware of the deep-rooted prejudices of the planters, and of the unpopularity of the just and necessary reforms they were endeavouring to introduce, made every possible allowance for their unruly conduct, but continued steadily to urge that they should, as the lesser evil, do that for themselves which would otherwise be done for them.

With the view of producing an improvement in the general state of the Established Church, a bishop (Dr. Lipscomb) and some additional clergy were sent out. The records respecting this stormy period of ecclesiastical history in Jamaica are scanty and unsatisfactory, but there seems ground to believe that Dr. Lipscomb effected a very beneficial change in the general character of his clergy, and exerted himself diligently to repair the evils done by the appointment of notoriously unfit men during the nearly twenty years' administration of the Duke of Manchester, whose long rule was in itself a standing reproach to the home government. The difficulties with which the bishop had to contend must have been very heavy. Among the most popular of his subordinates was the Rev. Mr. Bridges, the author of the cleverly and carefully written *Annals of Jamaica*, cited in these pages; a man whose seditious disposition, joined to a ready and unscrupulous pen, wrought an incalculable amount of mischief. "Sectarians" of all denominations, but especially the Wesleyans, (who, in addition to the tacit reproach of leading exemplary lives as heads of families, added that of keeping no slaves, either predial or household,) were honoured with his undisguised aversion; and much public and yet more private persecution was traced to his direct instigation.

On one occasion, in consequence of an inflammatory morning discourse, an attack was made on the evening of the same day (the 25th of December, 1826), by a militia guard, composed exclusively of white persons, who, about midnight, came to the outside of the mission-house, and knowing that Mr. Ratcliffe and his family were within, fired upon it in different directions. Several of the bullets perforated the walls and went through the opposite side; but seven of them were afterwards found in various parts of the house, exclusive of one which stuck fast in a wooden post not far from the defenceless inmates, who, by the providence of God, escaped uninjured. In the island the matter soon dropped, but the news reaching Great Britain, Dr. Lushington brought the whole case before the House of Commons, and some official correspondence passed between the colonial secretary and the Duke of Manchester, who made light of the whole business, and endeavoured to exculpate Mr. Bridges by pleading that the discourse in question had "been repeatedly preached before on the island, and that it was not written by Mr. Bridges, but by the archdeacon of Colchester."† His grace does not explain how the archdeacon came to express himself so bitterly with regard to the proceedings of the Wesleyan missionaries and their coloured congregations, but he states on the authority of the attorney-general, that after strict magisterial investigation no evidence could be found to induce the grand jury to find a bill: this was incorrect, for although the young men concerned in the riot surrendered themselves, the grand jury ignored the bill; and though the missionaries long expected that the attorney-general would prosecute *ex-officio*, he never did, and thus the affair ended.

The chief point urged by Mr. Bridges (or the archdeacon of Colchester) against the Wesleyan missionaries, was their receiving pecuniary oblations from the negroes, who cheerfully offered a liberal share of their hard earnings to aid in the propagation of religion. According to Mr. Bridges, the Wesleyans were convicted, "on their own reluctant testimony, of draining the almost incredible sum of at least £7,000 from the lower orders, the slaves principally." (Vol. ii., p. 496.) As the restrictions on devises of property to mulattoes had been removed, it is probable a large portion of the yearly contributions came from them; in any case it was absurd to urge against the missionaries the self-denying liberality of "the lower orders," as it was well known their salaries were fixed and paid from home, and, unlike the ministers of the establishment, were in no way affected by the contributions of their flocks. Nevertheless the Assembly took up this point very seriously, and in the new law for the admission of the evidence of slaves, enacted in reluctant compliance with the repeated injunctions of the home government, a clause was introduced forbidding, under heavy penalties, any dissenting missionary to receive offerings or contributions from slaves, or to hold prayer-meetings between sunset and sunrise. Notwithstanding the express direction issued to all governors to abstain from assenting to any act containing restrictions on the religious liberty of any class, the Duke of Manchester‡ (who was soon afterwards recalled) gave his immediate assent, and thus its enactors secured at once the rejection of the bill, and an interval of legal persecution for the sectarians. Bitter indeed that persecution was; even before the time specified for the new law to come into operation had arrived, a Wesleyan minister, Mr. Grimsdall, for preaching between the hours of

* Parl. Papers., printed 11th of April, 1832; p. 144.

† Despatch, dated King's House, Jamaica, April, 1827.

‡ One of the most tyrannical acts committed by the duke of Manchester, was the deportation of two free Jamaica-born British subjects, named Lecesne and Lescoffery, under pretence of their being aliens, but in reality because they had given offence by taking part in the endeavours made by the mulattoes for the removal of their

seven and eight o'clock, was confined in a loathsome den, only separated by a wooden partition, which did not reach half-way up to the roof, from a hospital or rather lazaretto, where a number of diseased negroes and others were confined; nor was he allowed so much as a straw pallet to lie upon. Three months after his release he was again apprehended, and charged with having married a couple of slaves without obtaining the consent of their owner, although Earl Bathurst, in an official despatch, had expressly declared no such consent was required. Mr. Grimsdall was bound over to answer this charge at the next quarter-sessions; but before the time arrived his earthly career was ended, his healthy frame having been brought to the grave at the age of thirty-two, mainly by the cruelties to which he had been subjected. (Duncan's *Wesleyan Mission*, p. 206.)

The disallowance of their last attempt at slave legislation was the occasion or pretext for a fresh outbreak in the House of Assembly; and the observations of the new colonial secretary, Mr. Huskisson, respecting the intolerance evinced in it, drew forth a torrent of fierce invective. One member (Mr. Barrett) declared Mr. Huskisson's despatch to be neither "the work of a statesman, nor of an honest man, but that of an enemy to his country." Another (Mr. Stamp) talked freely of the "fraud and villany" of British ministers, and advised the House of Assembly to impeach any minister who should attempt to violate the constitution of the island.

Harangues like this re-echoed through the island, and were diligently circulated by a very discreditable publication called the *Courant;* in public and private society, separation from England, and junction with the United States, was the favourite theme. The morning deliberations of the slave-holding politicians of Jamaica were scarcely exceeded in violence and sedition by their after-dinner harangues. In England the reports of these proceedings were treated with the contempt they deserved, but the effect on the minds of the slaves was very different. They beheld with indignation the insults and injuries to which the missionaries were subjected for endeavouring to instruct and benefit them; they knew that they were sent by English people, and protected by English ministers; and the names of Clarkson, Wilberforce, Buxton, Sturge, Macaulay, and many others, were familiar to their ears, as persons who for their sakes had earned the bitter hatred of their oppressors. They heard repeatedly that the British public desired universal emancipation, and that the planters deprecated it as the greatest possible evil, and the exaggerated and contradictory statements put forth in the public journals, which many of them could now read, kept them in a constant state of excitement, which was repressed mainly by the exertions of the missionaries, who urged them most strenuously to wait with patience, and do nothing to disgrace their Christian calling. Meanwhile they were most cruelly treated by their masters, many of whom flogged them severely for no other crime, real or alleged, than attending prayer-meetings. In 1829, the same slave-law that had been previously sanctioned by the Duke of Manchester, and disallowed by H.M. ministers, was again (with very slight alterations) passed by the Assembly; and, notwithstanding its intolerant clauses regarding religion, obtained the assent of the new governor, the Earl of Belmore. Sir John (now Lord) Keane, while, after the recal of the duke, holding for a brief season the reins of office, had been solicited to consent to this same measure, but had refused and had interfered to protect the dissenting ministers, by warning their implacable foes, the magistrates of St. Ann's, that "they were not to be hunted like a parcel of dogs." Probably the hopes of the colonists in again passing the oft-rejected measure, was the total change in the administration which had recently occurred, and still more the favourable reception it might receive from the new sovereign, William IV., who, from the part he had been induced to take in the abolition question, and also from his having personally visited Jamaica, and received from the people a valuable star of brilliants, would, they probably considered, be induced to comply with their wish. Their expectations were completely disappointed, the act was again disallowed, and the governor was admonished to abide by his instructions for the future.

To add to the exasperation of the Assembly, they were compelled in this year to remove entirely the disabilities of the free coloured people, who, conscious that they would be supported by the mother country, in claiming their rights, had used their power and influence to obtain at length their full privileges as British subjects. The slave law of 1826 was again brought before the House, but rejected by a majority of eight. In the next year, 1831, Lord Goderich, the secretary of state for the colonies, intimated to the governor the necessity of reconsidering and adopting, the reforms suggested in 1823. The often-mooted bill was, in consequence, passed without the favourite sectarian clauses, and duly confirmed by an order of the king in council. But though, by its provisions, the slave obtained a hearing, and the privilege of legal protection in a court of law, yet, in effect, when his crime amounted to a resistance of authority on the part of his master, however cruel and tyrannical the attendant circumstances might have rendered it, these advantages were almost wholly nominal. As to surrendering the right of flogging females, or carrying out the various other ameliorations recommended, these innovations were rejected with unqualified disdain, as was also a bill brought in for the purpose of enabling slaves to demand manumission, on payment of a reasonable price.

The discussion of these measures, both in and out of the House, was attended with extreme excitement. The local papers were filled with the most inflammatory language, and the before-named *Courant*, edited by a man of low origin and immoral character, teemed with violence and sedition. Resistance to the authority of Great Britain, separation from such a saint-loving and slavery-hating nation, and annexation to the United States, were the favourite watchwords of the day. The *Courant* numbered among its contributors the Rev. Mr. Bridges, a writer who certainly could not be excused for flinging about fire-brands, under the plea of not understanding the danger of such a proceeding, since he had himself stated, very few years before, "that a spark of republicanism falling upon a combustible body of nearly three hundred thousand slaves, would produce a conflagration which a present example [San Domingo, or Hayti] had proved could never be extinguished."* Yet any hazard was deemed preferable to the adoption of measures calculated to lead

civil disabilities. They obtained redress and pecuniary compensation from the British government, and by a decree in chancery procured the cessation of the sale of the Rev. Mr. Bridges' *Annals of Jamaica*, on account of the calumnious libels it contained respecting them.

* Bridges, vol. ii., p. 255.

the way to emancipation. Parochial meetings were held to determine upon the best manner of resisting the "unconstitutional interference" of the mother-country; the missionaries were stigmatised as the paid advocates of the anti-slavery party, and the negroes themselves were more cruelly used than ever, and taunted with the increased severity of their treatment, as being the only harvest they would ever reap from the exertions made on their behalf.

These proceedings, but especially the parochial meetings, inspired the negroes with the idea that their masters were not merely conspiring to defeat the ultimate designs of their friends in England, but also to disobey a general order for their emancipation, already issued by the home government.* The missionaries, towards the close of 1831, perceiving with alarm the deep root this opinion had taken in their minds, strove diligently to undeceive them, and to induce them to bear, with hope and patience, their galling servitude; but the intrigues of a very clever negro, named Sharpe, who took advantage of the suspicions aroused among his fellows by the impolitic conduct of the planters, and some peculiar acts of barbarity exercised at a critical moment, defeated their efforts, and the result was an insurrection in the north-western part of the island, which the undecided conduct of the militia, in the first instance, and their ruthless destruction of life, when all resistance was at an end, would have converted into a servile war, but for the judicious and temperate policy adopted by Sir Willoughby Cotton.

Slave Insurrection of 1831-'2.†—The parishes of Hanover, Westmoreland, St. James, and Trelawney, where the slaves were very numerous, constituted the scene of the outbreak which commenced a few days before Christmas, at an estate called Salt Spring, in the neighbourhood of Montego Bay, under the following circumstances:—Mr. Grignon, the "planting attorney," while visiting the property, met a female slave with a piece of sugar-cane which he supposed to have been stolen from the cane-field. After flogging her himself on the spot, he took her back to the estate to have her flogged by the head driver, who, happening to be the woman's husband, positively refused obedience. The second driver was then called upon, but he being a brother or near relation of the alleged culprit, likewise refused, and these examples probably influenced others, for the attorney could not succeed in inducing any one to fulfil his hateful orders. Being aware of the reports current among the negroes in the neighbourhood, that their "free papers" were wrongfully kept back by the planters, he became alarmed at so extraordinary an instance of insubordination, as for men to refuse to strip and flog a defenceless woman; and rode off at once to Montego Bay. Constables were despatched to apprehend the offenders, but were glad to retreat speedily; and before a party of militia could reach Salt Spring, the persons chiefly implicated had made their escape. Tranquillity was temporarily restored, but so great were the apprehensions generally entertained, that at the monthly muster of the Westmoreland militia, held the day before Christmas day, the black companies were disarmed, on some trivial pretence, which ill concealed the true reason, namely, fear, in the event of an outbreak, of their taking part with their enslaved brethren. Eventually their fire-arms were restored, and their services thankfully availed of for the suppression of the insurrection. Christmas day came, and passed without the anticipated disturbances. On the following morning, a new Baptist chapel was opened at Salter's Hill, near Montego Bay. The Rev. Mr. Knibb, during the service, adverted to the report he had heard was current among them, of their "free paper" having been sent out by the king, warned them that they had been cruelly deceived, and reprobated in the strongest terms the resolution which many of them had avowedly taken of not working any more except for wages.

This address occasioned great surprise and dissatisfaction; the excited audience declared that "Parson Knibb had no right to meddle with the free paper; that the white people had bribed Mr. Blyth (a Presbyterian missionary) to tell lies; and that Mr. Blyth had given Mr. Knibb half the money to keep the free paper from them."

After earnestly entreating the negroes to return submissively to their work at the expiration of their brief season of rest,‡ the clergy, of whom several had assembled to witness the consecration of the chapel, left the place. The effect of their arguments was probably instrumental in deterring many from taking part in the conspiracy then organizing, the existence of which the missionaries did not suspect, but believed that they had a feeling of general discontent and disaffection to deal with, rather than a deeply-laid plot, as it afterwards proved to be, originated by one firm and clear-headed man. Samuel Sharpe, the individual before referred to, had long been connected with the Baptist communion, and was much respected both by his own pastor (Mr. Burchell), and by the family to whom he belonged. The absence of Mr. Burchell in England removed a powerful restraint, and allowed the discussions of the period to have their full influence upon the mind of the slave, who suspected that the colonists, in their endeavours to rivet the chains of their victims, would, as the pages of the *Courant* daily advised, not scruple to proceed to the last extremities. He was not, of course, sufficiently well versed in the condition of foreign powers to understand the utter folly of the grandiloquent language held by the planters, but he could not mistake its seditious tendency, or misunderstand the open threats of a West Indian confederacy and union with the United States—which measures he well knew could have but the one end and aim of defeating the humane intentions of Great Britain. Resolving therefore to make, while time permitted, a desperate struggle for liberty, he spent

* The hope of emancipation by the power of England, had long been cherished by the negroes, and the celebrated M. G. Lewis, M.P., author of *The Monk*, &c., while visiting his estates, in 1817, was reported to be the bearer of the welcome gift. Mr. Lewis says, "'Good King George and good Mr. Wilberforce' are stated to have 'given me a paper' to set the negroes free [i.e. an order], but that the white people of Jamaica will not suffer me to show the paper, and I am now going home to say so."—(*Journal of a West India Proprietor*, p. 232.)

† For the account of this important feature in the history of Jamaica, I am largely indebted to a manuscript account written by the Rev. Henry Bleby, a Wesleyan missionary, who was located at Lucea and Montego Bay during the insurrection, was an eye-witness of the scenes he has graphically described, and by the request of the Major-general of the district, examined several of the rebel leaders after their capture.

‡ Three days' holidays were given them by law at Christmas. This time, Sunday intervened, and some of the planters refused to allow more than two days, counting Sunday as the third, a proceeding which excited much dissatisfaction.

months in gradually imbuing the minds of his fellow-slaves with the idea that their "free papers" had already been sent out and were withheld by their masters; that their friends in England who had done so much for them, now expected them to do something for themselves; that the soldiers had received secret orders not to make war upon them; and, in short, that emancipation would be theirs if they would only be true to the cause, and with one consent stop work after Christmas, and refuse to recommence except for wages. In support of his assertions, he read to them passages from the local papers,* and bade them listen to the language uttered by their masters in their own hearing. Being gifted with much natural eloquence, and an excellent memory stored with Scripture, Sharpe roused the enthusiastic minds of his countrymen to a state of extreme excitement, and persuaded them to take on the Bible an oath of secrecy and fidelity. His scheme hinged on the power of passive resistance: doubtless, he said, many would be cruelly tortured, and even killed, but everybody must die some day, and at the worst, the planters could not destroy them all; besides which, the king of England would not suffer it. The opportunities offered by the Baptist prayer-meetings were used by Sharpe for the purpose of spreading his doctrines, and thus it happened that so many members of this denomination were concerned in the outbreak. Had his plan been strictly followed—no property destroyed, no life assailed, and readiness to work for reasonable wages been very generally manifested, the result might have been different, but the appeal of the missionaries had induced many even of his immediate followers to resolve to stand by their masters; and the Wesleyans, without exception, remained in the ranks of order and submission. Notwithstanding his intimate acquaintance with Holy Writ, and his evidently careful study of life and character, the conspirator had forgotten the emphatic warning, that the beginning of strife was like the letting out of water, and that negroes in the first moments of freedom, snatched by force, would be far beyond human control. And so it proved. On the evening of the 27th December, a few ungovernable spirits, excited, in the first instance, by th- curtailment of their holidays, and infuriated with liquor, set fire to an estate named Kensington, belonging to a Mr. Morris; the example once given was speedily and extensively followed, and incendiary fires burst forth on property after property, until one of the fairest portions of the island became the scene of wide-spread desolation. It is impossible to describe the consternation that prevailed when the fires commenced; the horizon for miles shone with the red glare of the burning estates. None could tell the extent of the danger; and the strongest hearts turned sick at the thought of the horrors enacted so lately in San Domingo. The feelings of many an overseer at that awful hour must have been maddening, as pictures rose before him of bleeding figures, covered with deep welts and gashes; of beings in whom the dignity of manhood, the tenderness of womanhood, and the endearing weakness of childhood, had been long crushed under the iron heel of oppression, now rising in the might of the savage ferocity, so repeatedly but so falsely attributed to them. Even at this hour, incited by revenge and by unchecked success, they displayed no bloodthirstiness that would bear comparison with the spirit displayed, by the conquering soldiers of any European power, in civilized warfare. Many disgusting atrocities were, it is true, attributed to them by the late Peter Borthwick, and other hired advocates of the West India interest, but these, almost without exception, were proved to be unfounded: it would be well if the conduct of the white militia could bear the same investigation.

To return to the narrative. The terrified inhabitants of Montego Bay crowded their wives and children on board the few ships, then in the harbour. The militia of the various parishes, who were "keeping guard" as usual during the Christmas holidays, now augmented with the addition of all capable of bearing arms, were assembled in the towns, or distributed on the estates skirting the shore, with the exception of the Western Interior regiment (under the command of Colonel Grignon, the planting attorney† already referred to), which occupied a central position at Belvidere estate, and the barracks of Shettlewood, near the borders of the three parishes, St. James, Hanover, and Westmoreland. On December 28th, Colonel Grignon, with about 150 men, thought proper to quit these stations, and take up a position at Old Montpelier, the property of Lord Seaford, where he was strengthened in the evening by the arrival of the 7th company of the St. James' regiment from Montego Bay. The insurgents, encouraged by Colonel Grignon's retreat, burnt the deserted barracks, and proceeded to attack Montpelier. They advanced in two parties, making a loud and discordant noise with shells, horns, &c. The 7th St. James' (coloured men) boldly withstood them, but, owing to the darkness of the night, could not for some time see where to direct their fire, except by the flashes of the insurgents' pieces, as they fired over the walls at the militia, from among the cane pieces. At length, a negro succeeded in setting fire to one of the "trash houses," (i.e. where the refuse of the cane is kept for fuel); the light, thus produced, enabled the militia to aim correctly, and a few volleys sufficed to put the undisciplined assailants to flight, one leader, calling himself Colonel Johnson, being killed; the other, Colonel Campbell, mortally wounded. All this time Colonel Grignon, being apparently little disposed to face his former victims, remained inactive, with his entire force, the men being drawn up in a hollow square. Immediately after the enemy had been driven off, the coloured company proposed that the united force should proceed further into the country, and attack the fugitives in their strongholds, but this proposition was negatived, and the colonel,‡ on the following morning, headed a hasty march to Montego Bay, without stopping even to carry away the body of one of his own people, who had been killed overnight. Nothing could have been more ill-advised than this second retreat;

* For instance, such quotations as the following:—"It must be alarming when *whispered* that our brethren the BRITISH SOLDIERS, who have been ostensibly stationed for our protection, who are liberally paid by us, the expense of whom forms the chief drain upon our exchequer, *have received secret orders to remain neuter, or to act against us, in the event of disturbance!*"—(Umbratus' letter, *Courant*, August 16th, 1831.)

†The term "planting attorney" was applied to the person who, by power of attorney, represented the proprietor.

‡ The conduct of this officer formed the subject of investigation by a Court of Inquiry, and the result of its proceedings being laid before the governor, his excellency directed a court-martial to be convened, but from some informality in the trial (probably not undesigned), it was suddenly brought to a close without result.

had the 200 or 300 insurgents, for there were no more then in the field, been pursued at once, thousands of well-disposed slaves would have flocked round his standard, and the whole affair would probably have been speedily ended. Two of the ringleaders, who afterwards acquired considerable notoriety under the names of Colonel Gardiner and Captain Dove, declared that they had determined to abandon the enterprise after the repulse at Montpelier, but were inspired with fresh hope on finding the "buckras" (white men) had run away.

The negroes soon learned the desertion of Montpelier; they immediately proceeded thither, burnt the buildings, took the corpse of the white man out of the coffin that had been made for it, threw it into the flames, and substituted that of their own comrade Johnson, whom they buried with the usual ceremonies.

By the desertion of Colonel Grignon's body, nearly the whole county of Cornwall, with the exception of a few isolated spots round the sea-coast, was left in the hands of the blacks, the militia being generally all stationed in, or round about the principal towns of the parishes to which they belonged, so that for about eight days, the roads were in the possession of the rebels, and hardly a white face was to be seen from Montego Bay to Savanna la Mar, and from Black River to Lucea. Thus the insurgents met with no obstacle, but went about from place to place destroying everything in the shape of a building, sparing only their own huts, and *all* places of worship, overpowering the well-disposed slaves, who in many cases attempted to prevent the destruction of their masters' properties, and compelling them, under pain of death, to join their ranks.

As soon as tidings of the insurrection arrived at the seat of government (Spanish Town), martial law was proclaimed throughout the island. General Sir Willoughby Cotton, the commander-in-chief, arrived at Montego Bay, January 1st, 1832, with a detachment of the 84th regiment, and on the following day the *Blanche* frigate arrived from the south side of the island, having on board 200 men of the 77th, and two companies of the 84th regiments. Sir Willoughby spent several days in making himself acquainted with the actual state of the case, and then rightly judging that kindness and leniency, would be more effectual in reclaiming the insurgents and inducing them to return to the estates, than the adoption of violence and excessive severity, he offered, in the king's name, a free pardon to all, who within a limited period, would return to their masters, except the principal leaders and incendiaries. This proclamation had the effect of undeceiving many of the negroes, who had been previously fully persuaded that H.M. troops had come down expressly to take part with them; and it would have been almost alone sufficient to quell the disturbance, but for the bad faith of the majority of the militia officers, whose ungovernable passions had been roused to fury by the destruction committed by the insurgents, and were probably additionally exasperated by the panic to which they had blindly yielded.

* By an order of Sir Willoughby Cotton, this person was afterwards tried by court-martial. He did not attempt to deny the act of which he was accused, but in defence, declared that he had acted for the best, and could not tell why, among several similar acts of his, this one should have been brought forward. His planter-judges, in the teeth of the clearest evidence, and even of his own admission, declared the charge not proved.

† Parl. Papers (Commons), August, 1832; p. 260.

Many, who returned to the estates to which they respectively belonged, in reliance upon the promise held out to them, were put to death nevertheless, and thus the proclamation came to be regarded simply as a snare, and numbers held out who would otherwise have gladly surrendered. In one instance, a subaltern officer of militia actually went on an estate about an hour after the general had left it, and without any pretence of trial, shot dead a man whom sir Willoughby had himself expressly pardoned.* Cases such as these induced the negroes to continue the struggle, but it was a hopeless one, for by the able plans of their commander, both the regular troops and militia were effectively employed, and soon reduced to subjection the undisciplined, and, for the most part, unarmed mob. The attack on Montpelier was the only approach to a battle that occurred during the whole insurrection, which sir Willoughby completely crushed in a few days; but several subsequent weeks were spent by the militia in hunting and taking vengeance upon the wretched fugitives. They marched from estate to estate, shooting every negro who attempted to escape; and such was the terror excited by their approach, that the very sight of one of them would be the signal for a general flight, while the Maroons were employed in their old service of murder and mutilation, the usual premium being offered for every pair of human ears, however acquired, without any proof being required of the guilt of their victims.

Some few of the militia officers conducted themselves with creditable humanity, but by so doing became extremely unpopular with their fellows. One of them (Mr. Beaumont) in replying from his place in the Assembly, to a taunt respecting the non-efficiency of the corps which he had commanded, declared that by its exertions 1,500 deluded slaves had been brought in, without one life being sacrificed; and held up in strong contrast to the deeds of other bodies, that his soldiers had "killed no old men, no old women, and no children."

At a very early period, many persons, suspected of being concerned in the disturbances, were apprehended, tried by court-martial, and executed immediately. The mode of destruction was soon changed from shooting to hanging. At Montego Bay, and the other principal towns, the amount of life thus sacrificed must have been terrific; nor must it be forgotten, that for each slave put to death the master was liberally remunerated by the parish; but for this arrangement the planters might not have been disposed to witness, without remonstrance, the waste of so much property. At Montego Bay alone, above a hundred executions took place; a court-martial sat there daily for some considerable time, and it often happened that men were tried, sentenced, and hanged, all in one hour and a-half.† No return was ever made of the number thus destroyed; the Assembly absolutely refused to answer the questions put to it on this subject by H. M. ministers:‡ but some idea of the extent may be formed by the fact, that one of the local papers gravely announced, after six weeks incessant slaughter, that "the exe-

‡ The late Sir Fowell Buxton moved in the House of Commons for a return of the number of lives lost on either side, the sentences passed by the respective courts, and the punishments actually inflicted, with various other information which it was highly desirable to obtain. Returns to this effect were demanded through the governor, Lord Mulgrave, but obstinately resisted by the planters, who might well shrink from offering an exposition of their sanguinary excesses.

cutions during the week have been considerably diminished, being in number only fourteen," and this related exclusively to the town of Montego Bay. The effect of such continnous carnage on the public mind, was to render it utterly callous to the very sights which were intended, it is to be hoped, to serve as a warning. "I have seen," says Mr. Bleby, "three men led out, tied up to the gallows, and launched into eternity, in the public market-place; and the people around buying and selling, and scarcely turning round their heads to look at the awful scene that was passing in their presence, so entirely had they become familiarized with the slaughter of their fellow-men. The gallows erected in the public square, in the centre of the town, was rarely without occupants. Generally four, seldom less than three, were hung at once." The bodies remained stiffening in the breeze, till the court-martial sent other victims to the hands of the executioner, a savage brutal fellow, who would then ascend the ladder which rested against the fatal beam, and with his knife cut the ropes, and let the corpses fall heavily to the ground. The poor creatures, newly arrived, were then suspended in the vacant places, and in turn, removed to make room for others; the accumulating heap remaining at the gallows-foot, until the workhouse negroes came in the evening, carted it away as if it had been so much dung, and flung it into a pit dug for the purpose, a little way out of the town. In receiving any sepulture at all, these unfortunates were, however, better treated than their comrades who had fallen in the open field, for they were left to rot where they fell; and years afterwards, the bones of scores of human beings, whose flesh had been devoured by carrion, remained to taint the heated air, and bear loathsome testimony to the barbarities of war.—(Parl. Papers, August, 1832; p. 261.)

It need hardly be stated, that no very conclusive evidence was required to secure the conviction of the accused. Mr. Bleby gives the following account of one of the many trials at which he was present:—

"A man named George Spence was charged with rebellion and rebellious conspiracy. All that was proved against him was, that he was present in a crowd of persons when the buildings of an estate were burning. Much of the evidence was elicited from himself, in answer to inquiries put by the president of the court; but nothing came out to show that he had borne arms or taken any part with the insurgents. Leading questions were proposed, the design of which was to criminate Mr. Burchell, the Baptist missionary, then on his way from England. 'Burchell told you you were to be free at Christmas, didn't he?' 'Didn't Burchell say that you must fight for freedom?' In answer to these and similar questions, the poor man said he didn't know Mr. Burchell; he was not a Baptist, but belonged to Mr. Watson's church. The manifest impropriety of such proceedings induced an officer present, though not a member of the court, to interfere and protest against them. However, he was silenced, the court cleared, and the prisoner led out to be shot. That the formality of passing sentence had been omitted, I am not prepared to say, but I heard the man inquire as he came out, 'What are you going to do with me?' The marshal replied, with a bitter sneer, 'O you never mind; you will see presently what will be done with you.' He was marched direct to the market-place, and tied between the posts of the gallows. Observing the soldiers load their muskets, he seemed to apprehend the truth, and in great alarm repeated his former inquiry. No reply was made, but the officer, commanding the detachment, took the jacket the man had worn, and threw it over his head, tying the sleeves loosely round the neck, and stepping aside, gave the fatal order, 'Make ready—present—fire!' The report echoed amongst the cliffs for a second or two, and the poor fellow dropped a bloody corpse. Several negroes had gathered round, and were looking on the body, when a white man addressed them; 'Come here,' he said, 'and put your finger in this hole,' pointing to the spot where a bullet had entered the skull; 'you want free, do you? this is the way we'll give you free, every devil of you.'"

The above is a specimen of a formal trial; but many were put to death by the decree of what was called a drum-head court-martial, and some without any pretence of official investigation whatever. In all cases it was the veriest mockery of justice, to allow men, many of whom had been recently reduced to the verge of ruin, to sit in judgment upon those, by whom they had been thus injured; under such circumstances, it was not to be supposed that they would be capable of impartially weighing the merits of the cases brought before them.

A planter would come from his estate, driven thence by the insurgents, gnashing his teeth, and literally foaming with rage against the negroes; and a few hours after, that same person might be seen presiding at a court-martial, and sending those by whom he had been, or by whom he believed himself to have been aggrieved, to die by the bullet or the halter.

Where life was spared, other severe punishments were inflicted. The floggings extended in some instances to 500 lashes, and occasionally terminated fatally, which is not to be wondered at, since the cat having nine thongs, the number of lashes amounted in effect to 4,500. From twenty to thirty persons would be successively tied up to the gallows-foot, and after receiving a certain number of lashes, were cast aside to lie bleeding and fainting about the streets, until they were sufficiently recovered to crawl to a place of shelter.—(Parl. Papers, Aug., 1832; p. 259.)

On the 8th of February, the governor, Lord Belmore, repealed martial-law, and offered pardon to all the negroes who still held out, having neither surrendered nor been captured, on condition of their giving themselves up within 10 days, with the exception only of the principal ringleaders. Great popular outcry was raised at these measures; and in fact, though intended to stop the slaughter which had been so long suffered to continue, they only partially checked it. Courts-martial were superseded by slave-courts; and although these included trial by jury, yet the alleged criminals were little benefited by the change, since both judges and jurors were generally planters. The prisons were still crowded with captives charged with having taken part in the insurrection, and as if enough blood had not been shed already, a general gaol delivery took place, after the most approved Jamaica fashion, and nearly the whole were sent to the different estates to which they belonged, to be executed there, as a means of striking terror into the breasts of their comrades. "One day," says Mr. Bleby, "I saw nineteen negroes led out at once to be hanged; these were followed by fourteen the day after, and the day after that by twenty-two;" and this system was being carried out in more than one parish at a time. The attention of the governor being at length called to these proceedings, he directed that no more executions should take place without his sanction; but Gardiner, or Colonel Gardiner, as he was termed, a noted leader of the insurgents, was hanged upon the estate to which he belonged, in defiance of this prohibition.

The number of lives lost during the insurrection cannot now be exactly ascertained, the Assembly having, as before stated, refused to make any return on the subject. Of the white population probably not twelve persons perished; of the negroes there is reason to believe at least 1,500 must have been sacrificed. The destruction of property was unquestionably very large, although the committee of the House of Assembly much exaggerated the facts, in stating it at £1,111,628 8*s.* 9*d.* currency, equal to £666,977 1*s.* 3*d.* sterling. This included the loss occasioned by the destruction of buildings, grass, and cane-fields, robbery and plunder of every description, damage done to the existing and succeeding crops, loss of the labour of slaves, and the marketable value of the vast amount of life wantonly destroyed during and after the disturbances. To this was to be added the sum of £165,000, being the military expense incurred during the period of martial law, and another sum, not specified, incurred afterwards for the pay and rations of a portion of the Maroons, as well as detachments of militia employed in hunting fugitive slaves. Upwards of 160 properties, of various kinds, were desolated by the hands of the incendiaries, leaving thousands of people homeless; and the militia following the example of the negroes, without any politic reason to plead in excuse, utterly destroyed the huts upon many properties, under the pretence of retaliation; but the loss ultimately fell upon the proprietors, at whose expense they were necessarily rebuilt, before the disaffected could be brought to their usual employments. The mischief done in this respect would have been much greater, but for the interposition of Sir W. Cotton, who was much blamed for this, as for other judicious measures.

The leaders of the insurrection were all captured at an early period. Sharpe, as before stated, acknowledged himself to have been the originator of the conspiracy. He admitted that as an individual he had had no cause to complain of the treatment he had received. His master, Samuel Sharpe, Esq., and the family, had always been very kind to him; but he thought white people had no more right to keep black people in slavery, than black people could have to make white people slaves; and, for his part, he would rather die than live in slavery. He expressed sorrow that he should have been the cause of so great destruction of life and property, but declared that it had formed no part of his plan of passive resistance. Mr. Bleby (who, with two other ministers, was requested to procure from him evidence respecting the origin of the rebellion) endeavoured to convince him that he had sinned in violently asserting his claim to freedom, and at length drew from him the admission, "I have done wrong in that, but I cast myself upon the atonement." After this, the missionaries were prohibited by the magistrates from visiting the prisoners. Some weeks elapsed before Sharpe's execution, on the 23rd of May, 1832. Long confinement in a close and noisome dungeon had not impaired his courage;* he walked to the scaffold with a calm, firm bearing, and, unappalled by the near approach of an ignominious death, or by the number of spectators, who, in consequence of the notoriety he had acquired, had assembled to witness it; he addressed them with a clear, unfaltering voice, acknowledged that he had violently transgressed the laws of his country, vindicated the missionaries from any share whatever in the insurrection, and exhorted all his hearers to practise the christian duties enjoined by their ministers. He declared emphatically, "I depend for salvation upon the Redeemer who shed his blood upon Calvary for sinners." In a few moments the executioner had done his work, and a man, endowed with capacities far above mediocrity, and whose ardent thirst for liberty for himself and his fellows, had alone led him into the grievous but too common error of seeking right ends by wrong means, had been cut off from the earth, as if too vile to live.

Of the other conspirators, none equalled him in ability; but their behaviour, and, indeed, the whole conduct of the insurgents, from first to last, proved beyond dispute that their object in the struggle was not blood, plunder, or revenge in any shape, but solely freedom, and this they firmly believed to have been conceded by the Imperial Parliament, and wrongfully withheld by the colonists. No single instance of violence was committed by them until after the executions by martial law had commenced. Then they perpetrated the literally few barbarities of which they were really guilty. On the 5th of April, 1832, Mr. Jones, a member of the "Rebellion Committee," stated in the House of Assembly, that "Mrs. Holmes and Mrs. Pearce were the only persons whose husbands were murdered during the rebellion." Mr. Pearce, who belonged to the Hanover regiment of militia, having imprudently ventured into the interior alone, and in his military dress, fell into the hands of a small party of negroes, who slew him with their cutlasses, and left his mangled body lying in the road, where it was soon afterwards found by a body of militia. The principals in this horrid transaction were afterwards captured and executed at Montego Bay, with the bloody clothes of their victims tied about their necks, and the head of their leader was cut off and carried to Welcome Estate, to which he had belonged, to be set on a pole as an object of terror to others. The most cruel act perpetrated by the insurgents was the murder of Mr. Holmes, in the presence of his wife. Two other white men were reported to have been killed by small bodies of negroes, into whose hands they fell. In reference to violence offered to females, concerning which so many vague charges were made, only one solitary case was ever authenticated.

Fifty thousand negroes were probably more or less concerned in the insurrection, and out of these perhaps twenty were accessory to acts of personal violence. When it is considered how many defenceless families† of men, women, and children, were completely in their power, and that it is the very nature of war to give a free rein to every evil passion, that moreover a large part of these negroes were totally devoid of any religious instruction, that they had groaned and writhed under the lash, and been for years subjected to the most degrading and grinding oppression,—the wonder is, and ever must be, not the excesses of the few, but the moderation of the many.

The cold-blooded murders committed by the militia were known to be numerous, and the assembly when called together at the close of the "Reign of Terror," hastened to pass a bill of indemnity, to prevent inquiry into the doings of a period in which

* The negroes who were executed, almost without exception, manifested remarkable firmness; many declared that if they had twenty lives they would sacrifice them all, sooner than remain in slavery.—(Parl. Papers, Commons, 1832.)

† The planters and overseers were scarcely in any in-

all law, and even Christianity itself, was considered to be abrogated.*

The opportunity afforded by the insurrection was availed of for the persecution of many slaves, whose religious character and habits had rendered them objects of ill will. One of them, Henry Williams, whose name had previously been brought before the notice of the British public in connexion with the unjust treatment he had received at the instigation of the Rev. Mr. Bridges, the rector of St. Ann's, had long been a marked man with the anti-sectarian, or rather anti-religion party.

Although there had been no disturbance, and no evidence of insubordination in the parish of St. Ann's, Henry Williams was taken from the estate which he was superintending during the absence of the white people on militia duty, and questioned concerning what the missionaries had preached about, &c. His answers were deemed unsatisfactory and impertinent, and he was sentenced to receive some hundred lashes. Part of the punishment only was inflicted, because a medical man declared that if it were continued, he would die under it. Another case was that of a negro at Falmouth, named Lamont, who was also flogged, not for any share, real or alleged, in the insurrection, but simply for being a Methodist. Three hundred strokes, i.e. 2,700 lashes, were inflicted upon him, and he was sent to the workhouse for life; where, separated from his wife and children, degraded and oppressed, he soon sunk under the effects of the torture of body and mind to which he had been so causelessly subjected.

James Malcolm, a class-leader among the Methodists, had rendered himself extremely obnoxious to the overseer of the property to which he belonged, by having more than once stood in the way of his guilty pleasures, by persuading female slaves to marry and live consistently with their Christian profession, for whom the overseer had other and very different views. Such offences were too great to be forgiven, and although the unfortunate slave was actually employed during the rebellion, as a pioneer to the militia, and on the restoration of tranquillity sent back to his master's estate, yet through the malice of the overseer he was forwarded to take his trial as a rebel, and would have been hung but for the strenuous exertions of the missionaries, Messrs. Murray and Bleby, who, by causing the intended victim to be subpœnaed on an approaching trial, procured his removal by writ of habeas corpus to Montego Bay, trusting that during the delay thus occasioned something might transpire to save his life. The governor's prohibition of further executions, without his own warrant, had the desired effect. The man was removed to his own parish, tried by a slave-court, and condemned to death; but the sentence, notwithstanding the opposition of the overseer, was commuted to imprisonment and hard labour for life. The prisoner's gentle and inoffensive conduct during his confinement, pleaded for him: he obtained a pardon from the benevolent Earl of Mulgrave, and was restored to his wife and family. But the irons with which he had been loaded, lamed him for life, and the horrible ordeal of a Jamaica workhouse had broken down his frame, as it had done many an one before, and did many an one after; so that he lingered only a few months, spent in communion with the church of which he had been a consistent member, and then his spirit passed away, rejoicing in the dawn of the freedom which his children and his countrymen were soon to inherit.

As an instance of the minor oppressions daily committed by overseers in compliance with the dictates of that fiendish spirit of tyrannous cruelty which, in all ages, and among all races, is found, like every other fearful propensity, to grow the faster the more it is indulged, I cite the following passage, from the Journal of the Rev. Mr. Bleby, not as by any means exhibiting an extraordinarily heinous case, but simply as an illustration of the every-day workings of the slave system, in its ameliorated form, as it prevailed in the West Indies in the year 1832, at a period when the planters impudently asserted, that if compelled to change their state with that of a slave or a free British labourer, they would choose the lot of the former:—

"One day soon after the rebellion, while I was residing at Montego Bay, a gang of negroes were repairing the road opposite the house in which I lived. I observed a decent-looking man, with an iron collar fastened about his neck, fainting by the road-side, apparently from exhaustion and loss of blood, with which his shirt and pantaloons were saturated. I called the driver, and requested that he would allow the sufferer to come over to my house, and take something to revive him, as he appeared so much exhausted. When he was brought over, I was surprised to find that he was one of our own members, who had distinguished himself in the late disturbances by his faithfulness and courage in defence of his master's property. On inquiring what had brought him into his present circumstances, he stated, that on account of the cruelties of the overseer, a number of the negroes on the estate had fled into the woods. To revenge this, the overseer had taken away or spoiled everything he could find belonging to the fugitives, and, without any provocation, had entered his house, and destroyed the little property he possessed, whilst he was at work as usual. On learning this, he went to inquire why he had been so dealt with; but the overseer answered him only by calling him a rebel and a sectarian; and then beat him severely about the face with his fists, to which statement the poor man's bruised and swollen features bore ample testimony. Not satisfied with this, the overseer sent him to 'the cage' [prison], and lodged a complaint against him before a magistrate, by whom he was dispatched to the workhouse, and sentenced to receive three hundred lashes. When the punishment had been inflicted, a collar and chain were fastened round the sufferer's neck, and he was turned out, all mangled and faint, with his clothes soaked in blood, to labour in the streets."

Immediately after the abolition of martial law, a committee (whose proceedings have been already referred to) was appointed by the House of Assembly to examine into the origin and consequences of the insurrection. Under the weak government of the Earl of Belmore, the popular faction carried matters with a high hand; and the sole design of this movement was to obtain aid from Great Britain, and shelter themselves from deserved censure by casting it abundantly where it was least merited. The men chosen for the investigation† were, with only two excep-

stance, however tyrannical their previous conduct, subjected to personal violence, or even insult.

* The attorney-general gave it as his opinion that "martial law abrogated all law," and a colonel of militia gravely asserted, that "martial law abrogated Christianity."

† A singular fatality attended the thirteen men who formed that committee, for, although mostly in the prime of manhood, before as many years had elapsed, they had all, except one, passed from the earth. The chairman (L. Lynch) secretly left the island a few months after, a defaulter to a large amount, with regard to property en-

tions, known to belong to the anti-sectarian party; one of those two, Mr. Beaumont, openly accused the chairman and others, of having "garbled the evidence taken before them." They refused to listen to the statements of Samuel Sharpe and other ringleaders, obtained through the intervention of Messrs. Murray, Knibb, and Bleby, at the express desire of Mr. Miller, the commanding officer of the Montego Bay district, and suppressed all testimony as to how, when, and where the disturbances commenced; and this from the evident fear of criminating themselves, as they assuredly would have done had they permitted the truth to be told.

The result of their investigations may be readily conceived. They declared, "the primary and most powerful cause" of the insurrection to have been "the excitement created in the minds of our slaves by the unceasing and unconstitutional interference of H. M. ministers with our social legislature, in regard to the passing of laws for their government; with the intemperate expressions of the present ministers, as well as other individuals in the Commons House of Parliament of Great Britain, coupled with the false and wicked reports of the anti-slavery society." Another alleged cause was the teaching of the missionaries—Baptist, Wesleyan, and Moravian—but especially the former, and the mischiefs attendant on their system of distinguishing certain members of their congregations as leaders or elders; and, lastly, the committee introduced a brief mention of the main source of so much misery, by noticing "the public discussions of the free inhabitants here, consequent upon the continued suggestions made by the king's ministers regarding further measures of amelioration, to be introduced into the slave-code of this island."

The committee commented on the ill effect produced by the publicity given by the press to speeches made in the House of Commons, but they passed over in silence the direct lessons of incendiarism given in the pages of the *Courant* and *Courier*, which teemed with abuse against England, and declared that unless measures were adopted to put a stop to "the encroachments of such statesmen as now rule the destinies of the empire," a revolution would take place, which "would reach across the Atlantic;" and fearful pictures were drawn of "blazing corn-fields"* and "burning houses"* * * * "Neither earth nor hell has power to sustain the colony another year; but what St. Domingo is, Jamaica too soon must be."† Language like this was not likely to pass unnoticed by the negroes, any more than the measures of sedition and rebellion against constituted authorities, constantly urged in these papers, but the Assembly thought proper to ignore all this, and these journals in return lavished praise on the local authorities very much in proportion to the blame they deserved, and inveighed against the "sectarians" more bitterly than ever. Had there been a tittle of evidence to prove that the teaching and preaching of the missionaries, referred to in the report, had tended to cause the rebellion, it is certain the authorities, whether civil or military, would have spared no pains to use it as a means of bringing them to condign punishment. Prosecutions were instituted against Messrs. Burchell, Knibb, and Gardner, Baptist missionaries. The bill against Mr. Burchell was ignored by the grand jury, but he narrowly escaped assassination at the hands of a white mob: the prosecution against Mr. Knibb was dropped for want of evidence to sustain it; and Mr. Gardner was honourably acquitted; Mr. Box, a Wesleyan minister, was apprehended and his papers examined, but nothing was alleged against him, and he was discharged.

The efforts of the Assembly to disguise from the Imperial Government the true causes of the insurrection, and vilify the missionaries, were all in vain, as may be judged from the following extracts from an admirable despatch written by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Viscount Goderich (now Earl of Ripon).

"After exhortations repeated by H.M. Government for more than eight successive years, without effect; after such public meetings as I have mentioned in every part of the island; after the circulation of the resolutions and public journals already noticed; after the convention of a body of delegates at the capital; and after secret debates in the House of Assembly, followed by the rejection of the measures proposed there for the benefit of the slaves, it must have become, to every reflecting man, sufficiently evident, that the peace of the island was placed in extreme jeopardy, and that the slaves could scarcely escape the infection of these opinions, which they appear to have adopted. How fraught with danger to the public safety was the prevalence of such opinions among a people so ignorant, and so easily excited, it were superfluous to remark. Induced as they had been to suppose that the royal authority was opposed in their favour to that of their owners; and that designs were entertained by the king's government, which the colonial magistracy and proprietors intended to counteract by force; the sense of supposed injustice, combining with a plausible expectation of impunity in resisting it, could scarcely fail to urge them to acts of open rebellion."

After adverting to the necessity of suppressing the manifestation of "any intemperate or hostile spirit" towards the missionaries, his lordship thus proceeds to comment on the charge made against them, as fomenters of disaffection.

"I must distinctly avow my conviction, that the improbability of the charge is so extreme, that nothing short of the most irresistible evidence could induce a belief of it. The missionaries who engage in the office of converting the slaves in our colonies cannot, in charity or in justice, be supposed to be actuated by any views of secular ambition, or personal advantage. They devote themselves to an obscure, and arduous, and ill-requited service. They are well apprised, that distrust and jealousy will attend them, and that the path they have chosen leads neither to wealth nor reputation. If in their case, as in that of other men, motives less exclusively sacred than those which are avowed, may exercise some influence on their minds, it were irrational either to feel surprise, or to cherish suspicion on that account. The great ruling motive must, in general, be that which is professed, since, in general, there is no other advantage to be obtained, than the consciousness of having contributed to the diffusion of Christianity

trusted to him as a master in chancery, and finished his career by committing suicide. Another, during the following year, was mortally wounded in a duel by a third member of the committee. A fourth perished from the result of a family dispute, occasioned by the refusal of the son to sit down at table with his father's concubine. The father, in a fit of passion, struck the son upon the mouth, and slightly wounded his hand against the teeth; the wound inflamed, and finally terminated in gangrene and death. I do not record, without reluctance, details such as these, but I dare not withhold facts which I believe to be absolutely necessary to show the fearful depths of depravity in which Jamaica was fast being engulphed, and from which England saved her by the noble sacrifice which has been so little appreciated.

* *Courant*, 15th Aug., 1831. † *Idem*, 30th Sept., 1831.

throughout the world. To suppose men who act habitually on such a principle, either so insensible to the restraints of conscience, or so perverted in their estimate of right and wrong, as to foment insurrection and civil war, for the subversion of slavery; or to believe them insensible to the extreme danger and suffering, in which by engaging in such an enterprise they must involve those, for whose benefit the contest was to be undertaken, would argue rather a heated and prejudiced mind, than a discerning judgment, and a correct acquaintance with human character. When, therefore, I consider that no motive can be rationally assigned, which should have induced the missionaries to embark in so guilty and desperate an undertaking, I cannot but earnestly trust, that the trial of any one of their number, who may be charged with a participation in this rebellion, may have been postponed, until comparative tranquillity should have succeeded to the first panic; and that such trials may have been conducted, not before a military tribunal, but with all the regular forms of law. Should any such missionary have been convicted, and be awaiting the execution of his sentence, on the arrival of this despatch, your lordship will not permit that sentence to be carried into effect, till his majesty's pleasure can be known."*

When Lord Goderich penned these temperate and judicious admonitions, he probably little anticipated the excesses to which the "heated and prejudiced minds" of the planters were then being impelled. The *Courant*, weary of repeating such verbal abuse, as styling them "vagabondizing reverends," "consummate hypocrites," and "preaching miscreants," proceeded to declare that "if evidence could be elicited to prove their guilt, it would be a grateful exhibition to the island to see a dozen of them gibbeted." (*Courant*, January 11, 1831.) To obtain the desired evidence, most unwarrantable measures were resorted to, including shameless bribery and perjury. Torture was used to induce the slaves to criminate the missionaries: one man was flogged, another was smoked with fire and brimstone in the gaol; a woman had the gallows shown her, and was told she would be hung there. William Plummer, an aged free man, a servant of the Rev. Mr. Burchell, when confined in Montego Bay gaol, on suspicion of being connected with the rebellion, had "a pot of brimstone and other materials placed in his cell, and set on fire, and those who brought it said they did it to give him a taste of hell before he went there." It was done "to extort confession." [*Evidence on Oath before the House of Lords Committee*, 18th July, 1832; pp. 776-7.] The property of Mr. Box (who was arrested merely on suspicion, and confined for upwards of a week in a loathsome cell, surrounded by negroes suffering with small-pox) was ransacked to find papers which might be made to bear testimony against him; and his trunks having been broken open by a magistrate named Dyer, the editor of the *Cornwall Courier*, extracts from the private journal found therein were published in its pages. When dismissed from prison, no specific charge having been brought against him, Mr. Box demanded that his property should be restored, and, at length, succeeded in obtaining all, except his journal; eventually, Lord Belmore having been superseded in the governorship by a nobleman of very different character, Mr. Dyer, alarmed at the probability of being prosecuted for having, in his magisterial capacity, broken open, rifled, withheld, and used for his own purposes, the property of an innocent person, thought it prudent to resign the office which he had so greatly abused. The Moravians did not escape persecution—

"The case of Mr. Pfeiffer furnishes a remarkable instance of the extraordinary measures resorted to, to procure evidence against missionaries; while it shows the barbarity and villany of the men, who, as militia officers, rioted in the plenitude of almost irresponsible power, and controlled the lives and destinies of their fellow-beings. Mr. Pfeiffer was arrested in his own house, by some thirty or forty militia men and their officers, and dragged away from home, without being allowed time to get a change of apparel, or take leave of his wife and family. The first thing after that was to remove him, on some pretence, to another parish, where he could not, without difficulty, obtain the testimony of those who knew him and attended his ministry, for his defence. His wife had found means to send a small bundle after him, containing a change of apparel, which he was allowed to receive. Arrived at Mandeville, in the parish of Manchester, he was imprisoned in the organ-loft of the church, with four soldiers to watch over him, but forbidden to remove, or to speak a word with the sentinels. He lay down, and had begun to sleep, when he was aroused by the demand, 'Prisoner, give me your bundle.' The bundle was examined and returned; but no sooner had he laid down and began to sleep, than he was aroused with the demand, 'Prisoner, shew me your bundle.' This was repeated so often, as to make it evident that it was only done to tantalize him, and prevent his getting the rest which his exhausted frame required. At length, one of them, making the observation that such a rascal did not want a pillow, the contents of his bundle were scattered about where he dared not move to pick them up. By the kindness of one of the sentinels, he afterwards obtained his property. For twenty-four hours they kept him without food or water; and on his remonstrating against such barbarity, food was tendered to him, but it had been wantonly thrown in the dirt, and covered with grit and filth, so that he could not eat more than a small portion of it. He had to complain a second time of having been kept without food or water for a whole day, when it was excused as an oversight by the very officer, who was looking after him every half-hour of the day. One evening, after having been kept several days in entire ignorance of the charges that were to be alleged against him, he was informed by the deputy-judge-advocate, that his trial would take place the following day, 'for rebellion and rebellious conspiracy.' He inquired what he would be permitted to do in his defence; but was distinctly informed that he might obtain whatever documents he liked, to lay before the court-martial, *but he could not be allowed to bring any witnesses.* This, of course, was depriving him of all opportunity of defending himself; for the ruffians had taken care to remove him away far from those, who might be induced to give testimonials in his behalf. However, it providentially occurred that a gentleman obtained an interview with Mr. Pfeiffer, and informed him that he had the right of producing witnesses; and that what had been told him was only a part of the diabolical plot laid for his destruction; at the same time, tendering his services to summon whatever friends Mr. Pfeiffer might wish to be called. This was only a few hours before the trial was to commence; but so well was the time improved, that a respectable array of witnesses was prepared for Mr. Pfeiffer's defence, by the time the trial commenced. For nine days the court-martial sat on the trial of that persecuted missionary; and such was the weight of testimony brought to rebut the charges against him, that they were compelled to bring him in 'not guilty,' although two of the officers in the court clamoured for his death. Of the witnesses brought to criminate Mr. Pfeiffer, two women afterwards offered to make affidavit that they were bribed to swear away his life. Their freedom was promised, with a donation in money, and a certain quantity of land, if they would swear that he had preached freedom to them. The barbarities inflicted upon this unoffending man by the wretches into whose hands he had fallen, after all, nearly proved fatal to him. The sufferings, privations, and cruel anxieties to which he was sub-

* Despatch dated Downing Street, 1st of March, 1832; given in full in appendix to House of Lords' Committee on Slavery, August, 1832; part ii., p. 1321.

jected, ended in a serious illness, which placed his life in jeopardy for six months."—(Mr. Bleby's manuscript.)

It was indeed quite necessary that something tangible should, if possible, be proved against the sectarians, as nothing else could palliate even, much less justify, the open persecution to which, both as societies and as individuals, they had been subjected. On the 26th of January, a public meeting was held at St. Ann's Bay, for the permanent establishment of a COLONIAL CHURCH UNION, the avowed object being to expel all sectarian preachers from the island, and oppose the Anti-Slavery Society in every possible manner. Happily for the good name of the Colonial Church, her clergy, with only two exceptions, one of whom was the Rev. Mr. Bridges, the instigator of the plot, and the other an unhappy man who fell in a duel, were never even suspected of having had any concern in a conspiracy, the results of which were equally mischievous and disgraceful.

The favourite motto of the Unionists was—"Destroy their nests, and the rooks will fly away." The pages of the *Courant* and *Courier* were crowded with similar advice; and the direct consequence was, the destruction of 31 Baptist, and 6 Wesleyan chapels, and other mission property, to the value of £30,000.

The Baptist chapel at Falmouth was the first demolished, on the 7th of February, after which the Methodist chapel, a handsome building, which had just been put in complete repair, shared the same fate, at the hands of some of the local magistrates and the militia of St. Ann's western regiment, aided by a mob composed of troopers from the Trelawney regiment, sailors from the ships in the harbour under the direction of their captains, and other white inhabitants of the town of Falmouth. At St. Ann's the triumph of the Unionists was complete, so far as the destruction of property was concerned, the chapels at the Bay and at Ora Cabessa being pulled down, and those at Ocho Rios and Ebenezer burnt to the ground; but, to the great disappointment of the incendiaries, the Wesleyan missionaries, Messrs. Whitehouse and Wood, and the Baptist missionary, Mr. Nicholls, succeeded in effecting their escape, so that they were obliged to content themselves with hanging them in effigy. Attempts were made to destroy the chapels at Kingston, but defeated by the firmness and discretion evinced by the free coloured population, who night after night kept guard over them.

The governor (Lord Belmore) issued a proclamation, desiring the magistrates to seek out and punish the authors of these outrages, and to use the force entrusted to them in preventing similar proceedings. This proclamation was treated with the utmost contempt; one of the copies was hung upon the gallows,* others were torn down, and under one posted up in the court-house was written, "Whoever gives information respecting the above shall entitle himself to be tarred and feathered."

The papers continued to put forth such counsel as the following:—

"We can only say, in the words of the reformer, John Knox, 'To get rid of the rooks effectually, you *must* destroy their nests.' As to the rooks—the preachers, we would recommend the advice of our staunch friend ——† to be observed towards them. 'Tar and feather them whenever you meet them, and drive them off the island, excepting always those who may merit a greater elevation—a more exalted distinction.'"—(*Jamaica Courant* and *Cornwall Courier*.)‡

The often-urged tarring and feathering scheme so exactly accorded with the promptings of popular feeling, which in fact these journals did but echo, that many attempts were made to put it in practice.

One of the most ferocious of these was directed against Mr. Bleby, who had been selected to occupy the Falmouth station (from which Mr. Box had been driven), because "his prudence and respectability were admitted by all."§ The emissaries of the Union bestirred themselves so actively, that the proprietor of the house which he had hired, requested him to quit, as it would certainly be destroyed if he were suffered to remain in it, and threatening letters were sent him advising him to quit the place; but as the coloured people had welcomed him gladly and gratefully, he felt it his duty to remain, and endeavour, by patience and forbearance, gradually to disarm opposition. Mr. Dyer, the magistrate-editor before mentioned, abused Mr. Bleby in the public streets, and sent several constables to inform him that he would be prosecuted if he preached without a licence, and that all persons attending his family worship would be taken into custody. Justly apprehending personal violence, Mr. Bleby requested several free coloured persons to sleep in and near the house, a precaution which probably disconcerted the machinations of his enemies, by obliging them to renounce the idea of a midnight attack and choose an earlier hour.

On the evening of the 7th of April, while Mr. and Mrs. Bleby, and some visitors (a lady and her daughter), were seated at tea, a large body of men, from eighty to one hundred in number, were seen approaching the house. They forced in the garden gate, smashed the windows, broke open the front door, ascended the stairs, entered the room where the family were assembled, and seizing Mr. Bleby, secured and held him fast, loading him with opprobrious epithets. One of them named Dobson dealt him a heavy blow on the head with a stick, the violence of which was providentially broken by the glass candle shade, which it shattered in a thousand pieces; while others brought in a keg of tar, and turning up their coat sleeves, dipped their hands into it and commenced daubing the person of the missionary, especially his head and face, and rubbing the tar into his eyes with the intention of blinding him. Dobson then took a candle from the table, and stooping down, attempted to set fire to the trowsers of the intended victim, but Mrs. Bleby, having forced her way through the crowd, struck the candle out of his hand. She was dragged away and violently trampled upon; but seeing some of the ruffians seize the remaining candle, and try to ignite the tar with which her husband's neckcloth, and, indeed, his whole apparel, was by this time covered, she again rushed forward and succeeded in extinguishing the light, just in time to prevent the commission of a foul murder. At this moment, an infant of a few months old, who had been lying asleep on the sofa, awakened by the uproar, cried piteously, upon which the person who appeared to be the leader of the party called out, "Throw that d—d child through the window;" and this brutal order was actually about to be obeyed, when the mother, disengaging herself a third time from the hands of

* Evidence before the Lords, July, 1832; p. 739.

† The gentleman here referred to is a well-known advocate of the West India interest, but as his name may have been affixed to a suggestion he never gave, I have thought it best not to reprint it.

‡ The *Jamaica Watchman* and *Kingston Chronicle* advocated the cause of order and toleration.

§ *History of Wesleyan Missions*, p. 305.

the men who were now endeavouring to fasten her into an adjoining closet, sprung forward, seized her infant, and rushed out of the house bareheaded, with only one shoe, and nearly covered from head to foot with the tar she had received in her endeavours to protect her husband. The alarm given by her brought several black and coloured persons to the rescue; they seized some sticks from a bundle of firewood in the yard, and commenced a vigorous attack upon that portion of the assailants who had remained in the lower part of the house. Those in the upper room, having no light but that of the moon, hearing the noise, and thinking it might possibly proceed from a detachment of troops, precipitately retreated down stairs, where a general scuffle took place.

Favoured by the darkness and confusion, Mr. Bleby made his escape; but one of the gang, an overseer named Hopkins, being mistaken for him, was set upon by his own companions, who broke his collar bone and fractured his skull.—The injuries thus inflicted were long expected to prove fatal, but after undergoing the operation of trepanning, the wretched man partially recovered, and survived a few years, subject to periodical fits of insanity.

On learning what had occurred, Mr. Miller, a magistrate who formed one of the bright exceptions to the general character of the body to which he belonged, hastened to the scene of the riot with a party of the 22nd regiment, then garrisoned in the town. Mr. Bleby was taken to the barracks, where he found a safe asylum for the night; and his wife and child were kindly received and sheltered by Mrs. Jackson, the lady of the clerk of the peace.

With a view to prevent the repetition of similar outrages, Mr. Bleby, in the following week, waited upon several magistrates; but Mr. Miller having left the town, none of them cared to receive his statements. On the return of that gentleman, he discharged his duty, in defiance of the menaces of the "Colonial Union" party, and arrangements were made to prosecute the rioters at the Cornwall assizes. But though no magistrates could be found, on Mr. Bleby's first application, who would take his depositions, there was no want of promptitude in dealing with the men who ran to his rescue. They were speedily arrested, and bound to answer at the quarter sessions;* but when one of them requested that his depositions should be taken against a rioter who had assaulted him, he was sternly refused.

Oppression had now reached its climax; in a professedly Christian land, chapels erected for the worship of God might be destroyed, and ministers of the Gospel hunted to death's door with impunity. The Colonial Union boasted, that while they kept possession of the jury box their members might feel secure as to the results of any prosecution that might be commenced against them; and this was literally the case, for, in opposition to the clearest evidence produced respecting the destruction of the chapels and the assault upon Mr. Bleby, the grand jury in each case ignored the bills. Meanwhile a great change was working in the mind of the British public; and the internecine strife, pecuniary involvement, and moral degradation, which had for so many years characterized the beautiful and fertile island of Jamaica, began to be generally looked upon in their true light, as the fruits of that root of bitterness which pervaded and poisoned the whole social system. The excesses of the planters, whether committed against the missionaries or against their wretched slaves, afforded the strongest arguments against their being permitted any longer to retain the power which they so grossly misused; and their very intolerance, by inducing Messrs. Knibb, Burchell, Duncan, and Barry, to proceed to England, did good service to the anti-slavery cause; for these men, coming fresh from the scene of action, and describing atrocities which their own eyes had witnessed, and hardships inflicted on their own persons, spoke with a power and energy which exercised irresistible influence over their hearers.† They arrived at a critical juncture, in time to give most important evidence before Parliament, and to support, by their personal testimony, before the numerous public meetings convened throughout England and Scotland on the question of slavery, the emphatic statement of Fowell Buxton, who had declared, "I stake my character on the accuracy of the fact, that negroes have been scourged to the very borders of the grave, uncharged with any crime save that of worshipping their God." In reference to the cruelties and indignities heaped upon those who had ventured to preach the gospel among them, he added—

"There have not been, in our day, such persecutions as these brave and good men have been constrained to endure. Hereafter we must make selections among our missionaries. Is there a man whose timid or tender spirit is unequal to the storm of persecution? Send him to the savage—expose him to the cannibal—save his life by directing his steps to the rude haunts of the barbarian: but if there is a man of a stiffer, sterner nature—a man willing to encounter obloquy, torture, and death—let him be reserved for the tender mercies of our Christian brethren and fellow-countrymen, the planters of Jamaica."‡

The Assembly were not blind to the effect the missionaries would assuredly produce by their revelations respecting the late proceedings, and a motion was made that none of them should be permitted to leave the island; but it did not pass. Two delegates were, however, sent by the House, whose statements,

* A coloured man, named Brown, was fined £5.

† In the early part of 1833 an extraordinary sensation was created throughout the United Kingdom, by a pamphlet, entitled, "*Three Months in Jamaica*," by Henry Whitely, a young man of unimpeachable character, who had gone out, with an excellent introduction, to the estate of a planter, a relation of his own, for the purpose of obtaining a situation as hook-keeper. The scenes he there witnessed inspired him with deep disgust, and he returned to England, bringing with him a fund of valuable, but to him dearly-bought experience. His simple narrative of the common incidents of a sugar plantation, bore the impress of truth on every page. The driver looking on with lazy indifference—the piercing cries of the miserable negro woman, the mother of several children, and her earnest entreaties to be allowed to retain some portion of her covering for the sake of decency—the aged negro man brought out, and lying quietly down to receive the decreed punishment; the crack of the fearful cart-whip, and the shriek of agony, as it cut deeper and deeper into the mangled flesh—youth and age, womanhood and childhood, all subjected to the same brutalising and degrading torture,—appalling as the picture was, every feature was incontestably correct, only perhaps it had never been so graphically, because so plainly told before. Many and many British youths must have shuddered at similar scenes; but they had not dared or cared to reveal them, and the great majority had probably grown callous, and ceased to sicken at such loathsome sights. I much regret having no space to spare for the lengthy extracts which could alone convey an adequate idea of the deeply interesting and thrilling descriptions given by Mr. Whitely, but the entire pamphlet well deserves, and will well reward a careful perusual.

‡ *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. v., p. 119.

it was hoped, would counteract the influence of the religious and anti-slavery parties, whose views were, of necessity, now daily becoming more nearly identified.

In May, 1832, select committees were appointed in both Houses of Parliament,—that of the Lords for the purpose of inquiring into the "condition and treatment of the slaves, their habits and dispositions," &c., and also "into the distressed condition of the several West India colonies;" that of the Commons, to consider "the measures most expedient to be adopted for the extinction of slavery throughout the British dominions at the earliest possible period compatible with the safety of all classes in the colonies."* A large mass of evidence was collected; that adduced for the information of the Commons was peculiarly valuable, and "disclosed a state of affairs demanding the earliest and most serious attention of the legislature."

The active members of the House of Lords' committee were all proprietors of estates in the West Indies, excepting the Duke of Richmond (the chairman), and Lord Suffield; the three spiritual peers (Canterbury, London, and Lichfield,) attended only twice, and then for some brief ten minutes. The one-sided character of the evidence, its absurdities and inconsistencies, were well exposed in December, 1832, by Sir George Stephen, under the name of *Legion*, in a publication addressed to the Duke of Richmond.† The Commons committee also contained some West India proprietors, but their manœuvres were counteracted by Fowell Buxton, the chairman, and by the uprightness of Sir R. Peel, Lord John Russell, and other impartial men, and the inquirers, instead of diverging into the wide and discursive field of vague generalities, directed their investigations mainly to the two following points:—

1st. Whether the slaves, if emancipated, would be likely to maintain themselves, and would be industrious and disposed to acquire property by labour.

2nd. Whether the dangers of convulsion were greater from freedom withheld than from freedom granted.

The evidence adduced was considered to afford so decisive an answer to these questions, that not even the *ex parte* statements made to the Lords could hinder the general conviction, that slavery was an unmitigated evil, which must be speedily extirpated throughout the British dominions.

In the ensuing session of parliament a bill was introduced for this purpose; and it was proposed to make a loan of £15,000,000 to the planters, at a low rate of interest, to assist them in cultivating their estates by means of labour obtained by the stimulus of wages instead of the whip. This arrangement was far from being satisfactory; the West Indian proprietors persisted in asserting that slavery had utterly unfitted the negroes for continuous voluntary industry, or for peaceful habits, and that a sudden transition to complete freedom was fraught with imminent danger to society and utter ruin to themselves. They alleged—unhappily with truth—that the purchase of slaves had been approved and encouraged by the British government—and this was, in reality, their strongest argument; but against the flagrant iniquity of making slavery an hereditary curse, they could plead no law divine or human, save that of an infamous custom.‡ They succeeded in inducing Parliament to convert the loan of £15,000,000 into a gift of £20,000,000, and to renounce the idea of immediate emancipation in favour of a system of apprenticeship. Before entering into the details of the new measure, it is necessary to return to Jamaica, and notice the changes there taking place.

The recall of Lord Belmore in June, 1832, sorely disconcerted the Unionists; their leader, Mr. Bridges, having been well known to possess considerable influence with the Earl. This circumstance accounts, to some extent, for the miserable inefficiency of the administration of a governor whose private character was generally admitted to be amiable, and in many points deserving of respect. Lord Belmore, in tacitly permitting the fierce current of religious persecution to flow on unchecked, could not have been actuated by the culpable desire of obtaining popularity thereby, since, had he placed so high a value upon the short-lived applause of a colonial faction, he would hardly have dashed it to the ground by publicly expressing, when about to quit Jamaica, his opinion that "the resources of the island would never be developed till slavery was abolished." The records of the House of Assembly amply support the truth of this assertion.

It has been previously shown, by statements made at various intervals, that the condition of Jamaica before the abolition of the slave-carrying trade, in 1807, had for many years been gradually deteriorating. It now remains to demonstrate that the possession of upwards of 300,000 slaves did not enable the planters to cultivate sugar and coffee either so extensively or so profitably as to repay them for the heavy expenditure with which compulsory labour must ever be attended.

In 1808, a committee of the House of Commons recommended a suspension of the use of grain in the distilleries of Great Britain for one year, in order to "save the West Indies from the disasters that await them" in consequence of the depreciation in the price of sugar, and the increased expense attendant on its cultivation, the value of the produce being barely equal to the charges of production, leaving no rent for land and no interest for the large capital employed on it. (The price was, in 1807, 34*s.* per cwt.) The committee stated that 115 sugar estates were then in the Court of Chancery, that foreclosures had become unusually frequent, and that "annuitants dependent on West India property for their provision have in many instances been totally deprived of their income."—(Report, 13th April, 1808, p. 4.)

In 1812, a memorial from the Jamaica planters to the Crown states "that the ruin of the original possessors has been completed; exactions, debasement, and privations have been long and patiently endured by the proprietors; a large portion of them now see approaching the lowest state of human misery, absolute want to their families, and the horrors of a gaol for themselves. Estate after estate has passed into the hands of mortgagees and creditors, absent from the island; until there are large districts, whole parishes, in which there is not a single proprietor of a sugar plantation resident." The non-residence of proprietors would certainly be no proof of their dis-

* Report on "Extinction of Slavery," by House of Commons' Committee, dated 11th of August, 1832; p. 3.

† *Two Letters from Legion*, &c. London: Bagster, Paternoster-row; 8vo, pp. 196 and 152.

‡ Infamous, indeed, was that custom, which enabled "the father to hold his own son in bondage, and the son to demand the wages of slavery from his own mother, and to claim the services of his own sister as his bond-woman." (Madden, vol. ii., p. 171.) These practices took place in Jamaica, even under the apprenticeship system, and the special magistrates had no power to prevent them.

tress; but the meaning of the above passage apparently is, that the European mortgagees had generally, by foreclosures or otherwise, superseded the resident planters. The remedy proposed was a high protecting or prohibitory duty on foreign coffee. It was also declared that a price of 50*s.* per cwt., exclusive of duty, could alone save the sugar-grower in the crisis that had arrived.

In 1813, during a debate in Parliament on the East Indian sugar duties, Mr. Marryat, an eminent colonial agent, declared that "there were comparatively few estates in the West Indies that had not, during the last twenty years, been sold or given up to creditors."

In 1821, the Jamaica House of Assembly addressed the King on the "distresses which afflict this colony," and complained of the "pressure of unmitigated suffering." They protested against the introduction of sugar from British India—a territory then yielding an income to the imperial revenue of several millions sterling—and claimed the privilege of exclusively supplying the United Kingdom with sugar and coffee.

In 1822, another address from the House of Assembly to the King petitioned for assistance to rescue the landholders and capitalists from ruin and their "labourers from absolute want."

In 1824, a somewhat similar memorial declared that property had gradually depreciated to one-half its value; and, in 1825, the still increasing sufferings of the planters were set forth.

In 1826, it was asserted that "commerce is deserting the shores of Jamaica"—that "signs of prosperity are no longer perceptible, one universal gloom lowers around, and ruin in the most dreadful shape, and to all appearance inevitable, advances with rapid strides,"—and the petitioners intimate the probable "dismemberment from the empire of this valuable colony."*

In 1831, Viscount Goderich, then Colonial Secretary, in a despatch, dated 5th November, observed—"The existence of severe commercial distress amongst all classes of society connected with the West Indies is unhappily too evident." His lordship added, "Without denying the concurrence of many causes, it is obvious that the great and permanent source of distress which almost every page of the West Indies records, is to be found in the institution of slavery. It is in vain to hope for long-continued prosperity in any country in which the people are not dependent on their own voluntary labour for support—in which labour is not prompted by legitimate motives, and does not earn its natural reward. * * * I cannot but regard the system itself as the perennial spring of those distresses of which, not only at present, but during the whole of the last fifty years, the complaints had been so frequent and so just."

In 1832, the West India interest petitioned Parliament, declaring that "the alarming and unprecedented state of distress in which the whole of the British West India interest is at this time involved," justified them in imploring the legislature "to adopt prompt and effectual measures of relief, in order to preserve them from *inevitable ruin*." The remedies proposed were a large additional bounty on sugar, &c.

Mr. J. M'Queen, in his evidence before the House of Commons, on 6th February, 1832, was asked (question 844)—"Is the distress which prevails among the various interests connected with the West India colonies, the proprietors of the colonies and the mortgagees, at present urgent?" He answered, "Exceedingly severe; hardly anything can be more so. I do not think it possibly can be worse." Evidence of a similar nature to that above quoted might be multiplied to almost any extent, but enough has been already given to show that the commercial state of Jamaica, after gradually declining from bad to worse, had at length well nigh reached the last stage of prostration. The evils described by Long, in 1775, still rioted in open day, and their consequences had verified his predictions. Insolvent planters had continued to the last possible moment living in splendid style in England, on money advanced, at the rate of 15 to 20 per cent., by the merchants to whom their sugar, rum, and coffee, were consigned; and their whole properties, including lands, buildings, and slaves, were heavily mortgaged. Meanwhile, in Jamaica, this system of absenteeism, combined with slavery, necessitated the maintenance of a perfect hierarchy of agencies,—every estate requiring, first, the supervision of a resident attorney; secondly, that of an overseer, who usually occupied the mansion, and was personally waited upon by from three to five, and not unfrequently twice that number of servants, and as many horses; thirdly, from one to three book-keepers, according to the size of the estate, whose duty was primarily to keep the accounts, and incidentally to act as checks upon the overseer, who was, in his turn, supposed to be under the surveillance of the planting attorney. It followed, of necessity, that whatever reached the pocket of the proprietor was just so much additional profit as could be raised over and above that required for the support of the local establishment; and, consequently, when the estate, through mismanagement or misfortune, such as the failure of crops, &c., failed to produce even that amount, it became insolvent.

If the planters, in some few cases, escaped the alternative of sale or mortgage, they were rarely able, perhaps more rarely willing, to invest money in improvements, in labour-saving machinery, in irrigation, drainage, or manuring.† Of their animate or inanimate possessions—of their sugar plantations, or of the human chattels by whose blood and sweat they were cultivated—they knew just what their delegates thought fit to tell them. They persisted in blind reliance on the subordinates to whom they entrusted the charge of their pecuniary means, and the lives of their miserable slaves; and though occasionally a man like Mr. Lewis visited Jamaica,‡ and exposed the horrible inconsistency existing between the plausible humanity and discretion of the attorney and overseer, as set forth in their carefully-prepared communications, and the cruelty and extravagance of their practical conduct; yet even revelations such as his appear to have had little effect in shaking the misplaced confidence of the planters.

Emancipation.—The administration of the earl of Mulgrave forms a turning-point in the history of

* See "Addresses and Memorials to his Majesty from the House of Assembly at Jamaica," printed by order of the House; pp. 5, 6, 16, 17, 20, 22, 29, 38, &c.

† *Vide* some very able remarks on this head, in Bigelow's *Jamaica in* 1850; p. 81.

‡ Dr. Madden, referring to the evils consequent upon leaving the management of estates solely in the hands of strangers, says, that the two visits paid by Lewis to Jamaica, and the reforms instituted by him, such as ameliorating the condition of his slaves by abolishing the use of the cart-whip among them, and increasing their indulgences, saved his two estates, which were inherited by his relatives, instead of being added to the long list of those whose superintendence has devolved upon the court of chancery.—(Vol. ii., p. 31.)

Jamaica. He was selected by Lord Goderich, as a man fitted by the possession of principle, firmness, and discretion, for the difficult task of carrying out great and unpopular changes, and the result proved that the secretary of state for the colonies had exercised sound judgment in his nomination.

For some time after his arrival, in July, 1832, the new governor remained quietly watching the signs of the times, and they must certainly have both surprised and startled the refined mind of the author of *Matilda*. Unfortunately his position precluded him from giving to the public a picture of the then state of society. From the evidence adduced before Parliamentary Committees of that year, little alteration would appear to have taken place since Renny described it in 1807, excepting only in one important point—the conduct of the clergy of the Established Church, which had materially improved. The white population was, for the most part, characterized by the same shameless immorality, as may be judged from the reply of Mr. Baillie, a Jamaica planter, who had resided there for twenty-seven years, and occupied an influential position as the proprietor of 350 slaves, a magistrate, and the acting-agent and attorney for several estates. This witness was brought forward by the West India body as capable of bearing high testimony in their favour, but his bold statements, and subsequent contradictory admissions,* could have done their cause no real service. For instance, he denied that there was any greater extent of licentious intercourse observable in Jamaica than in England, yet when subsequently asked—"Can you name any overseer, driver, or other person in authority, who does not keep a mistress?" he was, after a long series of evasions, reluctantly compelled to reply—"I cannot."—(P.P. Lords, 1832; part i., p. 109.)

Suicide was not unfrequent, and the kindred vice of duelling greatly needed to be discountenanced by the leading authorities, in the absence of a holier influence. Dr. Madden, writing two years later, says—"Many a duel has been fought in Jamaica by persons who sat the night before their meeting at the same table. There is a gentleman now living in Kingston who has fought his ten or twelve men. There are members of Assembly who have been on the ground half a dozen times; there are lawyers who have had two challenges out at a time; there have been doctors who have killed themselves about a medical theory,"† undeterred by the fate of Messrs. Williams and Bennet, who perished in 1750, in consequence of a dispute respecting the nature of yellow fever. Nor were the clergy wholly exempt from the reproach of seeking revenge by means which, even when resorted to by laymen, could not but disgrace a nominally Christian and civilized community. The following case was related to me by a gentleman resident in Jamaica at the time of its occurrence.

In 1833, a minister of the Establishment, in a fit of causeless jealousy, challenged a former friend to fight a duel, but was refused on the ground that it was contrary to "the code of honour" to meet a gentleman of the sacred profession for such a purpose. The clergyman persisted, and at the meeting which ensued, fired thrice at his antagonist, who in return discharged his pistol each time in the air, without taking aim. The seconds vainly attempted to interfere—the challenger persisted in declaring himself unsatisfied, and insisting on another shot; his antagonist considering that if he persisted in refusing to take aim, his own life would be sacrificed, fired for the first time at his opponent, and hit him in the knee. The wounded man still desired to continue the contest, but his friends carried him off the field; and, though only slightly wounded, fever seized him, and in about a week he died raving mad.

Perjury was notoriously prevalent, so much so that it was clearly understood, and almost undisguisedly stated by the members of the Colonial Union which had gradually extended its ramifications over most of the parishes, that juries would not scruple to forswear themselves sooner than pronounce verdicts which should necessitate the the punishment of their associates. The impunity thus obtained, was largely availed of by the Unionists, whose proceedings towards the missionaries and their followers, had at length raised such strong feelings in the free black and coloured inhabitants, that they began to organize in turn. The distracted country was threatened with civil war, but was happily saved by the interference of Lord Mulgrave, who, before he had been six weeks in Jamaica, was, to use his own words, "compelled to hurry across the country to check an attempt, which the custos of the parish announced as imminent on the part of the militia, to force the jail on the day of their muster, and to rescue some Colonial Unionists, who, refusing to give bail, under the expectation of a rescue, were confined upon a charge of pulling down a house in which a Baptist minister was sheltered."‡

Still, although obliged to interfere in this matter, the earl continued to abstain, as far as possible, from exercising his authority until he should be better able to decide upon the extent and power of the opposition he was likely to encounter, and diligently employed himself in examining different parts of the island, inquiring into its institutions, and visiting the hut of the slave as well as the mansion of the planter, appearing everywhere the same worthy representative of a just and paternal sovereign.

The legislature was summoned to meet on the 30th of October. His excellency's address was long, minute, and conciliatory; but it nevertheless expressed the regret with which he had observed "a turbulent and lawless spirit occasionally betraying itself in open acts of violence, and consequent symptoms of alienation between different classes of the free population;" and his resolve to suppress such outbreakings "wherever they might occur, and by whomsoever they might be fomented." He alluded with tact to the recent appointment of parliamentary committees, and informed the Assembly that a bill had passed the Imperial Parliament for the relief of the island from the consequences of the recent insurrection;§ also that the Orders in Council of November, 1831, with regard to the amelioration of the condition of the slaves, would not be pressed, but that he strongly recommended to them the adoption of effective measures to that end.

* This unhappy man committed suicide while on his return voyage to Jamaica, owing, it is said, to *Legion's* exposure of the contradictory character of his evidence made on oath.

† *Twelve Months in the West Indies*, vol. i., p. 201.

‡ Speech of the Earl of Mulgrave at Freemasons' Hall, 1st of August, 1834. Published by Hatchard and Son.

§ A loan of three hundred thousand pounds was made by the home government to the planters, at a low rate of interest. The House of Assembly was appealed to by the British government to reimburse the Wesleyan and Baptist Societies by means of a special grant, for the mission property so wantonly destroyed by white people; but as some of the chapel destroyers were members of that House, this proposition was positively rejected. (See section on religion.

This speech was favourably received by the Council, but not by the Assembly, whose members, stung by the significant warning given to the Unionists, endeavoured to excuse if not to justify their outrages, by referring to the previous disasters. They denied the competency of the British legislature to make any effectual inquiry into their affairs, repudiated all participation in the appointment of the recent Committees, declared that they had never recognized the resolutions of 1823 (Mr. Canning's), and protested against the interference of the House of Commons. The proffered loan produced no grateful response, and welcome as it undoubtedly was, the only notice it excited was a remark that it should be taken into consideration.

Under many former administrations, all this would probably have passed without animadversion; under the present the Assembly received a startling rejoinder. The governor, setting aside the few formal sentences usually employed on similar occasions, openly expressed the dissatisfaction with which he marked the spirit which pervaded their long and desultory address. His speech, he observed, had "broached no theory, and required no sacrifice; it announced only a boon." He left it to themselves to settle how far it was fitting to disclaim connexion with the West India body at home, but reminded them that their own accredited agent (Mr. Burge) had united in the request for the Lords' Committee, and that their speaker had just vacated the chair, having embarked for England with another of their body, to be in time for the next meeting of the British parliament. Nothing, he declared, could have induced him to originate the irritating question of the right of Parliament to legislate for the whole empire, but he could not be thus formally assured of their opinions "without asserting, in the most unequivocal terms, the transcendent power of the Imperial Legislature, regulated only by its own discretion, and limited only by such restrictions as itself may have imposed." He advised them to refrain from indulging in the "groundless accusations which alienated the public mind in Europe from the cause of the colonists," adding, "if you continue thus to speak for yourselves, I much fear it will be vain for any one to speak for you."

Lord Mulgrave's view of the Colonial Union was at length unequivocally manifested by the dismissal of Colonel Wilton from the command of that rabble regiment, the St. Ann's western militia, in consequence of his having signed certain intolerant resolutions of the Unionists in his military capacity, and (together with other officers) exerted himself to procure the signatures of the men. Mr. Cox, the joint president with Colonel Hilton, was likewise compelled to resign his position as Custos of St. Ann's, and major-general of the same corps, for a similar reason.

In January, 1833, a proclamation from the sovereign denounced as illegal the confederacy formed by the Unionists, required it to be immediately broken up, and called upon all judges and magistrates "to give full effect to the laws for the toleration of religious worship, and to bring to justice all such persons as might be found violating them."

Copies of the proclamation were forwarded to the custodes of the various parishes, accompanied by a circular in which the governor ordered, that any violation of the royal injunctions should be reported to him, declaring that in the event of the offenders holding either civil or military offices under the crown, they should be instantly deprived of them, "that all others concerned in similar proceedings may perceive, that neither actual violence, nor a repetition of illegal threats will be allowed to pass unpunished."

The publication of the above instructions gave great joy to the missionaries, and enraged their adversaries in an equal degree. In many of the parishes the Colonial Church Union was heard of no more, some of its members being little disposed to risk for its sake the loss of honours and offices, while others were really glad of a plea for seceding from an association into which they had been led by want of moral courage to hazard the vituperation they would assuredly have encountered from the dominant faction. The only opposition of any importance was made in the parish of St. Ann's, where the Unionists had the audacity to advertise a proposed meeting of their body "to take place on the 10th of February, to consider H. M. late proclamation."

Lieutenant-colonel Browne, who had succeeded Colonel Hilton, addressed the men newly placed under his command in very indiscreet language; openly vindicating the proceedings of the Unionists, and expressing his hope that their "most distinguished colonel" might soon be reinstated in the command. Such conduct could not be overlooked. Lord Mulgrave repaired to St. Ann's, ordered an immediate muster of the regiment, and undeterred by the formal assurances he received of the danger to which his person would be exposed, proceeded to the appointed place, attended only by his own small staff, and then and there announced to Colonel Browne, that his unmilitary conduct in addressing the troops, when under arms, on a political subject, rendered it necessary to cancel his commission. The disgraced officer was considerably excited, and attempted a sneering reply, but his lordship quietly remarked—"I must not be replied to on parade;" and, notwithstanding various expressions of disapprobation, proceeded with the review, which being concluded, he praised the discipline and order evinced by the soldiers, and then retired.

Several other dismissals of officers followed the memorable review at the Huntly pastures, in consequence of endeavours being made to induce the men to mutiny and insult their captain-general (the governor), besides which, three major-generals and two colonels of militia sent in their resignations, to avoid being publicly and disgracefully dismissed. Nor was it only as military officers that the Unionists experienced the consequences of their perseverance in evil, no less than eleven magistrates in the parish of St. Ann's being deprived of the authority they had so greatly abused. The true leader of the Union (Mr. Bridges) remained, however, unpunished by man; nor was it until several years after, that a terrible dispensation inflicted upon him a far heavier retribution than the arm of earthly power had dealt upon his fellows;* he continued for some time after his

* "Several years elapsed, and, while many persecutors of lesser note had fallen around him, he remained unscathed, retaining his place, and, probably, a large degree of his influence in the island. But at length, the blast of divine displeasure fell upon him, and was, perhaps, the more severely felt, for having been longer delayed. One morning, having breakfasted on board a ship in the harbour with his four daughters, who were but too fondly loved and idolized; they, with several other ladies and gentlemen, went out in boats to sail about the bay. A squall

carefully-planned conspiracy had been destroyed, to endeavour to keep alive the dying embers of religious persecution. A disgraceful riot took place at the quarter sessions in July, 1833, on the occasion of Mr. Greenwood, a Wesleyan minister, appearing in the court-house of St. Ann's, for the purpose of obtaining a licence to preach in that parish. Many of the ex-magistrates and Unionists, including Messrs. Browne and Rose, attended, armed with clubs. The Custos (newly appointed by Lord Mulgrave, in the place of Mr. Cox), earnestly strove to maintain order and to protect the person of the missionary from violence, but was at length compelled to abandon the attempt, and opening the grand jury room door, he afforded Mr. Greenwood the opportunity of escaping by an open window. The rioters tried to follow in pursuit, but were prevented by the intervention of the Custos and some of the magistrates, who were themselves soon glad to quit the place, leaving the mob in possession, the railings and the bar having been broken down, and the fury of the assailants still increasing.

This ebullition of rage and malice being reported to the governor, a detachment of regular troops was forthwith stationed at the Bay, and measures were adopted to bring the ringleaders to justice. The attorney-general well knew what would be the result of placing a bill of indictment against them in the hands of the grand jury; he therefore resolved to prosecute by *ex officio* information. The evidence adduced on the part of the crown was clear and conclusive; the counsel for the defendants, unable to invalidate it, declaimed with much eloquence against *ex officio* informations as formidable engines of governmental oppression, and thus succeeded in obtaining a verdict of "Not guilty."

But the object of the prosecution was not entirely lost; for though the rioters left the bar untouched by legal punishment, the manifest perjury by which their immunity had been obtained excited the indignation of the populace of Spanish Town (where the trial took place), who hissed and hooted, and were with difficulty prevented from inflicting upon the acquitted culprits severe retribution. In truth, the times were fast changing; "the loyal and independent parish of St. Ann's" was beginning to be regarded as a disgrace to the island; and its respectability was certainly not increased by the trundling of a figure representing the governor about the town of St. Ann's Bay in a wheel-barrow, suspending it to the bell-post of the church, and then burning the effigy. His lordship, if made aware of this insult, doubtless bore it with the same dignified equanimity with which he met the scurrilous defamation poured forth by the *Courant*,* and the occasional storms of spoken vituperation with which he was assailed, even while walking in the streets of Kingston, accompanied by the countess.—Duncan's *Wesleyan Mission*, p. 343.

In October the new Assembly was convened; the old one, to which Lord Mulgrave had addressed his stern and dignified rebuke, having been dissolved, in consequence of a difference which arose between that body and the Council, occasioned by the latter (prompted, it was supposed, by the governor) having set up a claim to originate bills, after the manner of the House of Lords, to which branch of the Imperial Legislature the Council was considered to bear some analogy.

The election of fresh representatives enabled the free coloured portion of the population to exercise, for the first time, the right of voting; and though the enlarged constituency did not immediately produce any great alteration in the composition of the House, yet it certainly did in the tone and temper of its members, who now ceased to be the representatives of a mere class of their own colour, not exceeding 2,000 in number, and became dependent on the suffrages of all the free citizens.

This change, together with Lord Mulgrave's other judicious and well-digested measures, accounts for the comparatively decorous manner in which the Act of the Imperial Legislature for the abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies, was received in the House of Assembly, where, two years before, the propositions made by Mr. Beaumont to abolish female flogging and establish the principle of compulsory manumission, had been angrily rejected. The large portion of the £20,000,000 compensation money which would be allotted to Jamaica proprietors, and a proviso on the part of H. M. ministers, that none would be awarded to any governments which should fail to carry out the provisions of the statute, had, doubtless, considerable weight in influencing the conduct of the Assembly, and the apprenticeship system would, they well knew, afford them large licence for coercing labour, little less cruelly than before. Buxton, Macaulay, Lushington, and the emancipist party at home, were not blind to the dangers of the apprenticeship system, as it was likely to be worked by the planters, but they dared not hazard what they were on the eve of obtaining, by standing out for immediate and complete emancipation.

The public assent of Lord Mulgrave to the Abolition Bill was given on the 12th of December. In proceeding to prorogue the House, his excellency remarked, that slavery, the greatest curse that could afflict the social system, had received its death-blow. It had, he said, long been evident that its continuation could only lead to the dissolution of that society, the powers of which were paralyzed by its baneful effects. The dangers of the transition by which alone a cure could be effected, would, the British govern-

arose while they were thus engaged, and the boat containing the four sisters, with two or three other persons, upset, and they all disappeared to be seen no more. The bereaved parent never rallied from this agonizing blow; the towering pride which had heretofore characterised him was utterly broken down, and he left the country, recognising in this mournful event the hand of God, and frankly acknowledging the sins of his past life."—(MS. of Mr. Bleby). In a most affecting memorial, recorded in the annals of the Assembly, this unhappy but highly-gifted man stated, "That petitioner, struck to the earth by an unexampled calamity, finds himself utterly unable to rise again, or conscientiously to discharge the duties of *a station in which he better strove to serve his country than his God*; he therefore resigns his living, and entreats the house will consider him as one who has died in its service. That petitioner, thus bereft of all his children but one of seven years old, the wretched companion of his retreat and poverty, humbly implores that the house will place that lone child as a pensioner on the fund to which his father for twenty-three years contributed." The Assembly generously responded to this appeal by a grant of £50 per annum for ten years.

*The editor of this paper, about two years after the insurrection, was convicted of fraudulent bankruptcy. In order to deceive his principal creditor, and former partner in the newspaper, he had wantonly destroyed upwards of 5,000 advertisement vouchers, falsified his accounts, and received money without accounting for it; he was sent to gaol, the judge remarking, that he had never seen so flagrant a case. The bankrupt, when set at liberty, left the island, smitten with a loathsome disease, which covered his body with sores, and soon terminated his life.

ment considered, be lessened by an intermediate state of probation, the extreme duration of which (six years) was already fixed, and the lessening of which, by the voluntary act of the local legislature, would be received with the greatest satisfaction by the authorities and people of England. No one, his lordship declared, would rejoice more than himself at the last traces being utterly effaced of a state of things of which he had personally witnessed the inseparable evils. He emphatically warned his auditors of the extreme importance of judicious management during the momentous interval on which they were soon to enter, alluded briefly to the cases of flagrant abuse of power found to exist, and pointed out that it was not desirable either for the present tranquillity of the country or the future efficiency of its labour, "that the weapon of arbitrary punishment should be exercised with undiminished severity, on individual responsibility, up to the last moment when the law shall abruptly arrest the arm that wields it."

In the concluding part of his speech, lord Mulgrave expressed the satisfaction with which he should hereafter remember the proceedings of that day, in terms which were correctly supposed to convey an intimation of his intended departure. During the last few months, he had endured constant fatigue and anxiety, added to which his generous spirit must have been continually wounded by the knowledge of sufferings he had no power to relieve;* and to such an extent had his bodily strength been impaired, that Dr. Madden, as a medical man, unhesitatingly stated that he could not survive for six months, the prolonged discharge of such onerous duties.

His lordship, before quitting Jamaica, had one pleasant task to fulfil: for three weeks he occupied himself in traversing the island, and daily announcing to large bodies of slaves, amounting in all to considerably above 50,000 of the adult population, the change to be made in their position, on the coming 1st of August. "There were three circumstances," says Lord Mulgrave, "in the statement I made to them which seemed to excite the greatest interest. The first was when I announced to them the utter and immediate extinction of the power of corporal punishment of women. This was always hailed with lively expressions of gratitude from all my auditors of both sexes. The next was, that though they themselves were still for a certain term to be subjected to limited restraint, their young children were at once absolutely free. * * * The third point to which I would allude, was the intelligent manner in which they comprehended, and the gratitude with which they received the promise, that though a certain number of hours were still given to the masters, in return for their houses and grounds, which was the footing I found it best to put it, still they might by working for wages at other times, themselves advance the period of their perfect freedom."—(Speech at Freemasons' Hall, August, 1834.)

On the 15th of March, 1834, Lord Mulgrave sailed for England, followed by the prayers and good-wishes of all the orderly and well-disposed portion of the community—white and coloured, bond and free. His brief administration of one year and eight months had accomplished wonders; most truly might he congratulate the country which he left, on its improved condition, even though very much remained to be done. Nor must the praise due to his true-hearted lady be omitted, for not inferior to his own was the moral courage she displayed in breaking down the barrier of caste, and receiving at the government-house people of colour, who, though well entitled by position and personal character to that privilege, would scarcely have been deemed worthy to sit at the table of a white overseer.

The Marquis of Sligo succeeded to the government, and arrived in April, 1834. His lordship was himself a Jamaica proprietor, but having been a member of the West Indian Committee in the House of Lords, he was there, to use his own expression, "converted to anti-slavery principles," upon which he faithfully acted during his administration. As he could not visit all parts of the island before the 1st of August, he issued an address to the slaves, in which, while announcing in simple and affectionate language the near approach of the great change of which his predecessor had informed them, he especially assured them that they would be "only required to work four days and a-half in each week," and that the remaining day and a-half would remain entirely at their own disposal.

The eventful epoch at length arrived, and instead of heralding the horrid scenes of drunkenness and immorality, and even of rapine and slaughter, which the planters had anticipated, or pretended to anticipate, it was hailed and celebrated by the redeemed slaves with a thrilling rapturous gratitude, the very depth of which precluded loud and noisy expression even in their excitable breasts.

On the evening of the 31st of July, many places of worship were thrown open, and the slaves crowded

* "While slavery," said Lord Mulgrave, "lasted as the law of the land, no man, be he who he might, could effectually control its abuses. * * * I was frequently made to feel the helplessness of my position. During the whole of my residence in Jamaica, I never refused to hear any complaint myself that any negro wished to make direct to me, a privilege of which they largely availed themselves. I always heard their story to the end. I have listened to a tale of truth from their lips; I have seen the hope of redress beaming on their brow, and I have felt a painful conviction of what must be my answer, and the unexpected despondency it must cause. * * * However apparently cruel must have been the infliction, I was obliged to ask the fated question, could they say, that the legal number of thirty-nine lashes had been exceeded? In vain they answered, how in such a state of suffering could they count the number of stripes? The driver, probably, was the creature of the inflictor; evidence, if obtained, would probably be discredited, and I was often obliged, when I thought them wronged, to advise that they should not press my interference on a point which would probably only entail on them, on another occasion, a repetition of a punishment within these limits uncontrollable, because irresponsible. * * * It was but too necessary that I should be cautious in my interference, that I should seem cold, really to be kind; for in some cases, on the part of low and violent overseers, I know it as a fact, that whilst the punishment has been inflicting, he has cried out to the driver, "do not spare him, that he may have something to show to the governor next time he complains." Such is the demoralising nature of the system, necessarily leading to cruelty, that some of the worst cases I knew were in the instances of domestic slaves, when the cause of the punishment was rather caprice and personal feeling, than incitement to industry. More than once I have heard of unspeakable cruelty inflicted by women on those of their own sex, from motives of jealousy—and some instances have been reported to me, though I trust these are rare, of punishment partaking of the character of torture, perpetrated by monsters in the shape of men, on the uncomplying objects of their disappointed passions."—(Speech at Freemasons' Hall, August, 1834.)

into and around them. As the hour of midnight approached, they fell upon their knees and awaited the solemn moment, hushed in silent prayer. When twelve sounded from the chapel bells, they sprang to their feet, and throughout the island rang the glad sound of thanksgiving to the Father of all, from the ransomed multitudes.

Great indeed must have been the delight of the nonconformist ministers, both Baptist, Wesleyan, and Moravian, at the progress of the good work in which they had laboured and suffered. Their own personal liberties had indeed been restored some time before, the toleration laws of England having been enacted in Jamaica during the previous sitting of the House of Assembly; but the planters had continued to the last to persecute the slaves for attending prayer meetings.

Another gracious measure which crowned the day was a proclamation issued by Lord Sligo, offering a free pardon to all runaway slaves who should surrender themselves to the special magistrates on the 1st of August. "Every difficulty," says Dr. Madden, "that was possible to be thrown in the way of that humane and most politic measure was given to it," but the governor persevered, nevertheless. Hundreds of fugitives flocked in to surrender themselves; slaves who had been five, ten, twenty, nay, five-and-twenty years away from their masters, delivered themselves up; but unhappily some of them, misunderstanding the terms of the proclamation, instead of going to the special magistrates, went direct to their owners, and arriving a few hours, or even a day or two before the stated period, were cruelly flogged by the tyrannical planters who, in despite of Lord Mulgrave's warning, had persisted in wielding the horrid cart-whip up to the very last moment the law would suffer them.

It had been judiciously decided that the 1st of August should be a holiday; and on that day, as well as on the following sabbath, thousands of the apprentices were seen thronging to the various places of worship;* on the ensuing morning, they all, without exception, cheerfully returned to their respective duties. Sunday markets were abolished; and the negroes doubted not that they should now have ample time in the week to support themselves and their families creditably by labour, without infringing on the period allotted by the Creator for needful rest and sacred exercises. Too many of their just and reasonable expectations were, however, unhappily dashed to the ground by the short-sighted policy of the planters, who, first by the alterations made by them in the spirit and letter of the British act of emancipation, and afterwards by local enactments, and partial adjudications, contrived to make the apprenticeship system little better than another form of slavery. To understand this, it is necessary to show what the intentions of the home authorities were, and how they came to be so grossly perverted.

Apprenticeship.—On the 28th of August, 1833, the "Act for the abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies; for promoting the industry of the manumitted slaves, and for compensating the persons hitherto entitled to the services of such slaves," was finally passed by the British legislature. Under its provisions, all slaves in certain named British colonies (the West Indies, Mauritius, and Cape of Good Hope) were declared to be, on the 1st of August, 1834, "to all intents and purposes free and discharged of and from all manner of slavery," and "absolutely and for ever manumitted." Children thereafter born, and the offspring of such children, were pronounced in like manner to be "free from their birth;" and from the above date, slavery was "utterly and for ever abolished and declared unlawful throughout the British colonies, plantations, and possessions abroad." All slaves in the colonies, duly registered, and of the age of six years, became, from the 1st of August, 1834, *apprenticed labourers*. These were divided into three classes: 1st, predial, attached; 2nd, predial, non-attached; 3rd, non-predial: from the latter class were excluded all persons of the age of twelve years, not habitually employed for twelve calendar months before the passing of the act, in agriculture or manufacture of colonial produce, or otherwise upon lands. The term of predial apprenticeship of classes 1st and 2nd, was *to cease* on the 1st of August, 1840, and their labour in the meanwhile was restricted to forty-five hours per week; that of the non-predials, or 3rd class, was to terminate on the 1st of August, 1838. Children under six years of age, at the before-named period, or born of any female apprentice after that time, if unprovided with an adequate maintenance, might be apprenticed for twenty-one years, reasonable time being allowed for the education and religious instruction of such children. The master might discharge any of his apprentices, unless they were of the age of fifty, or incapacitated by disease or mental or bodily infirmity, in which case he was to be obliged to maintain them during the term originally specified. Masters might sell or otherwise dispose of the services of their apprentices; but the latter could not be removed from the colony in which they were registered, nor separated from their families; nor, if attached predials, from their accustomed plantations, except (in the latter case) with the written consent of two special justices. The apprentice was entitled, according to age and sex, to such food, clothing, lodging, medicine, medical attendance, and other maintenance and allowances as by any law then in force they could claim, and where provision grounds in lieu of food were allotted, they were to be adequate in quantity and quality, situated within a reasonable distance of their place of residence, and sufficient time was to be allowed *out of the forty-five hours of weekly labour* for their cultivation.

The apprentice might purchase his discharge with or without the consent of the person entitled to his services, subject to appraisement under certain formalities and conditions. Sunday was declared a day of rest, and the ordinances of religious worship on that day were to be unfettered by any let, denial, or interruption whatsoever. There were various other regulating clauses, and 100 special justices were appointed under the act, at salaries, in no case exceeding £300 per annum, to superintend its practical working; and commissions of arbitration were nominated to appraise the value of the slaves in the several colonies, and the proportion in which the £20,000,000 sterling voted by parliament was to be distributed.

The above is an abstract of the chief clauses of the celebrated Abolition Act, a measure which, as has been before stated, was far from satisfying the minds of

* Dr. Madden says, that "all the sectarian places of worship were thrown open, and thronged to an unprecedented extent; but," he adds, "I regret to say that, for some reasons which to me are unknown, divine service was not performed in the protestant churches in this town (Kingston.)" This omission on the part of the clergy of the Establishment is certainly much to be regretted, from whatever cause it may have arisen.

the abolitionists, especially of some of the most distinguished members of the Society of Friends, who had for years, it might almost be said for generations, borne an active and consistent part in the anti-slavery struggle.* Indeed, no one accustomed to examine the proceedings of the local authorities of Jamaica, and aware of their deep-rooted prejudices in favour of coerced labour, could doubt that the details of the measure to be passed by them, though nominally in accordance with that of the British parliament, would be in reality made to favour as far as possible their own supposed interests and privileges, and in all possible ways to hamper and discourage the apprentices. The result of this desire was the production of "an anomaly in the form of a legislative enactment, such," says Madden, "as the amended abolition measure, in which hardly a single clause is to be found which is not in contravention of some other." For instance, one clause of the Act provided that the negroes should labour forty-five hours a week; another forty and a-half: so that the amount and distribution of time for compulsory labour at once became a bone of contention between masters and apprentices. The former of course took advantage of the vaguely-worded colonial Act, and the governor was compelled to retrace his steps, and issue a second proclamation, in which the forty-one and a-half working hours were distributed over the whole five days, instead of being limited to four and a-half, an arrangement which a defect in the law was the occasion of, and which produced discontent only short of total insubordination. The extra four hours and a-half were to be required only in cases of sudden emergency, such as fire, earthquake, &c., or at such period of the year as the proprietors might "deem it necessary for the cultivation of the estate or plantation." Of course there were few seasons in which such a plea might not be successfully urged. It would occupy too much time to analyze minutely the British and Jamaica Acts, and show how widely different, even when apparently similar, were their provisions; but it must not be overlooked that the great defect of the iniatory measure was the want of any sufficient incitement of fair and honest remuneration for work performed; and that of the local one, the absence of "an executory principle," so far as the interests and protection of the weaker class were concerned.

One of the first acts of the planters, after the 1st of August, was to take away from the negroes all those allowances and customary gratuities which were not literally specified in the island law. Thus the weekly allowance of herrings, or other salt fish; and in the case of invalids, pregnant women, and mothers with young children, of a small quantity of flour or oatmeal, rice, sugar, &c., was stopped, and certain other arrangements necessary to the welfare, and even the subsistence, of the negroes, and long sanctioned by general custom in the colony, were, by many planters and overseers, suddenly set aside; no watchmen were henceforth provided for the provision grounds, to prevent the crops from being destroyed by the trespass of cattle, or plundered by idle and improvident slaves; no women were any more employed as field-cooks and water-carriers, to prepare the breakfasts and dinners of the gangs in the field, in order that their meal times might be also intervals of rest, and to carry water for them, to quench the thirst excited by exhausting labour under a burning sun. These so-called indulgences scarcely deserved this name, since they were granted by the master for his own interest's sake, as necessary to the health of his slaves, who subsisted before as after the passing of the Abolition Act, chiefly on farinaceous roots, cultivated by their own hands. Yet these were, with bitter truth, called "the indulgences of slavery," and their partial continuance was made the pretext of extorting a far more than equivalent value in extra labour. The attorney-general (Dowell O'Reilly), who discharged the arduous duties of his office, honestly and firmly, at the expense of his private interests, gave his opinion, that the apprentices were entitled to their former allowances; upon which the planters appealed from him to the ex-attorney-general, himself a planter, who declared that no such allowances were obligatory on behalf of the masters. The government did not enforce the views of its own responsible legal adviser; and the counsel of an interested person, whose opinion in this case ought clearly not to have been taken, was suffered to decide the condition of the negroes with regard to this important part of the question of maintenance.

A large volume might be easily filled with a description of the various cruelties exercised by the overseers and planters on the apprentices in Jamaica and the other British West Indian islands, excepting in Antigua and Bermuda, where immediate abolition took place; yet so patiently did the negroes bear their heavy burdens, that for some time the horrors of the system were scarcely even imagined in England. Fowell Buxton writes to Bishop Wilson—"the apprenticeship system seems to go down with the negroes. This is wonderful to me; for I cannot reconcile it even now to my reason that this system should flourish." At length the representations of the Baptists and others again drew attention to the sufferings of the negroes, and in March, 1836, a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the "working of the apprenticeship system in the colonies, the condition of the apprentices, and the laws and regulations affecting them, which have been passed." The committee sat during the session of 1836, and held sixteen sittings during 1837, when the demise of the sovereign terminated its labours; but it was recommended that the inquiry should be pursued in the ensuing session of parliament.

In the report prefixed to the evidence of 1836, the committee pointed out various violations of the Imperial Act of 1834 by the authorities in Jamaica,

* "It is well known," writes Joseph Sturge, "that the measure so undeservedly termed an Act for the Abolition of Slavery, was opposed to the views of those who objected on principle to slavery, whose exertions had excited general public sympathy for the oppressed, and at length urged the question of abolition on the attention of an unwilling government. They could not have done otherwise than protest, as they did, against a law which declared slavery to be for ever abolished, and the slaves set free, subject to such exceptions as created a new kind of slavery, under the name of apprenticeship; an anomalous condition, in which the negroes were continued, under a system of coerced and unrequited labour. Nor, although they might have concurred in the grant of a liberal relief to the proprietors whom slavery had ruined, in order to commence a better system under more favourable auspices, could they have avoided protesting against the acknowledgment of their claim to "compensation," by which, for the first time, the British statute book was disgraced by the formal recognition of the right and lawfulness of slavery. These were fatal objections to the new scheme, and the event proved that they were not merely of a theoretical character."—(*West Indies in* 1837, by Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey, p. 320.)

evasions of its leading provisions, and many illegal and unjust proceedings; yet, strange to say, the conclusion arrived at was, "that the system of apprenticeship in Jamaica was working in a manner not unfavourable to the momentous change from slavery to freedom, which is now going on there." To understand this statement, it should be borne in mind that Buxton, and other parliamentary abolitionists, had a strong motive for not choosing to dwell on the evils of the present arrangement, to which they allude by expressing "their conviction that nothing could be more unfortunate than any occurrence which had a tendency to unsettle the minds of either class with regard to the fixed determination of the imperial parliament to preserve inviolate both parts of the solemn engagement by which the services of the apprenticed labourer were secured to his employer for a definite period, and under specified restrictions; at the expiration of which he is to be raised to a state of unqualified freedom, and be governed by laws framed in all respects on the same principle as those to which his white fellow-subjects are amenable." In fact, the great dread entertained by Buxton was the attempted introduction by the planters of a vagrancy law at the expiration of the apprenticeship, which he feared would be "slavery in reality and for a permanence;"* and to avoid this danger he tacitly concurred in the maintenance of the apprenticeship system, being at that time probably but partially acquainted with its attendant evils. So unsatisfactory and contradictory was the evidence adduced before the committee of 1836, that it excited a strong desire for more conclusive information among the Society of Friends, and Joseph Sturge, John Scoble, and William Harvey, determined to proceed to the West Indies, and investigate for themselves the actual condition of the negro population. On their return to England, they were examined before the House of Commons committee, and presented a large but well-digested mass of evidence, abundantly proving the manifold cruelties and abuses of the existing system, derived from personal observation, from the testimony of white men, and from the most trustworthy of the apprentices themselves. Mr. Burge,† the agent for Jamaica, who was present during the examination, objected to the publication of the evidence, as calculated to bring discredit on the character of the planters, and suggested that he should be permitted to communicate to the parties implicated the communications made with regard to them. This extraordinary request was granted, and a copy of the evidence in question was despatched to what was termed the Committee of Correspondence; by which body it was kept, to be referred to the House of Assembly, and by them returned *unopened*, a clear indication of the unwillingness of the planters to expose themselves to the public condemnation likely to result from an attempt to rebut charges of whose general correctness they were doubtless well assured.

Respecting the information received in 1837, the committee made no remark, beyond calling attention to the jails, hospitals, &c.; the evils pointed out by them in 1836 were classed under seven heads, viz.:—

"1st. The want of reciprocity in the amount and application of the penalties inflicted by the authority of the special magistrates, on managers and on apprentices." This great injustice had been early commented on by Lord Stanley, who, in a despatch dated 20th of February, 1834, pointed out that since the act provided that the apprentice should compensate by labour the loss which his employer might sustain from his ill-conduct, it was but right that a clause should be introduced empowering the special magistrate, in the event of the opposite case occurring, to compensate the apprentice out of the fine to be levied from his employer, instead of passing the whole sum into the island treasury. No such proviso, however, was introduced into the bill, and even the governor, from some inexplicable cause, appears to have acquiesced in the disregard shown by the Assembly to Lord Stanley's suggestions, and to the common principles of justice. Thus, while the law gave the master a direct interest in convicting his negroes of crime, by affixing a penalty which insured him their labour without payment, for a variety of offences, some of which did not in the smallest degree trench upon his interests, it did not recognise the right of the negro to compensation even for severe personal injury, and decreed in the most aggravated case no greater penalty than £3 sterling. While the punishment to be inflicted on the employers was thus kept within very narrow bounds, no similar care was manifested for the apprentices; they might be mulcted of their time to any extent the special magistrate might see fit; sometimes they were compelled to pay back the time lost to their masters during their confinement in the workhouse, and in others compelled to forfeit so many days as to be reduced to the verge of starvation, from inability to cultivate their provision grounds.

"2nd. The defective constitution of the tribunal for the valuation of apprentices applying to purchase their freedom." The unjust mode of appraisement enjoined by the Jamaica Act, rendered the compulsory manumission clause of the Imperial Act almost nugatory. For instance, the appraisers were, one special, and two local magistrates, the latter being of course directly interested in keeping up the value of apprenticed labour; and there being no specific rule or principle whatever laid down, but in this, as in other equally important cases, everything being left to the judgment, discretion, and integrity of the magistrates, the natural result was, that the appraisements afforded specimens of every degree of injustice, fair and honest ones being the rare exceptions. Dr. Madden states—"about eighty apprentices have obtained their freedom before me, either by valuation or mutual agreement; and the average valuation has been £25(currency). In one instance, a tradesman‡ was valued at £80, in the others it varied from £16 to £35." (Vol. ii., p. 217.) There were cases in which he allowed as much as £80; in some he would not agree to the inordinate amount fixed by his colleagues, consequently, the appraisement remained incomplete, and the negro could not buy his freedom. The conduct of Dr. Madden is by no means to be taken as a sample of the spirit which actuated the

* Letter to Macaulay, see *Buxton's Memoirs*, p. 361.

† William Burge was a distinguished member of the English Bar, and for many years attorney-general of Jamaica. On his return to England he was provided with a seat in parliament by the Jamaica proprietors, and became the agent for the island with a salary of more than £1,500 a-year. As a defender of slavery, he was active and unscrupulous; and through his instrumentality the ministry were turned out in 1839 on the Jamaica Constitution Suspension Bill. His occupation ceased on the termination of that modification of slavery, the apprenticeship system, and he received a lucrative appointment as a commissioner of the bankruptcy court at Leeds; there he obtained money on false pretences, forfeited his situation, and died in prison a bankrupt and a criminal.

‡ The coopers, smiths, &c., on estates are so called.

majority of the special magistrates, as but very few long persisted in an impartial discharge of their arduous and ill-remunerated duties. Few cared to offend the planters and overseers, on whose hospitality in a country devoid of inns, or other accommodation for temporary residents, they were almost wholly dependent; and of those few some resigned, and others fell victims to the change of climate, coupled with the incessant fatigue and harassing anxiety to which they were subjected. Their places were supplied by the governor, as he best could, from persons then resident in the island; and the result was, the formation of a tribunal in which the sympathies and interests of the judges were alike enlisted on the stronger side. The marketable value of the apprentice was not taken into consideration; the chief evidence received by the magistrates, one of whom was appointed by the owner himself, and the third by the joint desire of the other two, generally related to the daily or yearly value of the negro's services, which being multiplied by the remaining term of apprenticeship, with one-third generally, but not always, deducted for the contingencies of life and health, formed the amount of the valuation. When the three magistrates differed in their estimates, it was customary to add the amounts together, and take an average of the total sum as the value of the apprentice; the contingent loss was likewise considered, which the master might sustain from the difficulty of replacing the labourer, as also the profit he might have gained by his services.* The whole proceeding was fraught with gross injustice to the negroes; their value was rated at higher prices than while they were slaves for life, and the colonists stood self-convicted of fraud; for, during crop time, extra labour, equivalent to two or three working days, if remunerated at all, would be generally paid by a sum scarcely equal to the sworn value of half a day's toil. Notwithstanding, therefore, the immense sacrifices which the negroes were willing to make for freedom, numbers who were anxious to purchase it, at a fair price, were compelled to remain in bondage; and those who succeeded in effecting their release were crippled in their resources, or involved in debt, from which years of assiduous toil might fail to relieve them.

"3rd. The want of adequate protection to the special magistrates against vexatious prosecutions." Actions of trespass were brought by the planters and overseers against several of the special magistrates who rendered themselves obnoxious by their justice and courage in defending the apprentices,† and the colonial juries inflicted heavy damages for acts performed in their magisterial capacity, and in strict accordance with their duties. The government eventually indemnified the individuals subjected to such galling and mortifying treatment; but in some instances, in which it was peculiarly to be regretted, suffered some of the most meritorious, Drs. Palmer and Madden, for instance, to be removed at the instigation of the colonists. The case of Dr. Palmer was a very flagrant one. He was appointed by Lord Sligo to succeed a "planter's magistrate" named Jones, who had been living with the overseer of one of the large estates in the parish of St. Thomas in the Vale, and whose habitual intoxication, which eventually destroyed him, rendered him the subservient tool of every overseer in the district, until Rodney Hall, the local work-house, became, from the numerous and severe punishments inflicted there, "like a hell upon earth." The planters did their utmost to exclude Dr. Palmer, by preventing his obtaining a residence in the district; and upon his taking up his abode with his colleague, special justice Harris, who had been permitted to occupy a scarcely habitable building on one of the estates, the attorney belonging thereto issued a peremptory order for its evacuation, and directed the overseer to have the roof stripped off by a gang of negroes, as a means of completing this summary ejectment. The new special magistrate being undeterred by this violence, and the apprentices flocking to him by hundreds, the planters took the opportunity afforded by the arrival of a new governor, Sir Lionel Smith, in August, 1836, to request his removal on the ground that the apprentices of the parish were in an alarming state of insubordination. A commission of inquiry, composed of two special, and two local magistrates, planters in the neighbouring parish, were appointed to investigate Dr. Palmer's conduct. Their proceedings, as might be expected, were characterized by extreme unfairness, and at their conclusion, a report was drawn up and signed by the commissioners, upon the strength of which the obnoxious magistrate was immediately suspended by the governor from his office. "Every paragraph of that report," Joseph Sturge remarks, "might be quoted by Dr. Palmer in triumphant vindication of his impartial conduct as special magistrate."‡ The reporters declared openly their view of the necessity of a "mutual understanding existing between the special magistrate and those placed in authority over the labourers;" (i.e., between the magistrates and overseers:) and in the concluding paragraph they summed up the errors of Dr. Palmer as having consisted in administering "the abolition law in the spirit of the English Abolition Act," an accusation, the meaning of which they explained more fully by adding, that

* Sturge, writing in 1837, saw, on the 31st of January, "several negroes valued; one family of five persons for £210 (currency), a weakly woman for £50, and a tradesman on a plantation for £122 : 10*s*. The owner of this last was a local magistrate, who had been previously sitting at the table, assisting in the other valuations."—(P. 157.) Many of the apprentices purchased the residue of their freedom at the prices of from £150 to £200 (currency), and some even higher.

† As an illustration, the case of Captain Oldrey, R.N., may be cited. This gentleman interfered to protect the unfortunate slaves of a wealthy planter, named Mason, and ineffectually endeavoured to bring him to justice for having caused the destruction of one of his field-apprentices, named Tabitha Hewitt. The old woman being afflicted by a horrible disease, called the yaws, he had driven her off the property to the river side, despite the entreaties of her relatives, whom he had prevented even from carrying her food, and compelled to leave her to perish. From an apparently intentional mistake in the wording of the indictment (the *one trick* of the Jamaica planters), it was thrown out by the grand jury, and Mason forthwith proceeded to threaten Captain Oldrey with fourteen actions, which were subsequently condensed into three, the chief plea being the alleged injury sustained by the complainant from his apprentices having been summoned to attend a court ordered by the governor himself. Captain Oldrey resigned his position in disgust, as did also a worthy magistrate named Hill. Special justices Colebrook, Connor, and Clinch, who were colleagues of Captain Oldrey, died. Among those who maintained their office, and conscientiously performed its onerous and important duties, "the names of Hill, Palmer, Madden, Daughtrey, Baynes, Grant, Bourne, and Kent," are especially mentioned by the Rev. J. M. Philippo. —(Vide *Jamaica, its Past and Present State*, p. 173.)

‡ *West Indies in* 1837, p. 457.

" in his administration of the law he has adapted it rather to the comprehension of freemen, than to the understanding of apprenticed labourers." While rendering, however, ample justice to the integrity of Dr. Palmer, it seems probable that excited by the gross abuse and even personal violence he received from the planters, and by their cruel treatment of the apprentices, he sometimes allowed his zeal to outrun his discretion, and thus furnished the weapon with which his opponents succeeded in obtaining from Lord Sligo, and afterwards from Sir Lionel Smith, his suspension and eventual dismission. Nor could Lord Glenelg (the secretary for the colonies), be reasonably expected to persist in reversing a decree the necessity for which had been expressly insisted on by successive governors. The result was most injurious to the apprentices, for the special justices in general followed only too closely the conciliating policy to the planters, enjoined upon them by Sir Lionel Smith, and, after such an example as that of Dr. Palmer, were less than ever inclined to brave the enmity of the planters.

The 4th head under which abuses were noticed by the Parliamentary Committee, comprised the absence of any clause in the Jamaica law to regulate the distribution of the time the apprentice was bound to give his employer, and the withholding of the allowances and indulgences previously general. Both these subjects have before been noticed. The former, being left entirely at the discretion of the overseers, frequently proved a serious grievance to the negroes, for if, instead of adopting the nine hours system, which left them the half of Friday at their own disposal, the overseer insisted upon their working eight hours a-day for four days in the week, and eight and a-half on the fifth, it virtually deprived many of them of half a day's labour on their own ground.* There was a strong inducement to enforce the latter system on the part of the overseer, because the apprentice would sell his extra hour of labour each day for a mere trifle, as the distance from his provision-ground (not the small plot attached to his hut be it remembered) would render it comparatively valueless, whereas the half-day was a real boon to him, not to be lightly parted with. The provision-grounds were from one to fifteen and even twenty miles distant from the huts, but seldom if ever was allowance made for the time spent in going and returning. Yet during illness the apprentices supported themselves, and their young families and aged relatives were also dependant on them for maintenance. Mr. Sturge bears testimony to the fact that their poultry and live-stock were " frequently wantonly destroyed by the overseers," and that the small portion of time left them to procure the necessaries of life was diminished by the frauds practised upon them by their owners, and by the mulcts of the special magistrates. The shameful and openly illegal manner in which they were detained at work beyond the appointed time was notorious, and in 1837 the result of it began to affect not only the negroes themselves, but also the supplies of the public markets, where scarcity and excessive price began to prevail, the negroes whose surplus produce had formerly supplied them, having been themselves too generally reduced to the extremity of want.

The labour during crop time, which extended on sugar estates over a period of from three to six months,† necessarily involved an additional amount of exertion, and several properties are instanced by Sturge‡ in which the mule-boys and sugar-boilers worked continuously for six days and nights, snatching a few minutes' rest during the short intervals of their toil, all this extra labour and night-work being sometimes obtained through the coercive power of the special magistrate, without any remuneration, and sometimes extorted for most inadequate payments, under the sanction of real or fictitious contracts.

Without, however, referring to extreme cases, the general practice was sufficiently severe, as the following evidence of an eye-witness will testify:—" On the property of a gentleman, who is one of the most humane owners in the island, I visited [says Dr. Madden] the works during crop time one morning, at a very early hour. The men who were scumming the sugar when I entered, I observed appeared worn out with fatigue and watching. They had then been at work twenty-four hours without intermission, day and night; it was then five o'clock in the morning: they had gone to work at the same hour on the preceding day, and were to continue at labour till seven o'clock in the evening of that day—in all making thirty-eight hours of constant labour. * * * I was told, some of the others who kept spell were for a shorter period: these were the coopers and carpenters; they had only kept up all night, but at sunrise were again expected to be at their ordinary employments." —(Madden, vol. ii., p. 242.)

Under the 5th head, the Committee adverted to the " corporal punishment inflicted on female apprentices," and the barbarous " practice of working females in chains" and penal gangs. Lord Sligo,§ in a speech to the Jamaica House of Assembly, in 1836, thus adverted to the cruelties practised in this respect:— " The whipping of females, you were informed by me officially, was in practice, and I called upon you to make enactments to put an end to conduct so repugnant to humanity, and so contrary to law. So far from passing an act to prevent the recurrence of such cruelty, you have in no way expressed your disapprobation of it. I communicated to you my opinion, and that of the secretary of state, of the injustice of cutting off the hair of females [a most cruel practice in such a climate] in the house of correction, previous to trial. You have paid no attention to the subject."

All this was disregarded, and Mr. Sturge, writing in 1837, declared that females were still flogged upon the treadmill, and that they " were publicly worked in the penal gang, chained to each other, with iron collars on their necks; besides being liable to the punishment of solitary confinement, with an insufficient diet, and to mulcts of time, by which they are

* Lord Sligo pithily remarked, that if the overseer wanted to get work done, he chose the nine hours system; if to harass the apprentices, the eight and a-half.

† According to Madden, " the mill is about nine months out of twelve on many plantations."—(Vol. ii., p. 242.)

‡ See Appendix to *West Indies in* 1837.

§ This governor, like his immediate predecessor, expressed in strong terms the result of his personal experience. In a letter to Fowell Buxton, he says that before he went to Jamaica, he thought the stories of the cruelties of the slave owners disseminated by the Anti-slavery Society, " rather a caricature than a faithful representation of what actually did take place," adding, " before, however, I had been very long in Jamaica, I had reason to think that the real state of the case had been far understated, and that I am convinced was the fact. I was an ardent supporter of emancipation before I went out, but after being there for a short time, I was shocked at ever having held different opinions."—(*Memoirs of Sir T. F. Buxton*, by his Son, p. 317.) Lord Sligo confirmed his sentiments by liberating all his apprentices before the act of emancipation was carried.

deprived of the means of providing food for themselves and for their children. All these punishments," he adds, "women in a state of pregnancy, and others with infants at the breast, endure in their full proportion."

The truth was, that everything connected with the condition and management of prisons and hospitals in Jamaica was about as bad as it could be; and both Lord Sligo and Sir Lionel Smith exerted themselves in vain in endeavouring to rouse the House of Assembly to a sense of the necessity of legislating effectually on this matter. According to Mr. James Stephen (generally known as Master Stephen, and father of the present distinguished Sir James Stephen, many years Under Secretary of State for the Colonies), Jamaica holds a fearful pre-eminence, by having been "the first of the British colonies that adopted those terrible slave prisons called workhouses, and the public or parochial slave chains, which thirty years ago (i.e., in 1796) were unknown in the Leeward Islands, and, as I believe, in all the Windward Islands." Mr. Dallas, a pro-slavery writer, in his *Journey in the West Indies*, states that in the "King's Chain" twenty to a hundred persons, without regard to age or sex, would be linked together; the chain being fixed about the leader, was carried round the bodies of his followers, and secured to each by a padlock. At the commencement of the day a brisk walk was kept up by means of the never-ceasing activity of the cattle-whip, unsparingly used by the drivers, but at length the feebler began to add the weight of their exhausted limbs to the stronger, and the stronger to tread upon the heels of the weaker, until even the stimulus of the whip failing, the exhausted sufferers were driven back to their loathsome cells. To this galling and degrading torture masters might expose their slaves for the most trivial offences.* The tread-wheels used in the workhouses were very different to those employed in England, and from their construction, incapable of their legitimate object, the enforcement of a species of severe labour. The permanent injuries inflicted by them were frequent, as may be imagined from the following description of the one used at St. Ann's Bay in 1837. "The tread-mill at this workhouse is a cylinder, about eight feet in diameter, with broad steps. The hand-rail above it has eight pairs of straps fastened to it, with which the wrists of the prisoners are always secured. The board under the rail descends perpendicularly, and not in a sloping direction, towards the mill, and does not, therefore, afford them the slightest protection when they lose the steps and hang by the wrists. In that case, the sharp steps of the mill, which project twelve or fifteen inches from the cylinder, must revolve against the bodies and legs of the prisoners with torturing effect," especially against the breasts of the women, who were exposed to this torture even while in a state of pregnancy, or still nursing their infants. Every step was stained with blood, both recent and old; even the sand on the floor was thickly sprinkled with it. If the prisoners could not keep step, as was almost invariably the case when put upon it for the first time, they were suffered to hang, battered by the wheel, until the allotted time, generally about fifteen minutes, had expired. On the morning the workhouse was visited by Sturge, a small weakly old woman was put upon the wheel, and being unable to "dance," as the cruel exercise was tauntingly called, was so much injured that she could not be put upon the mill the next morning; but this did not prevent her from being sent to work in the penal gang, in the usual livery of chains and an iron collar. "Several other women," says Sturge, "also showed us the severe injuries which they had received on the tread-mill. Two of them had infants in arms, of two or three months old, and had been sent, as the driver expressed it, 'for not being able to please their overseer.' One old man was a pitiable object, both his body and limbs being swelled by dropsy to a great size. He had been apprehended as a runaway. When asked whether the prisoners on the wheel were flogged, the deputy supervisor replied that it was necessary "to touch them up, women as well as men," the whip employed being a cat composed of nine lashes of knotted small cord.† The driver of the penal gang, superintendent of the tread-mill, and other similar officers, in this, as well as in the other workhouses, were taken out of the gang of life-convicts, and to these petty tyrants was frequently entrusted the administration of the magistrates' careless sentences of "a few spells on the tread-mill." Besides the time of the punishment, its intensity might generally be increased at any moment beyond endurance by the caprice of the driver, who, even before *English witnesses, not planters*, would sometimes relax his hold for a few seconds, so as to make it revolve with such rapidity as to throw all the prisoners off.

That no repellant feature should be wanting in such scenes as this, it should be added, that mixed gangs of men and women were frequently placed upon the mill, and being provided with no proper dress, were liable to indecent exposure. Twice a-day this torture was repeated. After the first spell they were sent out in penal gangs, chained together in pairs, two men or two women, but, in some instances, even respectable married women, the mothers of many children, were chained to men, and all sent together to labour in the fields; and when night came, men and women were often locked up together indiscriminately, and in some of the workhouses, Rodney Hall, for instance, the insecure state of the building was considered to necessitate fastening the legs of the prisoners to an iron staple at night, on the inclined board on which they slept.

While nursing mothers and aged men, girls and boys, were subjected to the severest cruelties, it may be readily supposed, that the adult males did not escape more easily.

Of the general treatment of the "apprenticed labourers" in Jamaica, it may afford some idea to cite the following statement from the Government returns. Out of 260,000 apprentices, the number punished by the cat, the tread-wheel, &c., in twenty months was:—males, 35,536; females, 22,881 = 58,417; the number flogged was 10,770; and the total number of lashes inflicted was 242,325.

Thus, more than a fifth part of the entire number had, in less than two years of apprenticeship, been pun-

* Before the passing of the Emancipation Act, the power given to masters of sending their slaves to be worked with the public convicts, was not only used for oppressive and vindictive purposes, "but it produced also," says Mr. Stephen, "fraudulent abuses upon sordid and avaricious principles, which a person unacquainted with the feelings generated by colonial slavery would hardly anticipate, or, without good authority, believe. Planters whose slaves, from sickness or infirmity, had become expensive incumbrances, often sent them to the king's chain to be punished as delinquents, merely to deliver themselves from the charge of their support, and of their medical relief."—(*Slavery in the British West Indies Delineated*, vol. i., p, 354.)

† Sturge, p. 188.

ished by the special magistrates, the great majority for offences stated in the official reports under the two favourite heads of "neglect of duty," and "disobedience."* As to the reports themselves, there appears to be only too much reason for remembering, in this respect, the declaration made to the committee by Mr. Beaumont, once the most popular member of the House of Assembly, but discarded thence for daring to propose the abolition of the flogging of women; that he knew "enough of the mode of making up returns in the island of Jamaica to place very little reliance upon any such returns."† Two magistrates were actually dismissed by Sir Lionel Smith for having reported only the legal part of their sentences, omitting to mention the riveted iron collars, used by their authority. As has been before stated, great difficulty was found in filling up the vacancies that occurred among the magistracy, since very few would accept the stipend who were really adapted for the duties of the office; and consequently men were appointed who, from family connexion, personal character or previous habits of life, were quite unfit to be entrusted with the great and almost irresponsible power vested in the special magistrates. Indeed, the very fact that to several, remarkable for their cruelty and injustice towards the apprentices, and removed from their situation expressly on that account by the governor, the planters offered votes of thanks, accompanied, in some instances, by costly pieces of plate,‡ shows clearly enough the one-sided nature of the arrangement. Among the smaller objections noticeable in the appointments of special justices may be cited the fact, that many of them were half-pay officers in the army or navy, unhappily habituated to witness the brutal punishment of flogging; yet some of these were nevertheless among the efficient magistrates. In addition to the sentences recorded, and *not recorded*, against the apprentices, the overseers, on many estates, continued to inflict private punishments at their own will, as the dark holes and dungeons on many estates could testify; in fact, the so-called hospitals, in which the sick were locked up until dead or convalescent, notwithstanding the risk of contagion, were often used as prisons. It was in attempting to examine a horrible den of this kind on Recess Plantation,§ by the express command of Lord Sligo, that Dr. Palmer, and other special magistrates, were violently assaulted by the proprietor (named Giles), his wife, and some of his friends. Bills of indictment were preferred in the Supreme Court against Giles for obstructing the magistrates in the execution of their duty; but, as may be supposed, the grand jury ignored the bills, whereupon Giles in his turn served the magistrates with notices of action for trespass. Mr. Harvey, more fortunate than the special magistrates, succeeded in exploring this celebrated place of confinement, which the proprietor told him he had made many years ago to punish a woman after whose name he had called it; but the negroes had given it the more appropriate designation of "the coffin." It was divided from the hospital (a small room without a window, furnished only with an inclined plane of boards, on which the patients slept, and lit and ventilated by means of the holes worn in the locked door) by a small wooden partition, and was not above five feet high, so that no person could stand upright in it, or sit without being wedged, or lie in any other position than on the side; the heat there must have been excessive, and the absence of light total. Such was a sample of one of the worst places of punishment; the best were bad enough; and it is no slight evidence of the extent to which private and illegal punishments were carried, even during the apprenticeship system, that at Montpelier, the estate of one of the largest and most humane proprietors (Lord Seaford), whom anxiety respecting the condition of his slaves had led to pay more than one visit to Jamaica; a new and substantial stone dungeon, consisting, besides a narrow passage, of two arched cells, about twelve feet by nine, and eight or nine feet high, perfectly dark, was actually erected at a time when penal confinement on estates ought to have wholly ceased; nor was it untenanted, for, says Mr. Sturge, "one of the attorneys, without any magistrate's order, has twice directed to be locked up in it thirteen old women who refused to cut grass on their own days [i.e. to work for their master in their private time]. They were kept, during their confinement, on a short allowance of bread and water."—(*West Indies in* 1837, p. 211). I have no space to enter into the detail of the numerous cases in which unprincipled proprietors contrived to make special magistrates the mere tools of their cruel purposes; but it was certainly not without some truth, that an overseer sarcastically declared, "instead of a black driver we have got a white one, and he answers the purpose just as well."—(Parl. Papers, Commons' Committee, 1836, p. 354).

The 6th head laid down in the Report, referred to the defective state of the marriage laws, which confined to clergymen of the Church of England the power of solemnizing the marriage ceremony. This grievance was soon removed, and unions solemnized by ministers of various denominations were duly legalized.

The 7th and last head had regard to the existing "condition of that part of the negro population which was under the age of six years on the 1st of August, 1834," and were consequently free. "It appears," says the report, "that there exists a general disinclination on the part of the parents of those children to become apprentices (a circumstance

* Mr. Sturge remarked, with regard to the Local Abolition Act, that such were the number and severity of its penal enactments, for the offences of the apprentices, both circumstantially defined and of a vague and general character, that it was probably the most highly penal law that had ever disfigured the statute-book of the colony. Thus under its provisions (see p. 44), a gang convicted of the vague charge of indolence, or neglect, or improper performance of work, might each and all be sentenced to fifty lashes if males, and if females to three months' imprisonment and hard labour, or twenty days' solitary confinement; and then, in addition to this, to labour for any number of hours or days, in their own time, for the benefit of the employer, as the special justice might think proper, not exceeding fifteen hours in any one week. There was no preventive against taking from the whole gang the *entire of their time*, up to the end of the apprenticeship.—(*Vide Operation of the Apprenticeship System in the British Colonies*, by the Rev. W. Bevan; p. 33.)

† Mr. Beaumont further specifically declared, when his opinion was asked by Sir George Grey respecting the number of lashes inflicted monthly during the apprenticeship system, that, looking at the character of the greater number of special magistrates, he did not place the slightest reliance upon any return made by them, adding, and "I am ready to name the magistrates, and give my reasons." —(Question, 4,030.) It seems strange that he was not pressed to do so, as the conduct of these functionaries was beyond doubt a feature of vast importance in the working of the apprenticeship system.

‡ Parl. Papers, Commons' Committee, 1836; p. 355.

§ In the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale.

which your committee cannot but consider indicative of the just value which the negroes attach to freedom); that the means of education are provided for them in a most inadequate manner, and the consequence is, that they are growing up, for the most part, in ignorance and idleness." The committee consequently recommended that the legislature of Jamaica should take immediate means for the better encouragement of schools, which, they proceed to state, independently of the peculiar case of the children referred to, were "exceedingly wanted for the general use of the negro community." It will be remembered that by the Act of Abolition, all children under six years of age, though declared unconditionally free, were left liable (cxiii.) in case of destitution, to be apprenticed* by the special magistrate to the owner of their parents till twenty-one years of age. This was undoubtedly one of the most dangerous parts of the act, as such an apprenticeship of the rising generation involved the indefinite continuance of a system which was in fact only a modified form of slavery. Through the constancy and resolution of the parents, the most determined and insidious attempts to procure the apprenticeship of the children were defeated, but at an expense of infant life, and of an amount of suffering to the mothers, which may be faintly, and only faintly guessed at by recollecting that the free children were wholly dependent on their mothers for support; that the latter, inclusive of the frauds of overseers, and the mulcts of special magistrates, had only one day and a-half at the very best to cultivate ground for this purpose, and that every birth rendered their tasks heavier, and lessened their ability of providing for their increased offspring, and escaping punishment themselves.

At the commencement of the apprenticeship, efforts had been made both by the government and public of the United Kingdom for the instruction of the rising free black population. The funds of the Mico† charity were appropriated to educational purposes, and clergymen and missionaries were sent out by the Church of England, the Wesleyan, Baptist, and London Societies, to strengthen those already in the field. But while the galling yoke of apprenticeship remained, little could be done, beyond comforting the negroes, and urging upon them unweariedly to endure to the end; and this was the more easily done, because the apprentices, with the gladdening prospect of liberty, full, free, and unlimited before them, would sooner have died under the present system, than reverted to hereditary and perpetual slavery, even under the gentlest and most modified form.‡

Both Lord Sligo and Sir Lionel Smith had exerted themselves to induce the House of Assembly to enact efficient measures for the protection and instruction of the children of apprentices, but had been met by continued and vexatious opposition. In an address to the House of Assembly, in February, 1836, Lord Sligo, while enumerating the instances in which the suggestions of the home government and his own views had been utterly disregarded, remarked—"I sent you down no less than four messages on the subject of an extended system of education; as no measure on the subject has emanated from the House, can I do otherwise than conclude that you are indifferent to it? I informed you that £25,000 sterling had been voted for the support of education in the colonies, with the promise of still further assistance being afforded; and you have taken no steps to make it available. I transmitted to you despatches of the Secretary of State, recommending the repeal of the 33rd canon, with a view to increase religious instruction in the colony. You have not attended to the recommendation."

It would appear from this and other evidence that the more unruly members of the House of Assembly were inclined to resume the tone and bearing so firmly though temperately checked by the Earl of Mulgrave.

Thus, in June, 1834, the House, in an address to the governor, openly declared the regret with which they had passed the Abolition Bill, and spoke of being "unaided by the mother-country;" this, Lord Sligo in reply, stated that he could not understand; he reminded them of the £20,000,000 granted by England to compensate the colonies on the change of system, and of "her never-failing replies to the applications made to her in all cases of real emergency, in which Jamaica had more largely participated than any other colony;" adding, that within the previous three years, £300,000 had been forwarded as a loan to individuals who had suffered in the late rebellion, in addition to which, within a few days the island had received another loan of £200,000, at a reduced rate of interest, and payable at a protracted period. These and other facts incontestably proved that Jamaica had largely benefited by the fostering attention of the home government.

This reproof did not suffice to quiet the turbulence of the Assembly, who it would appear felt aggrieved by a share in the £20,000,000 having been extended to their fellow-subjects. the slave-holders in the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, &c., and declared later in the same month in one of their "humble memorials" —"Had we anticipated that the miserable reward of our submission [to the emancipation act of the British parliament] would be in the chief part withheld from us to enrich the foreign settlements conquered from the enemy, we would have rejected the unworthy compromise, and incurred all the evils which the authority and anger of the mother-country might have inflicted, protesting against her tyranny before the world, and reserving our rights [the perpetuation of slavery] to be vindicated and resumed at some happier moment."

The above remarks of the Assembly were doubly ungracious, as great care had been taken in the distribution of the contribution money; and indeed the clauses relating thereto were by far the most accurately worded portion of the Imperial Abolition Act. They had been carried into full effect. The whole stipulated sum of £20,000,000 sterling had been

* It is scarcely necessary to remark, that this term bore no relation whatever to its application in England.

† A Lady Mico, who died in 1710, left a sum of money to her daughter, on condition of her not marrying a specified individual, in which case it was to be devoted to the redemption of white slaves in Barbary. The daughter married, and forfeited the money, which accumulated until, in 1827 (when no Christian slaves remained in Barbary), it amounted to £110,000. This sum, by the exertions of Lushington, Buxton, Macaulay, and others, was applied to the education of the negroes in the West Indies.

‡ The apprentices on the Trelawney estate "said they heard that some of the people on other estates were worse off than before the apprenticeship." For themselves, in answer to an inquiry, they said, "How can we like the old system? We are well satisfied with the present when we think when the whole come."—(*West Indies in* 1837. Appendix, p. 402.)

paid, with accumulated interest, and free of all charges; no single slave-owner could complain of having been defrauded of his share by the British government, though some of the poorer and more ignorant coloured proprietors, duped by the reports circulated by their fellow colonists, were (as in the Cape of Good Hope, see African Division, p. 90,) induced to sell their claims for less than half their value.

The following table shows the apportionment of the compensation-money awarded to the Jamaicans:—

Divisions and Classes.	Number of Slaves.	Compensation per head.	Value per Class.[1]
Predial attached—			
Head People . .	14,043	£31 0 6	£435,727
Tradesmen . .	11,241	31 5 11	351,902
Inferior ditto . .	2,635	20 13 9	54,514
Field Labourers .	107,053	26 12 2	2,848,836
Inferior ditto . .	63,923	12 16 2	818,946
Total . . .	198,898	—	4,509,927
Predial unattached—			
Head People . .	1,329	31 0 10	41,254
Tradesmen . .	1,133	31 11 2	35,759
Inferior ditto . .	322	20 17 11	6,728
Field Labourers .	11,670	26 11 6	310,130
Inferior ditto . .	5,104	13 4 6	67,452
Total . . .	19,558	—	461,324
Non-predial—			
Head People . .	1,759	30 19 2	54,455
Inferior Tradesmen	780	20 11 5	16,045
Head People, employed on wharfs, shipping, &c. .	1,428	30 5 5	43,229
Inferior People do.	901	22 13 8	20,440
Head Domestic Servants . .	12,883	29 3 1	375,619
Inferior Domestics	19,083	19 10 10	372,933
Total . . .	36,834	—	882,724
Children under six years of age . .	39,013	5 9 10	214,368
Aged, diseased, &c.	15,692	4 6 8	67,998
Runaways	1,075	—	13,593
Grand total . .	311,070	—	6,149,934

Note.—Number of claims having reference to each division: predial attached, 5,562; predial unattached, 1,798; non-predial, 9,075. The average compensation awarded was £19 : 15*s* : 4¾*d.* for each slave.—(Parl. Papers, Lords, March, 1838.) [1] Shillings and pence omitted.

Sir Lionel Smith, on succeeding Lord Sligo, in September, 1836, openly expressed and markedly evinced his desire to conciliate and sooth the planters as a means of obtaining better treatment for the apprentices, and in consequence his early intercourse with the Assembly went on smoothly enough as far as words were concerned, but the numerous much needed measures of reform seemed farther off than ever; on perceiving which the governor changed his tone, and lost his popularity.

This state of things did not long continue; great interest had been excited throughout the United Kingdom by the statements made before the committee of 1836, and few that examined them with common attention, could fail to agree with the examiners, when they stated in one of the concluding paragraphs of their report, that abundant proofs had been adduced of the general good conduct of the apprentices, and of their willingness to work whenever they were fairly and considerately treated by their employers; they moreover held it to be fully proved, that the labour voluntarily performed by the negro was more effective than that obtained from him either formerly as a slave, or during the working hours of the apprenticeship system. The effect created by this report was heightened by the publication by Messrs. Sturge, Harvey, Lloyd, and Scoble, of the results of their investigations in the West Indies, and of several atrocious cases of cruelty, in particular that of James Williams, which forcibly demonstrated the inefficiency of the Jamaica laws to protect the apprentices, or to correct the abuses of the prison and hospital systems.

The testimony of this unfortunate negro,* did much to confirm the opinion that many of the overseers, and even proprietors, had entered upon the apprenticeship scheme, with a determination to make the most of the compulsory labour they still had power to exact, and to use up, so to speak, the strength of the negroes as much as possible. This, at first sight, would seem to imply an incredible degree of blindness to their own future interests; but, in the first place, it should be remembered that the tendency of all bad passions, and especially those fostered by the indulgence of tyranny and licentiousness, is to produce a species of infatuation which utterly excludes the light of reason or reflection; and, in the second, many of the overseers probably concluded that the negroes, disgusted with long years of toil and cruelty, would never be induced to labour voluntarily. Let the motives, however, have been what they might, it is certain that the House of Assembly, by its enactments, and the colonists (with

* The history of James Williams came to the knowledge of Joseph Sturge while visiting Jamaica; and the lad, who was only eighteen years of age, having obtained his manumission, by the payment of £46 for the seventeen months residue of his apprenticeship, through the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Clarke, who advanced the money, Mr. Sturge brought the youth to England, where his statements of what he and others had endured, through the injustice of various special magistrates, of drunken, tyrannical, or venal character, at the instigation of masters and overseers, were published in the form of a narrative taken down from the lips of the sufferer. Williams had been flogged seven times during the working of the apprenticeship system, his lacerated flesh being not even allowed to heal, before it was again torn by fresh lashes, and the torture inflicted was so great as to seem likely to carry out his master's diabolical threat, that he was ready to bet £1,000 he would make an end of him. "What make me so much afraid of is," said Williams, "that he did kill a man; he got him ordered a severe flogging, and because the constable did not flog him enough, he ordered the policeman to take the whip. The man coughed blood. He went afterwards to Brown's Town to complain to Captain Dillon, and died in the town; "and the master, (named Senior,) magistrates, and other accessories to his violent death, remained unpunished. The only reason assigned for the furious malice by which Senior was stimulated, was that when the new law came in, in the words of Williams, "the master take spite, and do all he can to hurt them before the free come. I have heard my master say, 'Those English devils say, we to be free, but if we is to be free, he will pretty well weaken we before the six years and the four years are done; we shall be no use to ourselves afterwards.'" A copy of the narrative was transmitted to the Colonial Office, and being there deemed of such

some bright exceptions, such as Alexandro Bravo,* for instance,) by their perverse conduct, contrived to render the whole scheme worse than abortive. The British public became roused to an almost unexampled state of excitement by the bad faith kept with them by the people of some of the West Indian colonies, but especially of those of Jamaica; public meetings were held, and within the space of about six months, deputations, varying in number from 140 to 600, assembled in London from different parts of the three kingdoms. Downing-Street and Westminster Hall were besieged, and petitions, signed by upwards of one million of British subjects (including 450,000 English, 135,000 Scotch, and above 77,000 Irish females), imperatively demanded the abolition of the system on the ground of a violation of the contract on the part of the planters. A large portion of the London press, the different religious journals, and the great majority of the provincial papers, zealously espoused the same cause.

Early in the year 1838, active discussions took place in both houses of parliament. On the 20th of February, Lord Brougham, who had from the first opposed the apprenticeship system, set forth in one of his most brilliant speeches its practical working, as tending to alienate yet more employers and employed, and argued for its immediate abolition, on the plea that the British public had already paid in advance £20,000,000 to compensate the planters for a loss which his lordship maintained was wholly imaginary, inasmuch as wherever the experiment of free negro labour was fairly tried, it proved more remunerative than slave labour.

On the 30th of March, 1838, Sir George Strickland moved the immediate abolition of negro apprenticeship in the West Indies, but was opposed by H. M. ministers on the ground that such a procedure would be a violation of the compact entered into with the slave proprietors, and the motion was defeated by a majority of 64 over a minority of 215.

The day following the division, Lord Sligo, in his capacity of a large Jamaica proprietor, communicated to the House of Assembly a plain statement of the strong feeling which predominated in the British Senate and throughout the country, declaring, that in the debate of the previous night not one voice had been lifted up in their favour, but that their condemnation had gone so far, that Sir Edward Sugden, though opposed to the abolition as a general measure, had said that a complete case had been made out against Jamaica, and that though none of the other colonies deserved it, Jamaica ought undoubtedly to lose the last two years of the apprenticeship. His lordship warned them not to trust to the fallacious statements or rely upon the injudicious advice which they had been so long in the habit of receiving, and by following had been brought to their present condition; instead therefore of vainly attempting to prolong the existing system, he advised them at once to abolish it by their own act and deed, and thus avoid the unpleasant position they would be placed in by the Bill to amend the abolition law proposed to parliament by Lord Glenelg, on the express ground of the existence of very serious grievances in the West Indies which the colonial legislatures, and especially that of Jamaica, contumaciously refused to correct by adequate measures.†

On the 11th of April, the Imperial Parliament passed an Act for the purpose of remedying the defects in the Jamaica Abolition Act, and preventing the recurrence of the abuses pointed out by the Committee of 1836. Many of its clauses were calculated to materially ameliorate the condition of the apprentices, and were so clearly and decisively worded as almost to defy misconstruction, even by a Jamaica assembly. One of them especially directed the classification of the apprentices by a complete and correct registration. This measure was most necessary, for great numbers of the apprentices, who properly came under the denomination of non-predials, had been made predials by their masters, for the sake of wrongfully retaining their services six years instead of four, and domestic servants had been turned into the field for the same end, as also to increase the proprietors' claims for compensation. In some parts of the island frauds of this kind had been carried to a great extent; thus, a local magistrate of Vere, declared, that in that important and populous parish, the class of *non-predials* had been abolished by the planters.‡

importance as to demand special investigation, it was immediately sent out to the governor, who appointed a commission of inquiry, composed of a special magistrate and a local justice, who reported, in October, 1837, that it had become their duty to state, "that the allegations of James William's 'narrative' have received few and inconsiderable contradictions, whilst every material fact has been supported and corroborated by an almost unbroken chain of convincing testimony." They added, that "the House of Correction in St. Ann's parish had been, until recently, a place of licentiousness and cruelty," and that "the tread-mill has been, from the time of its erection, and still is an instrument of torture, rather than of just and salutary punishment." The evidence adduced before the commissioners was not published among the Parliamentary Papers, possibly from the revolting nature of its details, and no inquiry was instituted into the deaths alleged to have been directly caused by barbarous and unjust punishments. The whole matter was much canvassed in England, the anti-slavery party holding forth the narrative of James Williams as an example of the cruelties to which the whole of the apprentices were liable; the pro-slavery party declaring it to be a single instance, to be viewed only in an exceptional light. Of the two extremes, the latter was much the farther from the truth, because the investigations pursued with regard to Williams proved beyond dispute the complete contempt of justice and humane feeling openly manifested in the important parish of St. Ann, and subsequent official inquiries showed that other parts of the island were scarcely inferior to this notorious locality, in the disgraceful condition of their houses of correction, and hot-houses (hospitals), or in the oppressive character of the white inhabitants. In fact, Mr. Senior was an illustration of a numerous class of men, who would, probably, have passed what is commonly designated a "respectable" life, had not their evil passions been fostered by the temptations offered by the unholy power over their fellows, which no Christian government can be justified in allowing its subjects to exercise.

* This gentleman being one of the most extensive and respected proprietors in the island, a custos and member of Assembly, his views on matters of internal policy could not but have great weight. He considered slave-labour, of all others, the most uneconomical and expensive, and was persuaded that twenty free men were equal to 100 slaves. Under a slave system agricultural operations could not be carried on but with immense masses of men, which he believed would not be required, even in West India cultivation, when placed on a proper footing.—(*West Indies in* 1837, p. 168).

† *Vide* a pamphlet on the Abolition of the Apprenticeship, p. 13. Published by Oliphant and Sons, Edinburgh, supposed to have been written by Sir George Stephen.

‡ *West Indies in* 1837, p. 322.

On the 22nd of May,* Sir Eardley Wilmot, M.P., carried a motion for immediate abolition, by a majority of three; but this vote was neutralised by the interposition of H.M. ministers, who still shrank from the forcible abbreviation of the apprenticeship; and Sir George Grey, a few days later, caused a resolution to be passed by the House of Commons, declaring it inexpedient to adopt any procedure for the purpose of giving effect to the resolution of the 22nd, whereupon Lord Glenelg's measure was again reverted to.

As might be expected, the British re-amendment of the Jamaica "Amended Abolition Act," excited great indignation; the Assembly protested against it in no measured terms, and stigmatised the proclamation which declared the said act in force in the island, as illegal, unconstitutional, and utterly subversive of all their privileges. Not content with this vent for their excited feelings, they proceeded to calumniate and vilify the mother country, not only for her conduct towards Jamaica and other colonies, but also in matters respecting the internal administration of the United Kingdom, with which the Assembly could have no possible concern. Nothing could well exceed the bitterness of their "Protest," which they crowded with sneers and reproaches in default of more convincing arguments. It chanced, that about this time a small gang of British ruffians had been detected in the commission of several horrible murders, seizing and silencing their victims, by means of pitch-plasters suddenly applied to the mouths of their unsuspecting victims. It was just one of those moral epidemics which occasionally startle metropolitan communities; it excited, as may be remembered by many readers, general and unqualified abhorrence, and, in some minds, excessive alarm; and, perhaps, had the good effect of showing sin in so hideous and hateful a form as to offer a public and terrible warning. Yet the representatives of an island, where men, women, and children had been again and again, within the last few years, and even months, destroyed with impunity; where juries, it was notorious, would almost, without exception, commit perjury sooner than pass a just verdict on a white manslayer, did not hesitate to express their sentiments when quite uncalled for, and taunt the mother country with the crimes of a few wretched men, whose lives had paid the earthly penalty of their crimes, and whose memories were held by the British public in the deepest detestation. The sufferings almost inevitably connected with a surplus population, were likewise adduced in the same taunting style of recrimination, by the Assembly, who seemed to think that, because the imperial government could not by ceaseless efforts succeed in banishing sin and suffering from the United Kingdom, therefore it had no right to interfere for the protection of the oppressed coloured subjects of the sovereign, or even to compel the fulfilment of the conditions of a compact into which the people of Great Britain had entered, influenced, perhaps, by the very purest and most Christian motives which ever prompted a great national act. What English heart is there so cold as not to sympathize with the feeling that prompted the dying Wilberforce to exclaim—"Thank God that I have lived to witness the day in which England is ready to give twenty million sterling, for the abolition of slavery."

Yet the Jamaica Assembly hesitated not to issue a protest, filled with the bitterest invective, against a nation, of whose glory they might well be proud, and whose generosity they had repeatedly experienced. The following paragraph shows the petulant and wayward tone assumed by the Assembly, and is interesting as illustrating how closely the pro-slavery arguments used by British planters in 1838, resemble those urged by American slaveholders in 1853.

After alluding to Ireland, that unhappy land of absenteeism, which has long been a reproach to England and a thorn in the side of her statesmen, and boasting that their labourers and artisans never combined as those of Dublin and Glasgow had recently done to raise wages (quite forgetting that the insurrection of 1832 had, by their own accounts, been rather a remarkable instance of a "strike" for wages), they proceeded to declare that "the horrible trade of Burke† (and we fear of many more), which has

* The venerable Zachary Macaulay died just before this glorious consummation of his life-long labours.

† The annals of Jamaica contain quite as horrible a page as that occupied by the murders of Burke and Hare in the Newgate Calendar, and it would be equally unjust to cite it as an illustration of national instead of individual depravity. It is cruelty and oppression tolerated, if not sanctioned, by law and public opinion, that degrades a people,—not startling cases, which by the penalty inflicted, and the horror excited, are incontestably shown to be detested by the vast majority of the community. Therefore, the crimes of a wretch like Hutchinson, inflict no stain upon the character of the white population towards each other, though they, perhaps, afford indirect evidence of some of the many evil tendencies and opportunities of slavery, since such a career would have been next to impossible in any but a slave colony. Towards the close of the last century a man named Hutchinson lived in the parish of St. Ann, who built for himself a small and lonely dwelling with a turret, which he (being a Scotchman by birth) designated by the name of Edinburgh Castle. It stood in a close and wood-bound vale called Pedro, situated nearly in the centre of the island (see *map*), and occupied a pass leading from the southern to the northern coast, the defile being scarcely 100 yards across, and the mountains rising on either side almost to an Alpine height. It was not want that tempted the master of this lonely spot to make it the scene of many a horrible butchery, for he possessed a small stock of cattle, and some slaves, recently imported from Africa, who appear to have implicitly obeyed his sanguinary commands. The solitary traveller was aimed at from a loop-hole, under which he was compelled to pass, or sometimes would be received into the murderous dwelling, nursed if sick, or fed if hungry, and then when about to depart recruited and refreshed, was suddenly assassinated. The mangled carcases were thrown down one of the deep and hollow drains peculiar to mountainous countries of volcanic origin, whose mouths descending perpendicularly, form a channel for the torrents which periodically fall to the level of the ocean. In spite of the inquiries suggested by the disappearance of numerous individuals, Hutchinson remained for many years unsuspected. At length, the manager of a property in the same vale, named Callendar, came to complain about the trespasses of the cattle which strayed from the Castle; he was hospitably received, the visit was returned, and there the matter apparently ended; but a few days later a sick traveller, confined to bed in the turret above, saw Callendar, while riding past, shot dead by a bullet discharged from behind a thick-set hedge by the road-side. The witness of this foul murder deeming himself an intended victim, contrived to effect his escape, and gave the alarm. The assassin fled, and the premises being examined, no less than forty-seven watches were found. The unfathomable charnel-house resorted to by Hutchinson, being pointed out by one of the guilty slaves, the mangled body of the unfortunate Callendar was discovered by the help of a bundle of lighted straw, caught at the depth of many feet below on the point of a projecting rock; but the yawning abyss beneath had more effectually engulphed the previous victims. Hutchinson meanwhile escaped to

given a new word to the English language, was never heard of here; nor have we ever known an instance of parents putting their infant families to death, to save them from the protracted sufferings of starvation [substitute slavery for starvation, and a more fruitful cause would be found for this crime]. It is not in Jamaica that unfortunate mothers outrage nature by the destruction of their new-born offspring, to avoid the persecution of a hard-hearted and destroying morality;* nor is it under our laws that wretches commit suicide to escape the refuge which is provided for worn-out and aged industry. We have no corn laws to add to the wealth of the rich, nor poor laws to imprison, under pretence of maintaining the poor; we cannot, as the English parliament does, boast of a pauper law which has taken millions from the necessities of the destitute, to add to the luxuries of the wealthy."†

Notwithstanding the general violence of their language, the more temperate members of the Assembly were not blind to the probable consequences of the position in which they had placed themselves, and the considerations so forcibly urged upon them by Lord Sligo doubtless had their due weight. Besides this, the example of the neighbouring islands were, as additional weights, thrown into the wavering scale. The legislatures of Montserrat, Nevis, and the Virgin Islands, St. Vincent and Barbadoes, had successively passed acts for the termination of the apprenticeship system on the ensuing 1st of August. Jamaica held out chiefly in the hope of obtaining further compensation, i.e., an increased bribe to perform a clear duty. This expectation was effectually dispelled by Sir Lionel Smith, who, in addressing the local legislature, specially convened in June, 1838, declared that he had been commanded to state that H.M. ministers would not entertain any question of additional compensation. As governor, under existing circumstances, he pronounced it physically impossible to maintain the apprenticeship with any hope of successful agriculture, "since the exaction of coerced labour, always difficult, would in future be in peril of constant comparison with other islands set free, and with those estates in this island made free by individual proprietors." He therefore advised them "to abolish a law which had equally tormented the labourer and disappointed the planter; a law by which man still constrains man in unnatural servitude."

The reply of the Council was dignified and liberal. They expressed their cordial concurrence with the governor's views, adding, "we feel pleasure in recording our perfect conviction that the apprentices will be found worthy of freedom in every respect, and will so conduct themselves as to ensure the future interests of the planters."

The reply of the Assembly contained a tacit admission that the apprenticeship could not be maintained, and an expression of their anxious hope, that should they determine to remove what even they now termed an "unnatural servitude," they would be left, in the exercise of their constitutional privileges, to legislate for the benefit of all classes, without any further parliamentary interference.

On Thursday, the 7th of June, a bill for the termination of the apprenticeship on the 1st of August, 1838, was brought in by Mr. Guy, of St. George's, and referred to a committee, and on the 8th it was passed without a single dissentient voice. Some honourable members even desired that it should take place on the following Sunday, others would have reserved it for the day of her majesty's coronation; and, by a strange but not unnatural revulsion of feeling, several evidences of a loyal and kindly spirit on the part of certain members of the Assembly, marked the extinction of an evil which had for half a century been constantly productive of bitterness and alienation between the colony and the mother country, and had from its very commencement proved baneful alike to the commercial and moral condition of the island, hindering the development of its rich and varied resources, by blighting and narrowing the naturally generous and expansive energies of its colonists. Thus, after having been 329 years a European colony, and 183 years an English one, receiving, until the last thirty years, unceasing and unlimited supplies of slave labour, not one-fourth of the 4,000,000 acres contained in the island had been brought under cultivation,‡ and the state even of the chief towns was a disgrace to a civilized community.

The glorious 1st of August at length arrived, and the negroes of the British West Indies became unconditionally free. This triumphant termination of the labours of their long-tried friends, and of their own patience and good conduct, was received by them with the rapturous delight natural to the impulsive African, blended in the breasts of a very considerable proportion with the deep sober thoughtfulness of reasoning and intelligent beings, who fully appreciated the extent of the responsibilities which accompanied the privileges newly conferred upon them. Many congregations being assembled by their ministers, as in 1834, awaited the auspicious dawn on bended knees, in silent prayer, and the temples of God were thronged throughout the day by multitudes who came to pour out praises and thanksgiving from their full hearts to Him who by earthly instruments had redeemed them from bondage, and to bless and pray for that great empire whose free citizens they now were, whose dutiful and patient subjects they had long been.

After the exemplary conduct evinced by them during the trying period of apprenticeship, there could be little doubt in any impartial mind that they would receive the consummation of their hopes, in an equally orderly and satisfactory manner. Nevertheless many of the planters persisted in predicting general insubordination, refusal to work for wages, riots, and even bloodshed, as the immediate results

sea in an open boat, from the port of Old Harbour; but his flight being intercepted by the vigilance of Admiral Rodney, he threw himself into the waves, from whence he was rescued to meet a more ignominous end. He evinced to the last the most utter recklessness, and at the foot of the scaffold left a hundred pounds in gold to erect a monumental record to his infamous memory, and his death at the age of forty years.

* Certainly, no one had ever dreamed of accusing the Jamaicans of persecuting individuals guilty of any degree of licentiousness. It was there unnecessary to assume a virtue really wanting. At this very time four or five coloured children of a late governor (the Duke of Manchester) were pupils at a school maintained chiefly by the charity of a society of ladies in England, and one of the teachers was the daughter of the duke's celebrated secretary Bullock. This remark is, of course, not intended to affix any stigma upon the innocent offspring of erring parents, but only to show that, in the words of an eye-witness, "the dreadful state of social disorganization" in Jamaica, and the "bad eminence" to which it had attained was legibly written even on the surface of society.—*West Indies in* 1837, p. 167.

† Parl. Papers, 1839, Part I.; p 51.

‡ Parl. Papers, July, 1842; p. 338.

of emancipation, and would actually have made formal preparations in that assumed belief, their true object being to procure labour at the lowest possible rates, but for the firmness of the governor in resolutely opposing their belligerent intentions. Sir Lionel Smith mentions as an instance of the spirit in which the planters met the change from slavery to freedom, that they had made his prohibition of the employment of the militia against the labouring population, the ground of a solemn charge against him, as rendering it impossible that the majesty of the laws could be upheld. Sir Lionel pledged himself that it should not be infringed, and he subsequently declared, "I have, not only without employing the militia, but without raising a policeman or appealing to the support of a single soldier, amply fulfilled my promise. It has been accomplished no doubt by means which they [the previous slave-owners] would utterly despise—the influence of the religious teachers of the people—the moral restraint under which that people consequently exist—and the loyalty to their sovereign and the confidence in the British government which these very teachers, calumniated as they have been, have sedulously inculcated upon their flocks."—(Parl. Papers, 1839; part i., p. 3.)

It was indeed well that the negroes were influenced by good principles at this important crisis, for difficulties surrounded them on every side.

The island itself had been long and gradually declining, public and private bankruptcy threatened to engulf it in irremediable destruction, and oppression, carried to its height, seemed about to end in a fierce and deadly servile war. Emancipation averted the latter catastrophe; and the princely sum given to the planters, together with the large advances recently made to the island, would, it was hoped, restore a more sound financial condition than had existed for upwards of a century. But this expectation was founded in ignorance of the extent of existing evils. Jamaica was fast becoming rotten to the core; and though emancipation sufficed to save her from destruction, yet, to restore her long-lost vigour and energy, there needed a succession of remedies suited to the deep-rooted and complicated character of the disease. At this important crisis, no time ought to have been lost either by government or by influential individuals interested, whether from philanthropic or pecuniary motives, in the welfare of the colony. While the warm hearts of the negro peasantry were thrilling with grateful delight, and the desire of showing themselves worthy of freedom, and of earning an honest livelihood for themselves and their little ones, actuated the whole body as one man, an excellent opportunity offered itself to the planters of entering into new and amicable relations, and thus counteracting the effects of the impolitic and too frequently unjust severity exercised during the apprenticeship.

The good that might have been effected at this time, had the majority of the absentee proprietors, aware of the urgency of the case, visited their properties, and taking advantage of the kindly feeling entertained by the negroes for them personally,* made terms with them, cannot now be estimated. Probably several families, since reduced to hopeless indigence by the direct consequence of perseverance in total absenteeism, might, by following a different course, have been living in comparative wealth, and holding the proud position of British landholders, connected by the two-fold tie of interest and affection, with an honest and laborious peasantry.

It is true, that the peculiar position of the Jamaica landholders rendered such a step difficult, inasmuch as when the payment of their large share of the compensation money came to be made, it necessarily caused a balance to be struck between them and their creditors, and revealed to them the full force of what they had long been declaring, namely, that their estates were mortgaged considerably beyond their value, and, consequently, that great part of them were irretrievably ruined.

As far, therefore, as many of the proprietors were individually concerned, the case was hopeless; they had long been consciously playing a desperate game, involving themselves deeper and deeper in debt and difficulty, until they found themselves in the position of a ruined gambler; for speculations carried on, under such circumstances, can scarcely be viewed in any other light.

Still there were the estates, and though they might have changed hands, it was self-evident that the proprietors, whether old or new, ought to give, in regard simply to their own interests, immediate and most careful attention to placing them under a more satisfactory system, and abolishing the cumbrous and expensive machinery necessary for the coercion of slave labour. Very few, however, took this pains, either from actual inability, indolence, and hopelessness of any good result, or else from being still deceived by the mis-statements of their local representatives, and the overseers and negroes were left to settle matters as best they could, under the nominal supervision of the planting attorneys, whose first thoughts were necessarily directed to the supervision of their own properties, and who literally could not have had time to do more than officially correspond with the actual managers, and assent, as a matter of course, to arrangements and documents which imperatively demanded the active investigation of persons deeply interested in the welfare of the estate. Under the most favourable circumstances, the want of capital would have been of necessity a serious bar to the employment of labour; but the conduct of many of the overseers, in withholding the promised wages, upon frivolous and even false pretences, greatly increased these difficulties. The provision grounds formerly allotted to the negroes soon became a bone of contention, for not only were the most exorbitant rents demanded and enforced by a Petty Debt Act, which afforded great facilities for the obtainment of fictitious or exaggerated claims, but the question of rent and wages was wilfully mixed up, so as to be a constant source of vexatious oppression to the negro,† whose natural desire to obtain a freehold of his own, and thus become independent of such influence, was stimulated to the highest degree.‡ Once master of that much coveted

* The works of writers on the West Indies, whatever their pro or anti-slavery bias might be, concurred in describing the respectful affection entertained by the negroes for their absent proprietors in England, which extended even to the different members of the family, and was, in many cases, encouraged by acts of personal favour, such as sending out presents at Christmas time.

† On this subject, see Gurney's *Winter in the West Indies.*

‡ Many negroes had to earn money wherewith to repay the debt incurred in the purchase of their freedom. The total number of apprentices manumitted, and the amount paid by them, I have not been able to ascertain, but the Journals of the Assembly record that between 1st August, 1834, and 31st May, 1836, 581 purchased their release for £18,217; between 1st November, 1836, and 31st July, 1837, 1,029 paid £29,499, and 405 others agreed to pay £18,115, at

possession, the labourer could no longer be induced to relinquish its profitable cultivation, unless the wages offered him for toiling elsewhere were both remunerative and certain.

This, many overseers had it not in their power to offer; however willing, they could not furnish, on the Saturday evening, those weekly earnings which the labourer, all the world over, rightly values so much more when paid regularly, and in cash, than by any other system. The consequence was, a loud outcry for more labour, which there was no capital to employ. Ill-assorted cargoes of immigrants, composed only too largely of the very dregs of the population of Calcutta and other cities, were imported at different periods (as will be shown in the population chapter), but the experiment has proved little better than a failure. No proper provision or regulations were made respecting them by the authorities; many perished for lack of suitable food and lodging; others prolonged a miserable life by hanging about the towns, and procuring as best they might a wretched subsistence; while a considerable portion, having completed their stipulated period of service in the island, demanded vainly to be restored to their native country, in compliance with the agreement entered into by the colonial government, a stipulation which has been shamefully violated on the plea of want of funds.

Conclusion.—In subsequent sections, the present condition of Jamaica, and of the other West India islands, will be shown; as also, so far as space will permit, the effects produced by the yet recent change from slave to free labour. To what may with propriety be termed the history of the colony, a few events still remain to be added.

No sooner had the agitation caused by the discussion of the emancipation question passed away, than the disgraceful state of the hospitals and jails again compelled the renewal of the parliamentary interference so strongly deprecated by the Assembly. In consequence of the statements made by Joseph Sturge and other eye-witnesses, H.M. government sent an able officer (Captain Pringle) to inspect the prisons in the West Indies, and in Jamaica in particular. His report, laid before parliament on the 8th of July, 1838, by amply confirming the accounts before received, and revealing yet further evils, necessitated the immediate passing of an act (4th August, 1838) by the Imperial Legislature, "for the better government of prisons in the West Indies," whereby it was provided that H.M. in council, or the governor and council of any colony, should be authorised to make rules for the management of "prisons, gaols, houses of correction, hospitals, asylums, and workhouses," in the said colonies; inspectors of prisons were to be appointed by governors, and as Captain Pringle had been obstructed by local authorities in his endeavour to investigate the abuses prevailing in Jamaica, penalties were to be imposed in the event of any future wilful obstruction; and other stringent regulations were to be enforced.

The passing of this act gave great offence to the Jamaica Assembly, who declared that their rights were infringed, that they would vote no more supplies but such as were necessary for the maintenance of public credit, and that they would abstain from further legislation until the obnoxious measure was rescinded. Although repeatedly summoned by the governor, the refractory members constituting the majority, persevered in their resolution, and stopped all business. Sir Lionel Smith then made the strongest representations to H.M. ministers respecting the conduct of the Assembly, and on the 9th of April, 1839, Mr. Labouchere introduced a bill to suspend the constitution for five years, and to empower the governor and council, aided by three commissioners to be sent from England, to administer the affairs of the island.

Long debates ensued; Sir R. Peel and the conservative party opposed the measure, and council was heard at the bar on behalf of the Assembly. The House divided, 294 were in favour of the bill, and 289 against it, leaving to ministers only a majority of 5, whereupon Lord Melbourne and his cabinet resigned. Sir R. Peel was sent for by the Queen, but failed to form a government in consequence of stipulating that H.M. should dismiss the ladies of the bed-chamber, and replace them by others belonging to the Tory party. This H.M. very properly refused to comply with, declaring to Sir R. Peel (*vide* the royal communication of 10th May, 1839) that the Queen "cannot consent to adopt a course which she conceives to be contrary to usage, and which is repugnant to her feelings." Lord Melbourne again succeeded to office, and on the 19th of July, 1839, an act was substituted* for that abolishing the constitution of Jamaica, which declared that as the Assembly had suffered certain legislative enactments to expire,† some of which ought without delay to be revived or re-enacted, it should be lawful for the governor in council to revive or re-enact all or any part of such expired laws, unless the House of Assembly should, within two months of the date of its assembling, have itself revived or re-enacted the said laws. It was deemed advisable to recal Sir L. Smith, as he was too deeply committed in the discussions with the Assembly to afford any ground for hoping that an amicable feeling could be restored during his tenure of office. He left Jamaica on the 1st of October, 1839, and was succeeded by Sir Charles (afterwards Baron) Metcalfe, under whose administration the measures required by the home authorities were eventually passed. The talents and integrity of Sir Charles were aided by the resources of a large private fortune, which enabled him, by the indulgence of his munificent and charitable disposition, joined to the charm of a naturally pleasing manner, to win golden opinions from all classes of the population, and to do much towards calming the excitement of party feeling. Happily for Jamaica, his successor, the Earl of Elgin, was also an able upright governor, whose public and private character was equally calculated to exercise a most beneficial influence on the colony, and he succeeded in inducing a few of the more rational colonists to cease depending on bounties, protection, and aid from England, and endeavour to work out their own improvement by the development of the numerous and valuable resources which Providence had placed within their reach.

But the influence of even master minds could not work miracles, or change the decree of Omnipotence, that communities who sow the wind must reap the whirlwind; after ceasing to do evil men must also learn to do well; and the education requisite for the fulfilment of this correlative command is difficult, and its

which their residue of bondage had been appraised. These three sums alone amount to £65,831, and the fact bears high testimony to the negro character in several respects.

* 1 & 2 Vict., c. xxvi.

† This alluded more especially to some important clauses contained in the British Amended Abolition Act of 1838.

results are only gradually manifested; the abolition of slavery was but a step, though a primary one, in the right direction, and unless succeeded by measures calculated to foster kindly relations between master and servant, so that both might appreciate their changed relative position, evils would inevitably ensue. It is doubtful whether this necessity is yet fully understood in Jamaica.

In 1846, considerable excitement was created by the admission of foreign sugar into the markets of Great Britain and Ireland at reduced duties, an important step in the change from the system of Protection, to that of Free-trade, the propriety of which it would be quite out of place to discuss here, more especially as the introduction of political questions is inconsistent with the design of this work. The people of Jamaica naturally regarded the measure with grief and displeasure; and still consider it as having materially checked their improving commerce. On the other hand, it is asserted by those who have had good opportunities for forming an unbiassed opinion on the subject, that coffee, sugar, cotton, or any other product, can, by good management, be cultivated more productively by free than by slave labour, and, consequently, that the former need never dread competition with the latter.

Good management, except in a few and rare cases, is, however, an experiment yet to be tried. Most of the proprietors may exclaim with the late Lord Seaford—"God has done everything for us in Jamaica, but we have done little hitherto for ourselves."

No political event of any moment has since occurred in the history of the colony; a liberal elective franchise has been adopted; fifteen free coloured citizens (including three of pure negro blood) have been elected representatives of the people in the House of Assembly, and a respected coloured gentleman (Mr. Jordon)* sits in the Upper House of Legislature as one of H.M. council.

In 1850-'51, cholera caused great destruction of life. At least thirty thousand persons perished; small-pox and other diseases have since raged with some violence: and their combined effects have operated injuriously in diminishing the effective available labour of the country.

Droughts, or excessive rains, at seasons when least desirable, have impeded the growth and production of the island staples, to the increase of which no improved means of tillage or irrigation, or superior breeds of farming stock, have been applied or added with a view to cheapening the cost of production and raising the value of the articles produced.

A large and lucrative part of the trade with the Spanish main, of which Jamaica was formerly the entrepôt, is now carried on direct from England. Numerous failures of mercantile firms in London, Liverpool, Bristol, and Glasgow, as well as at Kingston, have contributed to diminish commerce, while the fraudulent conduct of persons in government employ, in public institutions, and in private life, who were entrusted with monies, which they appropriated to their own use, have weakened confidence in the trustworthiness of every class. The large and increasing burden on the local revenues, amounting to nearly £800,000, and the almost total absence of capital in the colony, has tended still further to diminish the value of property which it has unhappily been the interests of agents and managers to depreciate, in order that they themselves might ultimately become the purchasers of abandoned estates. These and other circumstances, in most cases the result of deep-rooted evils of long standing, have tended to reduce this noble colony to a state of great mercantile depression,† of which the temporary diminution in the cultivation of coffee and sugar, is perhaps the least important, especially as the condition of the vast mass of the export producers is rapidly improving. Eighteen years ago the coloured proprietors of land were few and scattered; now there are considerably upwards of *one hundred thousand coloured freeholders*, working hard, living thriftily, and endeavouring to accumulate real capital, which has not existed for many years in Jamaica, unless, indeed, slaves can be so termed. As yet, these small proprietors can do little more than raise a sufficiency of food for the support of their families; but they gladly labour for their former masters provided a remunerative rate of wages is offered. When, however, it is considered that meat is 6*d.* to 1*s.* per pound, corn-meal 50*s.* to 60*s.* per barrel, and other things in proportion, it must be evident that 9*d.* or even 1*s.* a day is insufficient to provide for the wants of a

* Mr. Jordon was for many years the editor of the *Watchman* newspaper, in which capacity he rendered good service to the cause of religious toleration, by advocating the rights of the missionaries; he was also instrumental in promoting the abolition of slavery. For these reasons he was persecuted by several members of the Assembly of that epoch. In the number of the *Watchman*, published on the 7th April, 1832, Mr. Jordon, in replying to some remarks by the editor of a rival paper, and congratulating him on having come over to the side of abolition, said, "we shall be happy with him and the other friends of humanity, to give a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether, until we bring the system down by the run, knock off the fetters, and let the oppressed go free." For this expression, without any warning, a true bill for treason was found against him by the grand jury, and he heard it for the first time read publicly in court, while sitting there reporting for his journal. He was tried, 17th April, 1832, for his life, but acquitted, as his partner, Mr. Osborne, firmly refused to give any evidence in proof of who wrote the alleged treasonable article; but the coloured people had armed themselves, and determined that if found guilty he should not be put to death. Any such attempt would have caused a civil war, which would, in all human probability, have merged all other distinction in that of colour. Those days of oppression are now happily past, and Mr. Jordon, Mr. Osborne, and others, are reaping the reward of a consistent and upright life.

† A recent visitor (Mr. Bigelow), after commenting severely, but with only too much justice, on the evils of absenteeism, the immense extent of the several estates, and the clumsy and expensive mode of cultivation persevered in by those who ought to set a better example, declares his conviction, that these causes "would have conducted Jamaica to inevitable ruin, had the tariff laws never been altered, nor the slaves been set at liberty."—(*Jamaica in* 1850, p. 14). He adduces some of the "thousand ways in which labour is squandered," as evidence "that there is no intellect invested in the cultivation of the island." With regard to the alleged high price of labour, he naturally asks, in what quarter of the civilized world it is lower in proportion to provisions? adding, that four-fifths of all the grain consumed in Jamaica is grown in the United States, on fields where labour costs more than four times this price, and where every kind of provision but fruit is less expensive.—(p. 125.) "The importation of salt fish is very large, and yet the waters around Jamaica abound with some of the finest fish in the world. The people will send to Maine for lumber, and pay twenty-five dollars per 1,000 feet for it, rather than be at the trouble of cutting down their own magnificent forests. There is not a single saw-mill upon the

labourmg man with a young family. The negroes toil on their own properties with uneeasing assiduity, and where they are employed at task-work, their efforts are extraordinary. Gradually, new proprietors are entering Jamaica with capital; and if an "Eneumbered Estates' Act" could be passed for the island, as has been done for Ireland, good would ensue by facilitating the purchase of land in small allotments by men likely to reside on their property and to improve it. Under judicious management, Jamaica would not require to import from America nine-tenths of the provisions, including maize and fish required annually to supply the population; the whole might, with great advantage, be obtained in and around the island; and a large surplus be provided for exportation. Protective duties on sugar and coffee would not restore the insolvent planters; the renovation of the colony must spring from within, by the cultivation of the soil, in the first instanee, so as to provide sufficiency of the necessaries of life for its own population, whose attention would then be naturally turned to the production of those varied crops which a rich earth, fertilized by a glowing sun, and abundant moisture, is capable of yielding.

The following is a list of the Governors:—

Colonel D'Oyley . . .	1660	W. H. Lyttelton, Esq.	1762
Lord Windsor . . .	1662	Sir Wm. Trelawny, Bt.	1767
Sir T. Modyford, Knt.	1664	Sir Basil Keith, Knt. .	1773
Lord Vaughan . . .	1675	Major-gen. Dalling . .	1777
Earl of Carlisle . . .	1678	Major-gen. Campbell .	1782
Sir Thos. Lynch, Knt..	1682	Earl of Effingham . .	1790
Duke of Albemarle . .	1687	Earl of Balcarras . .	1795
Earl of Inchiquin .	1690	Lieut.-gen. Nugent .	1801
William Selwyn, Esq..	1702	Lieut.-gen. Sir E. Coote	1806
Lord Arch. Hamilton .	1711	Duke of Manchester .	1808
Peter Heywood, Esq. .	1716	Earl of Belmore . . .	1829
Sir Nich. Lawes, Knt.	1718	Earl of Mulgrave . .	1832
Duke of Portland . .	1722	Marquis of Sligo . . .	1834
Major-gen. Hunter . .	1728	Lt.-gen. Sir Lionel Smith	1836
Hen. Cunningham, Esq.	1735	Sir C. T. Metcalfe, Bt..	1839
Edw. Trelawny, Esq. .	1738	Earl of Elgin and Kincardine	1842
Charles Knowles, Esq.	1752		
George Haldane, Esq..	1758	Sir C. E. Grey, Kt. . .	1847

CHAPTER III.

PHYSICAL FEATURES—DIVISIONS, RIVERS, HARBOURS, MOUNTAINS, CHIEF TOWNS, FREE VILLAGES, AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ISLAND—GEOLOGY, MINERALOGY, SOIL, CLIMATE, AND DISEASES.

Jamaica, like the contiguous islands of Cuba, Hayti, and Porto-Rico, would seem to have derived its origin from submarine convulsions, during which the axis of perturbation extended from east to west, thus giving a longitudinal character to the land, and causing the highest elevation to be situated at the eastern extremities, from whence, in each island, there is a gradual decline to the westward.

On the other hand, the position of the West Indian archipelago, which stretches from the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico along the northern boundary of the Caribbean Sea, over 25° of longitude, and 27° of latitude, and forms an almost uninterrupted chain between the peninsula of Florida in North, and that of Paria in South America, would appear to confirm the tradition that a vast region called *Atlantis*, after successive fierce throes, had here sunk beneath the ocean, leaving the existing islands as the loftiest peaks of the submerged territory.

Jamaica is happily situated to the westward of Hayti, and southward of Cuba; by these islands it is sheltered from the violence of eastern or northern tempests, yet cooled by the winds which descend from their elevated lands; while access to the Atlantic is facilitated by the adjacent *Windward Passage*, which separates Cuba from Hayti.

The magnificence of the mountain scenery, the beauty of the swelling hills and uplands—the stately forests, rich pastures and fruitful fields, the numerous harbours, and the varied climate found in different portions of this far-famed island, have been dwelt on by many travellers. In some of these respects it seems superior even to Ceylon in the eastern hemisphere, in others inferior; perhaps it may be better compared with Java, one of the finest islands of the Malayan archipelago, some of whose physical features correspond with those of the West Indian group. Jamaica, Ceylon, and Java have, however, their respective and peculiar excellencies; and speaking from a personal knowledge of each, it would seem difficult, irrespective of area or position, to decide to which the palm of superiority might justly be assigned.

The "Queen of the Antilles," as the colony now under consideration is sometimes called, is of an elongated form, more indented on the southern than on the northern coast, and with a range of moun-

island. There are no manufactories of any kind, except of sugar and rum. Even their brick they import. The hilly surface of the country supplies an abundance of water-power over forty constant rivers, and over 200 rivulets, and yet there is not such a thing as a water-wheel to be found in use, except on the plantations, and for agricultural purposes."—(p. 109).

tains and wooded heights, more or less broken, passing throughout the centre from east to west. It was divided by the local legislature, in 1758, into three counties, named *Surrey, Middlesex,* and *Cornwall* (see map); the first, or eastern, is about forty miles long by twenty broad; the second, or central, averages fifty miles by forty-five; and the third, or western, is of more irregular form, the extreme length being nearly sixty miles, and the breadth varying from forty-five to seventeen miles. These counties are subdivided into the following parishes:—

Counties and Parishes.	Area in square miles.	Physical Features of each Parish.
Surrey—		
Kingston . . .	6	Flat shore, gradually sloping up from the coast; *Kingston City.*
St. Andrew . .	124	Flat in the south, hilly and mountainous in the north; *Liguanea Plain.*
Port Royal . .	40	Intersected by lofty mountains and deep ravines; coast-line broken.
St. David . . .	74	Generally hilly, mountainous rising to the northward; scenery grand.
St. Thomas in the East . . .	215	Mountainous and hilly, picturesque valleys, flat towards the S.E. coast.
Portland . . .	139	Part of *Blue Mountain range*, hilly and sloping to north coast, woody.
St. George . . .	140	Ditto, and, like the preceding, well watered; wild scenery.
Metcalfe[1] . . .	—	In general hilly, declining towards the north coast; aspect rugged.
Middlesex—		
St. Catherine . .	159	Generally level, *Healthshire* hills to the southward; *Spanish Town.*
Dorothy . . .	58	Almost an unbroken level, between hilly ranges; coast flat.
Vere	300	Some hills, but generally flat; sterile appearance; *Portland Ridge.*
Clarendon . . .	317	Hilly to the northward, plains and savannahs to the southward.
Manchester . .	210	Very hilly; Mandeville and Alligator Pond the only level spots.
St. Ann . . .	433	The Park of Jamaica; diversity of mountain, hill, plain, and valley.
St. Mary . . .	600	Intersected by hills; where level, marshy; numerous streams.
St. John . . .	128	Pretty level, slightly varied with hills and pleasing scenery.
St. Thomas in Vale	125	Flat, surrounded by mountains on all sides; *Sixteen Mile Walk.*
Cornwall—		
St. Elizabeth . .	213	Mountainous and large plains, with fine breeding farms.
Westmoreland .	308	Some mountains, but generally flat or undulating marshy coast.
Hanover . . .	212	Ditto, with intervening plains and swampy shore.
St. James . . .	227	Chiefly mountainous, hilly, well watered, and wooded.
Trelawny . . .	264	Mountains, hills, dales, and plains—flat towards the north coast.
Total . . .	4,292	*Note.*—[1] Area of Metcalfe not known.

HARBOURS.*—Among the many bays, havens, coves, and creeks, on both coasts, some afford perfect shelter for large vessels, and many are available for *droghers*, or small craft employed in the coasting trade. *On the south* may be noticed Port Morant, Morant Bay, Cow Bay, Bull Bay, Port Royal, and Kingston Harbour, Hunt Bay, Old Harbour, West Harbour, Black River Bay, Blue Fields Bay, and Savanna la Mar Harbour; Port Royal or Kingston is the principal haven in the island. *On the north* there are Port Antonio, Annotta Bay, Port Maria, Ocho Rios, St. Ann's Bay, Rio Bueno, Falmouth or Martha Brea, Montego Bay, Lucea Harbour, Green Island, and Musquito Cove. The distribution of these havens in such different localities, indicates the advantages they afford for commerce, and their importance is increased by the mountainous and broken features of the country, which render the transit of heavy goods by carriage roads almost impracticable, and necessitate the carriage of merchandise by water, between several of the chief towns. Thirty bays, roadsteads, and shipping stations might be enumerated, but the places at which custom-houses have been established are—on the south coast, Kingston, Black River and Savanna la Mar, and Port Morant; and on the north, at Port Antonio, Port Maria, Annotta Bay, Falmouth Harbour, Rio Bueno, St. Ann's Bay, Montego Bay, and Lucea.

RIVERS.—There are about 200 rivers and rivulets, 70 of which are perennial. The dividing ridge of high lands, which gives rise to these numerous and fertilizing streams, precludes the possibility of their attaining any length, or being navigable for ships. The chief of those which flow towards the south coast are the Cobre, Minho, and Black Rivers; towards the north, are the Great, Martha Brae, White, Agua Alta, and Grande Rivers. Numerous mountain streamlets, which are nearly dry for part of the year, become swollen into broad and rapid torrents during the rainy season, and frequently form picturesque cascades, which, being generally surrounded by wooded heights, constitute a marked feature in the scenery.

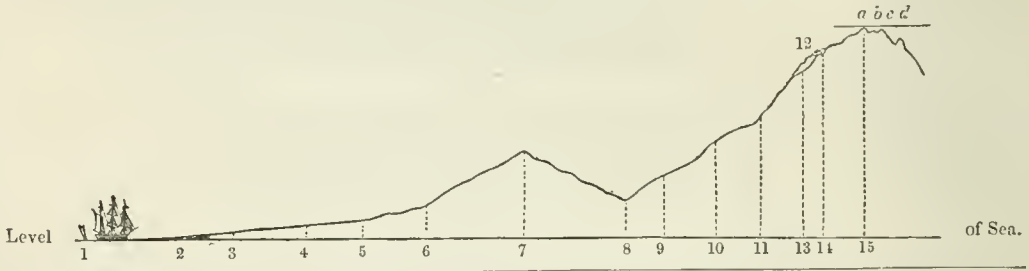
MOUNTAINS.—The main range begins near the eastern extremity of the island, and stretches for some distance in a nearly due west direction, about equi-distant from either coast. The highest points of this great barrier attain an elevation of nearly 7,000 feet above the sea, and their summits stand out in majestic grandeur against the blue sky, while rolling clouds surround their base. From the central chain several offshoots of considerable extent diverge, like gigantic buttresses, giving an alpine character to the central portions of the county of Surrey. This portion of what may be termed the *backbone* of the island, is known by the name of the

* A desire to comprise within the division allotted to the West Indies, as much information as possible induces me again to resort to small type.

Blue Mountain Range, and is situated in the parishes of Port Royal, St. David, St. Thomas in the East, Portland, and St. George. The three principal peaks were stated to be of the respective heights of 8,186, 7,656, and 7,576 feet, but this estimate has recently been corrected by actual barometrical measurement. The results of the observations of Mr. Arnaboldi, who ascended to the peak with Mr. J. R. Hollingsworth, Mr. Harrison, and other gentlemen, on the 3rd of May, 1851, at twenty minutes after eight, A.M., are thus stated in the *Colonial Standard*, Jamaica, 2nd of June, 1851:—

"The barometer then stood at 23.65 inches; the attached thermometer, 51°; detached thermometer, 64°; force of vapour by hydrometer, 42.539; dew-point, 53.8. When in Kingston, same day and hour, the barometer stood at 30.10 inches; attached thermometer, 82°; detached thermometer, 82°; force of vapour by hydrometer, 74.730"; dew point, 70.9. In order to ensure the correctness of the calculations, they were made according to the rules laid down by the following different authorities:—Troughton and Simms, height of peak, 6,830; Greenwich, (Sir George Shuckburgh) 6,824; Greenwich (table), 6,838; Professor London, 6,642; Professor Jones, 6,574; Dr. Robinson's method, 6,514; boiling of water, 6,955—Total, 7)47,177. Giving an average of 6,739.5 for the height of the peak. The variation between this calculation and that reported in October, 1850 (6,592 feet), is attributable to the great difference of the dew-point and force of vapour at the two periods." On the 7th of October, 1850, in Kingston, the force of vapour by hydrometer was 91.017 grains to a cubic foot of air, and the dew-point was 77. At the Blue Mountain Peak, on that day, the force of vapour was 44.380 grains to a cubic foot, and the dew-point was 61. The accompanying barometrical section from Kingston to the Blue Mountain Peak was taken on the journey up. It was ascertained that there was but four feet difference between the height of No. 1 Peak and No. 2 Peak, and 28 feet between Peaks 1 and 3. By the barometrical section, there is shown to be a difference between No. 1 and the Easternmost Peak of about 250 feet. Mr. Tyrrell, who had visited the Peak on thirteen different occasions, had never before found the temperature so high as 62° of Fahrenheit. A self-registering night and day thermometer having, however, been buried on the occasion of a previous visit, gave 51° as the minimum of heat during the previous six months, and the maximum, 81½° Fahrenheit.

A trigonometrical survey of the island is much needed; the following sketch will convey an idea of the progressive rise from Kingston to the Blue Mountain Peaks:—



1, Kingston Harbour; 2, Parade, 38 feet; 3, Cross Roads, 214 feet; 4, Hope Tollgate; 5, Hope Tavern, 690 feet; 6, Botanic Gardens, 1,100 feet; 7, Guava Ridge, 2,866 feet; 8, Yallahs River, 1,425 feet; 9, Hagley Gap, 2,143 feet; 10, Radnor, 3,212 feet; 11, Abbey Green, 3,892 feet; 12, Portland Gap, 5,495 feet; 13, Jacob's Ladder; 14, Radnor Gap, Hog Pond, 6,339 feet; 15, Blue Mountain Peaks—*a* 6,739 feet, *b*, *c*, *d* Easternmost Peak.

Another neighbouring range, of inferior altitude, extends from north-west to south-east through the parishes of Port Royal, St. Andrew, and St. George; these may be called the Port Royal Mountains, and have their highest elevation in St. Catherine's Peak, which is about 5,000 feet above the sea. —(See map of Jamaica.)

Proceeding to the westward, through Middlesex County, the dividing range diminishes in height, and in boldness of outline, and is connected by several elevations which extend north and south, with various lesser parallel chains. Here and there (in Clarendon and St. Ann's parishes) abrupt hills or hummocks are clothed with trees of enormous bulk, while the adjacent dales, or "cock-pits," as they are called, are carpeted with perpetual verdure. In Cornwall County, the mountainous outline becomes still more indistinct, the surface presenting an irregular congerius of broken heights, rising from 1,000 to 3,500 feet. The forms of the eminences throughout the island are very varied, sometimes presenting, like a Titanic wall, steep, and, occasionally, inaccessible sides; thus the central portion of the "Blue Mountain" ridge (properly so called) is traversible at only one spot, termed the Portland Gap, which is itself 5,495 feet above the sea, and but a few yards wide. In other places there are long extensions of mountain slopes, gradually forming narrow vales, through which a river generally flows, while, elsewhere, semicircular sweeps of irregular height bound a shelving plain. Here and there gigantic spines of sharp ascent and difficult access, clothed with dense and sombre forests, approach the coast-line. Not unfrequently, a conical shape is assumed, like the Dolphin's Head, in Hanover Parish; or the hills appear piled upon one another, and marked by fearful rents, as in the Port Royal Mountains, which are grand in the extreme, the effect of light and shade upon the steep sides and chasms being such as even Salvator Rosa could not pourtray. The prevailing features must frequently have reminded many travellers, of the ocean during a gale of wind, in some such tempestuous localities as the Cape of Good Hope, or the Bay of Biscay, where the mighty billows seem separated by long "intervales" and their crested summits are strangely contorted by the violence of the storm. The heights of the Blue Mountain Peaks have been already stated. Catherine's Peak, in St. George's Parish, about 7½° north of Kingston, is stated to be 5,075 feet in altitude; and Hardwar Hill, to the westward of it, in the parish of St. Andrew, attains nearly an equal elevation. The

summits in Middlesex and Cornwall rarely exceed half a mile; *Liman's Mountain*, six miles north of Spanish Town, is 2,282; the *Bull's Head*, in Clarendon Parish, is 3,140; and the *Dolphin's Head*, south of Lucea, is 3,445 feet above the level of the sea. There are several private residences, situated at a considerable elevation. Among these may be named Clifton, 4,228; Pleasant Hill, 4,000; Flamstead, 3,800; Sheldon, 3,417. Many coffee plantations and dwellings occupy heights varying from 1,000 to 3,000 feet. The Blue Mountain range is markedly separated from the Port Royal Mountains by a narrow isthmus, termed *St. Helen's Gap*, from whence the view is indescribably magnificent. Coffee plantations stud the sides of the hills, and are scattered along the valleys. At *Belle Vue*, about 5,000 feet above the sea, Port Royal, Kingston, and the Liguanea Plain are visible. The garden attached to the plantation is well laid out, and stocked with apple and other fruit trees. I gathered excellent strawberries, and saw peas, potatoes, and artichokes in full perfection, in June, 1851; hedges of roses and fuschias divided the applotments, in which grew varieties of English flowers. At *Resouree Plantation*, somewhat lower than Belle Vue, the avenue was lined with orange, lemon, and citron trees, intermingled with white and red roses, and adorned, as at Pleasant Hill, with the gaudy hybiscus. Here, also, the pink, blue African lily, heliotrope, and other English flowers delighted the eye. At Morse Gap, a pass in the dividing range, whence the northern coast is visible, the road, or rather mule-path, for a distance of several miles, becomes entirely overshadowed with the most luxuriant foliage; in the adjacent ravines the graceful bamboo rises to a height of thirty feet, and is rivalled by the artistically branching fern tree, interspersed with mahogany, lignum vitæ, cedar, pine, and other timber: and at different parts, industrious negroes may be seen clearing land on the steep mountain slopes, for the cultivation of potatoes and other produce, afar from any township or property where rent could probably be demanded.

Plains.—*The Liguanea Plain* is the most extensive in the island; it begins a few miles east of Kingston, and stretches westward through the parishes of St. Andrew, St. Catherine, and St. Dorothy, to a point west of Old Harbour, a distance of about thirty miles, the average breadth being from four to seven miles. Its eastern extremity is about 700 feet above the sea, towards which it gradually declines, until joined by the sand-bank, termed the *Palisadoes*, by which it is defended from the incursions of the ocean. Inland, the Liguanea Plain is bounded throughout its whole extent by mountains, and to the seaward by the shore west of Port Henderson, where it widens. The *Healthshire Hills*, a low range, intervene, for a few miles, between the plain and the sea. *Vere Plain*, separated from that of Liguanea and Lower Clarendon, by a narrow range of hills, which approach the sea at Salt Bay, extends from south-east to north-west, about eighteen miles, with an average breadth of seven to eight miles. On the north-west, the Vere Plain is joined by the *Mill Gully*, a picturesque valley, several miles in extent. *Lime Savanna*, is a plain, extending east and west across the parish of Clarendon, from the border of St. Dorothy to that of Manchester, and north and south between the parish of Vere and the Mocho Mountains. *St. Thomas-in-the-Vale Plain*, embosomed in the hills, is nine miles long by two and a-half wide, and would form a perfect basin, were it not that the Rio Cobre bursts through the barrier on its southern boundary. *Pedro Plains*, near Great Pedro Point, in Hanover Parish, and the *Savanna-la-Mar Plain*, in Westmoreland, though of no considerable size, are the largest on the western side of the island; and, together with some lesser ones, have much of their surface covered with swamp. On the northern coast, no plains of any extent occur. The country between Montego Bay, on the west, and St. Ann's Bay, on the east, consists of low, abrupt, and precipitous hills, with but little land between them and the sea. On the east, *Bath Plain*, in St. Themas-in-the-East, extends from the town of that name to the mouth of the Plaintain Garden River, near Point Morant, the eastern extremity of the island, where there is a great morass. There are innumerable valleys, remarkable for their beauty and fertility, such as *Luidas Vale*, in St. John's, and the basin of *Whitney*, in the Mocho Mountains, in Clarendon parish.*

Chief Towns.—Nearly 200 years have elapsed since this large and fertile island was taken from the Spaniards, and yet it possesses only two places claiming the title of cities. After personal examination, with few exceptions, of every city and town of any note in the United Kingdom, and in the widespread maritime dominions of the crown, I have no hesitation in asserting that the political capital (Spanish Town) and the commercial emporium (Kingston) of this valuable and productive colony are, taken as a whole, the least creditable to the British name. This opinion is supported by the testimony of many impartial travellers, including the incidental evidence afforded in the valuable Report of Dr. Gavin Milroy, on the Sanitary State of Jamaica in 1851-'52.

Spanish Town, founded by the Spaniards in 1500, and named by them *St. Jago de la Vega* (St. James of the Plain), occupies nearly the centre of an extensive savanna or flat, which forms part of the Liguanea Plain, and extends, on the eastward, to Kingston (distant thirteen miles), and on the south-west to Old Harbour; it slopes gradually on the south-east to Passage Fort and to Hunt Bay, an inlet of Kingston Harbour (see Map), and on the north and north-west, is bounded by the hills of the parishes St. Catherine and St. John. The view terminates with a portion of the Liguanea Mountains, which have there an elevation of about 2,200 feet above the sea.

Among the few remains of Spanish architecture still standing, may be mentioned the Spanish admiral's house, at the head of Hunt Bay. From a "look-out" upon the roof, there is a fine view of Port Royal and Kingston harbours. Like most Spanish edifices, the house is substantially built, and is still in excellent preservation.

A small, lazy, and very tortuous stream (the *Cobre*) after meandering through the plain in an easterly direction, skirts the city and falls into Hunt Bay. A considerable portion of the savanna is occupied with grazing farms or "pens;" much of it is wooded or covered with scrubby bush; large tracts lie waste, termed the *Salt Pond Plains;* and as the soil is clayey, it is very retentive of moisture. Owing to these circumstances the air is by no means salubrious, the heat is excessive, being but slightly mitigated by the distant sea breeze. The city is quite indefensible against an attacking force provided with artillery. Even in its best days it must have looked sombre

* Report of the Central Board of Health, Jamaica. Printed in 1852, pp. 81-'2-'3.

and cheerless, but now its aspect is most deplorable.* Writing in 1797, Dr. Pinckard alludes to its "humble" appearance; to its narrow, confined, dark, and dirty streets; to the evident disregard of cleanliness and personal adornment remarkable among the people there (as also at Kingston); and declares that when arrived in the centre of Spanish Town, he thought himself still in the suburbs. There was only one tavern in the place, where even "a very indifferent and badly-served breakfast" was obtainable.—(*Notes on the West Indies*, vol. ii. p. 375.)

The King's House (as the residence of the governor is termed) forms one side of a large, handsome square, around which are constructed the House of Assembly, Council Chamber, Court House, Arsenal, Library, and public offices. It was finished in 1762, and has cost upwards of £50,000; the exterior is in the Castilian style, the interior is badly lit and ill ventilated. A fine statue of Admiral Rodney, executed by Bacon, stands in the square, in an open temple, and was erected by the Jamaicans, at a cost of three thousand guineas, in commemoration of the decisive victory obtained by him over the French fleet in 1782; and a similar tribute is being paid to the memory of Lord Metcalfe. There are tolerably good barracks, of two stories high, in the southern quarter of the town; St. Catherine's cathedral, completed in 1755, at its entrance, is a handsome building in the form of a cross: the main aisle measures 129 feet in length. The Baptist and Wesleyan chapels are neat and appropriate edifices. There are two Jewish synagogues. The gaol is a substantial structure. The city occupies about one square mile; but only a small part of this area is covered with buildings; some of the houses have large gardens and grounds attached; the streets run slanting from north to south, and are crossed by others from east to west; none of them are paved; a few are imperfectly macadamized; during the rainy season they are coated with a cohesive mud, which hardens into a thick crust, from whence the rays of the sun are powerfully reflected. Deep gullies are formed by the heavy rains in their progress to the river, and in some places the water collects in stagnant swamps. Dr. Milroy has drawn a melancholy picture of the existing condition of the city; the better class of houses falling to pieces, the gardens choked with weeds, and the surface littered over with rubbish of all sorts. The dwellings of the middle classes are very generally but single floored, they have "a mean appearance," are "most imperfectly ventilated," and are "anything but suitable for such a climate."†

The negro habitations, scattered in different directions, are usually of the most squalid and miserable description, both inside and out, and all of them are crowded to excess. From the neglect of regular scavenging (except on the part of the vultures, *John crow*, turkey buzzard, or carrion vulture, dirt and rubbish meet the eye in every quarter; and the traveller of the present day might, with equal truth, repeat the words of Dr. Lempriere, at the close of the last century, in alluding "to the stable sweepings left in the streets to be saturated by the rain, and afterwards giving rise to unhealthy exhalations."

There is but one under-ground sewer in the whole town, which was constructed about a century ago; it leads from the barracks to the river, and is frequently obstructed. The communication recently made by the local authorities of the impurities in and around the dwellings of all classes; of the filthy state of the market; of the neglected burial-grounds and "cholera-pits," and of the "loathsome poisons" thence arising, is too repulsive and disgusting to be quoted, but far too important to be passed over without comment. There are no pumps, and only three wells for the richer citizens; a small quantity of water, often muddy and impure, is raised from the Cobre River; the poorer are still supplied by means of carts, whence it is doled out to them at a high cost. Under such circumstances it need excite no surprise, that when cholera appeared in 1850-'1, it should spread rapidly. Its ravages, in many respects, were, indeed, most dreadful; whole families and households were swept off, and the utmost difficulty was experienced in providing for the speedy interment of the dead. Out of a population estimated at 10,000, about 1,500 are supposed to have perished.

The amount of pauperism is large, and is in a great measure ascribable to the apathetic neglect of the local authorities, the extent of which may be conjectured by the fact, that "no less than 1,200 acres of land round the town, held in trust by the parochial authorities, under the provisions of Geo. II., cap. 10, and which ought to be available for the diminution of parochial rates, and for the relief of the poor, are now lying, not only unproductive, but have, from neglect, become a public nuisance, most pernicious to the health of the community, and are thus serving to increase the very evil which they were intended to relieve."‡

Spanish Town is totally devoid of maritime commerce, and has no local trade. There are two shipping places whence produce can be conveyed from the plains around and beyond the city to Kingston, viz., Passage Port, and Port Henderson; but the railroad established between the governmental and commercial cities is a more convenient and cheaper mode of conveyance. The scenery along this line is very beautiful; rich meadows, noble mango and other trees, swelling uplands, backed by wooded heights, and lofty mountains, afford, in a very limited space, some of the finest road views to be met with in any part of the world.

Kingston was founded in 1693, after the destruction of Port Royal; it is built on the margin of the harbour, and slopes upwards to the fine plateau already frequently mentioned as the Liguanea Plain. The city forms an irregular quadrangle, and covers an area of nearly two square miles. The main streets run north and south, and are crossed by others at right angles; all are tolerably wide, and, in the upper part, generally open to the sea-breeze. A large square in the centre of the town, called the Parade, contains the large barracks, a handsome Wes-

* Spanish Town, says Bigelow, "is supposed to have been founded by Diego Columbus in 1523. No one visiting the place at this time (1850) will dispute its antiquity, nor experience much difficulty in believing that all the houses at present standing were built before Diego left the island, so old and ruinous is their general appearance."—(*Jamaica in* 1850, p. 31). The Rev. David King, LL.D., alludes to the "poor appearance," and "general unattractiveness" of the place.—(*State and Prospects of Jamaica*, p. 3). And the Rev. P. Samuel speaks of the "grotesque contrast" formed by mansions of the first class being placed side by side with the most miserable sheds in which human beings may submit to take shelter.—*Missions in Jamaica*, p. 114.

† *Report on the Cholera in Jamaica, and on the general Sanitary Condition and Wants of that Island*, by Dr. Gavin Milroy, July, 1852.

‡ *Idem*, p. 92.

leyan chapel, a theatre, and some tolerable dwelling-houses. The chief public buildings are, a Court-House, and Church of England, Wesleyan, Presbyterian, Baptist, Independent, Roman Catholic, and Jewish places of worship. The penitentiary is large, and the separate cells are well arranged. The lunatic asylum, now in course of erection, will supply a great and long-standing want; it promises to be an extensive and commodious structure, with considerable pretensions to architectural beauty. The edifices generally, excepting the numerous temples dedicated to Christian worship, are of mean appearance. Some of the private houses are well constructed, and abundantly provided with verandahs, windows, and jalousies, for the free admission of the refreshing sea-breeze, by which the extreme heat of the city is materially mitigated; but the merchants' stores are mostly dark and ill-ventilated; and the shops in the main street resemble those of an inferior English town; not a decent inn or hotel exists; there is no paving or macadamizing, no drainage, no gas-lights (as in most of our colonial cities), and scarcely any side-way.*

During the heavy rains in May and October, the water finds its way, by broken and irregular channels, into the gullies on the east and west sides of the town, but much of it pours down the steep streets, forcing along a broad muddy stream a foot or more in depth. As none even of the leading thoroughfares are paved, nor provided with any artificial channels for the water, and the soil is generally loose and sandy, their surface has become ploughed up with deep ruts and broken hollows; while, from the quantity of gravel, stones, and bricks strewed about, they present more the appearance of river courses than of streets in an inhabited city. The amount of vegetable refuse and other rubbish brought down and lodged at the bottom of the harbour is usually considerable; and as there is no sewerage, the poorer classes avail themselves of the current caused by the periodic rains to cast the accumulated filth of their dwellings and yards into the streets: all this noxious matter accumulates and sinks into the porous ground of the lower part of the town, where there is no declivity. The cross streets are, in some respects, still worse, being often flanked by dilapidated buildings, and littered over with rubbish, which renders driving by day perilous to carriage springs; while walking by night through these unlit pitfalls, is manifestly to hazard broken limbs. Nor is it only by inanimate objects that the senses of sight and smell are offended: lean, mangy hogs are to be seen at all times rolling about in the noisome puddles, while others are wandering here and there, grubbing up the rubbish for food, bestrewing the surface with their ordure.† Besides the swine and goats, constantly moving about, Kingston has always been noted for its number of half-starved dogs. It is no uncommon thing to see the carcase of one of these unfortunate brutes lying in the middle of a street, with a troop of the vulture crows, which are ever wheeling about the city, tearing it to pieces, while the air all around is tainted with the most baneful effluvia.

Altogether, the stranger, on first landing in Kingston, especially if he has visited other British colonies, will, with difficulty, bring himself to believe that he is in the metropolis of the chief of the British West Indies. One pleasing feature is the negro market, which furnishes a constant and plentiful supply of all sorts of vegetables and fruits peculiar to the climate. Fish, which abounds along the whole coast-line, is to be had in great variety, and of the finest description, and fresh meat of the best quality the island affords. But this very abundance is made a source of evil by the wasteful and untidy habits of the people, and the quantity of putrifying provisions everywhere strewed about is in perfect accordance with the description given by Dr. Lempriere,‡ and his statement regarding the practice of filling up the hollows in the streets with stable refuse, is also applicable at the present day. One dung-heap, at the west end of the city, has been accumulating, says Dr. Milroy, "for the last century at least;" and the miserable state of the habitations of the poorer classes; the offensive condition of the grave-yards; together with other disgraceful features, which could not but be set forth in a sanitary report, yet cannot,

* "Nowhere," says Dr. Milroy, "are the magisterial duties so negligently and inefficiently performed as in Kingston; the general impression, among the respectable part of the community, is, that the utmost jobbery and corruption prevail in the corporation of that city; and to judge of them by their acts there appears to be too much ground for the charge."—(Cholera Report, July, 1852; p. 41.) [Since the above extract was printed, I have ascertained that the income of the Kingston Corporation for 1851, was £13,956, of which only £1,050 is stated to have been expended on the streets, £4,317 is put down as on "loan," and £2,644 jumbled together under the head "miscellaneous."—(See *Blue Book* for 1851.)

† Report of Central Board of Health, Nov., 1851, p. 139.

‡ The statements of many other impartial witnesses have, for a long series of years, borne testimony to the deplorable want of order, and even decency, uniformly manifested in the principal towns of Jamaica. Municipal institutions have utterly failed to produce their ordinary result; in fact, the "social institution" of slavery, as by a monstrous perversion of language, its advocates sometimes term it, appears to have blighted and blasted even the development of patriotism in parochial matters, usually so conspicuous in the Anglo-Saxon race wherever located. A better day is now dawning; but it would be unreasonable, in the highest degree, to expect any but a gradual change; both the white and coloured population are finding their own level, after long subjection to the alienating system which injured both by placing one class far above, the other far below their just position. Nothing could well have been worse than the material, as well as financial and social condition of the island, when the Abolition Act of 1834 came into operation. Want of space prevents the multiplication of evidence on this subject; but the following extract from Dr. Madden may serve as an illustration of the state of Kingston at the above named period. After remarking on the extreme beauty of the city, when viewed from the harbour, or from the neighbouring mountains, the writer adds, that on a near approach, the glory of the prospect, like that of Stamboul, is soon forgotten; "the distant beauty of the varied buildings vanishes before the sight of streets without a plan, houses without the semblance of architecture, lanes and alleys without cleanliness and convenience; and the principal thoroughfares ploughed up into water-courses, and the foundations of the houses literally underminded, or the level of the streets on which they are situated lowered from two to four feet below the foundation. * * * The effects of this lowering of the level of the streets, and undermining of the front foundations of the houses; and, consequently, of the shattered appearance of the greater number of them, gives Kingston the aspect of a ruined city that has been recently abandoned. It is impossible to form any idea of an inhabited town so desolate and so decayed. * * * Its decadence arises not from the actual inability of restoring or improving it, but from the indolent inanity of a corporation that is powerless for any good or useful purpose. The evil genius of municipal arrogance and imbecility presides over its slumbers.—(*Twelve Months in the West Indies*, vol. i., p. 98.)

with propriety be detailed elsewhere, are vividly pourtrayed by the same able pen. It is of the last importance that the corporation of the city, if not for the sake of decency, yet in regard to their own lives and those of their fellow-citizens, should exert their utmost energies to remove these glaring evils, more especially if the prevailing theory be correct, that cholera comes in the form of miasm or poison, floats in the atmosphere, and may be likened to an electric cloud, which is ready to discharge its fluid on the first object of attraction. While hovering around, or passing over such places as Kingston, it would be drawn thither as the needle to the magnet; there is, moreover, the further danger of the malady fixing its permanent abode in spots so fitted for the reception and reproduction of disease. When the cholera visited Port Royal, it was necessarily soon wafted to Kingston, and there its ravages were awful, especially in the lower portions of the city; in one of whose purlieus (Harbour Street), nineteen corpses were carried out of a single house of ill-fame in the space of thirty-six hours. About 5,000 persons perished in five or six weeks, out of a population of 40,000. Supposing London to suffer in the same ratio, the loss would be between 200,000 and 300,000. In the upper part of the town, adjoining an open, somewhat extensive, and slightly elevated plain, termed the Race-Course, there are some good detached dwellings, but even they are far inferior in comfort and style to the habitations of our merchants and civilians in the East Indies. In different parts of the Liguanea Plain, which slopes upwards to the mountains, distant only about five miles, there are several "Pens" as the country houses or grazing farms are indiscriminately termed; some of these are of ample size, and the grounds around are laid out with taste. They afford a quiet and cool retreat from the toil and heat of Kingston. Beyond the race-course stands *Up Park Camp*, an extensive series of barrack buildings, which cover an irregular square of more than 200 acres, situated about 200 feet above the sea, two miles north of Kingston, and one and a-half distant from the *Long Mountain*, which having a nearly perpendicular elevation of 800 feet, unfortunately prevents the free circulation of air over the camp. The barracks consist of two long parallel lines of buildings, two stories high, with a six-feet basement, extending from east to west; that to the south, or seaward, comprising the officers' quarters. There is an excellent hospital, and a spacious bath of forty feet wide and four deep, containing 70,000 gallons of running water, supplied from Papine estate, four miles and a-half distant; the pipe conveying it is six inches in diameter, and discharges 4,500 gallons per hour. This constant abundance enables the soldiers to irrigate their gardens, which are laid out in the camp, and furnish the garrison with vegetables. The whole cantonment, at sixty feet distance, is surrounded by a wall of six feet high, surmounted by an iron palisading. Two regiments of Europeans may be accommodated; but the mortality among the English soldiers formerly stationed there was very great, and Sir William Gomm, when commander of the forces in the island, evinced sound judgment and humanity by causing the removal of the Europeans to a position, termed Newcastle, within view of Kingston, but elevated about 4,000 feet above the sea.

A village, called *Halfway Tree*, not far from Up Park Camp, possesses one of the neatest churches that I have seen in any of the colonies. It was built in the reign of Queen Anne, has several good monuments, and in its pewing and interior arrangements resembles somewhat (though on a smaller scale) the pretty church of Hammersmith, near London. The commodious, healthful, and tastefully ornamented dwelling of the present hospitable Bishop (Dr. Spencer) is not far distant from Halfway Tree; the route through this village leads to *Stony Hill*, a military post (not now garrisoned) which commands the main road that traverses the island from south to north; the ascent, though abrupt, is practicable for wheeled carriages; but the roads here, as well as elsewhere, are of the most wretched description, and often impassable during the rainy seasons.

Port Royal, (formerly called Caguaya) five miles south-west of Kingston, and nine miles south-east of Spanish Town, is situated near the extremity of a tongue of coral rock covered with sand, called the "Palisades," which stretches ten or twelve miles from the shore, and forms a natural breakwater for the protection of *Kingston Harbour*, although scarcely elevated above the level of the sea. This fine haven is, when entered, exceedingly spacious, commodious, and well sheltered from all winds, but its mouth at Port Royal is narrow and intricate. As previously stated (p. 24), an opulent city formerly stood near this place, which in 1692 was almost overwhelmed by an earthquake; and having been partially rebuilt, was in 1703 again desolated by a conflagration, that reduced all the buildings to ashes, except the forts. Notwithstanding these calamities, and several minor ones, attempts were once more made to restore it, with some success, but in 1722 the sea broke over the breast-work, flooded the streets, and nearly destroyed the church and houses at the eastern end; notwithstanding this series of visitations, the site gradually became re-covered with houses mostly constructed of wood. On 13th July, 1815, about midday, a fire broke out which, in a few hours, burnt down almost the whole of the buildings, including the naval hospital. No further effort was made to reconstruct the town; government purchased part of the adjoining land, enclosed it within a high and strong wall, and strengthened the fortifications, making it almost exclusively a naval and military station. The town, Port Royal, now consists of five or six moderately wide streets, traversed by lanes, in which are situated "square blocks of ill-ventilated filthy hovels, the majority of them not deserving the name of a house. Many of them contain only one apartment, in which five or six human beings are to be found huddled together, in a space of little more than about double as many square feet, without any domestic conveniences; the floors are generally earthern, dirty, and damp, more like cellars than human habitations.*" As usual, in Jamaica, there is no paving, macadamizing, cleansing, sewage, or lighting. The Earl of Dundonald, the commander-in-chief on the West India station, in 1849-'50, called the attention of the Admiralty to the bad condition of the town, as exercising an injurious influence on the health of the patients in the naval hospital; and in a letter to the Mayor of Kingston, his lordship remarked, "never have I seen, in the whole course of my life, a place so disgustingly filthy, or which could give so bad an opinion to foreigners as the town of Port Royal." The Admiral then pointed out the spot where cholera would probably break forth, and his prediction was verified in October, 1850, when the pestilence raged with fury, carrying off

* Report of Dr. Wingate Johnstone, Deputy Inspector of Naval Hospitals and Fleets.

many victims, boatmen, fishermen, bum-boat people, washerwomen, and artisans, in four or six hours; collapse almost immediately supervening on the attack. The population is about 1,000.

Fort Augusta, formerly called *Mosquito*, is a strong fortress, built at the extremity of a low neck of land, which juts out into the western portion of the extensive inlet, comprising the havens of Kingston, Port Royal, and Hunt Bay. The buildings occupy the whole area of the point of the peninsula, which is surrounded by the sea, except on the west—the south face of the fort being washed by the deep water of the ship channel, while the east and north sides are environed by the shallow waters of a lagoon. The fort is not considered unhealthy, owing to the prevalence of the wind from the south and south-east. The barracks are two stories high, and well ventilated. Fort Augusta has suffered the devastating power of both fire and hurricane. In 1763 the magazine was struck by lightning; in an instant 3,000 barrels of gunpowder exploded, the buildings, bastions, and guns, were blown to atoms, and 300 human beings perished. A small fortification, termed the *Apostles' Battery*, stands on a high rock on the shore opposite the town of Port Royal. By means of this battery, and of the strong and easily defensible positions at Fort Charles (Port Royal) and Fort Augusta, hostile fleets are effectually excluded from Kingston harbour; and landing, except in small boats, is not easy at any contiguous part of the coast.

A detailed statement of the features of each division of the colony is not practicable within the prescribed limits of this work; it remains therefore to notice a few of the principal places, proceeding in an easterly direction from Kingston round the island.

Port Morant, ten miles south-west of Morant Point, is a good harbour, but has reefs on each side of its entrance. The scenery in the vicinity is very picturesque. The village of *Bath*, with sulphureous hot, and cold mineral springs, effectual for the cure of rheumatism, is situated some miles inland. There is a botanic garden here, on which large sums of public money have been expended, but, it would appear, not under a judicious system. The spot, however, has been well selected; the mountains in the immediate neighbourhood are clothed with varied and magnificent foliage, and the orange, cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, mango, star-apple, palmetto-royal, mahogany, avocado pear, jack-fruit, lime, citron, guava, the arrowy bamboo, and the tree-fern with its slender trunk and crown of feathery leaves, appear in the greatest luxuriance, interspersed with shrubbery, guinea-grass, tropical esculents and flowers, kept in perpetual verdure by the rain, which falls abundantly throughout the year in this humid region.

Morant Town and Bay, a few miles to the westward, and thirty-one miles east of Kingston, is the principal shipping place. The anchorage is protected by a coral reef, and commanded by a battery. The town is neatly built, and supplied with excellent water. Most of the houses are of brick, stand on elevated ground, and are surrounded by a profusion of cocoa-nut, plaintain, and banana-trees. The inland view presented to the voyager while sailing along the coast, between Port Morant and Kingston, is truly magnificent; the "Blue Mountains" tower in the back ground, vast buttresses jut out in various directions, some nearly disjointed spurs approach the coast, all covered with forests; the hills also clothed with verdure, the soft green of the cane-fields, the deeper hue of the guinea-grass pastures, varied with wild savannas, and dotted here and there with white-washed plantation works, dwelling-houses, sugar-mills, and negro villages peeping out in the distance, embowered in cocoa-nut groves—all these fair sights, illumined by the brilliance of a glowing sun and cloudless sky, form a series of landscapes, whose rare beauty those who have travelled most will best appreciate.

Yallahs, a small Wesleyan station, about twelve miles west of Morant Bay, and nineteen east of Kingston, though close to the sea, is remarkably dry and warm, which contributes to render it a favourite retreat for snakes, lizards, scorpions, centipedes, mosquitoes, and sand-flies. Water-melons, pumpkins, sweet and sour sops, papaw, and such productions as grow here, are of excellent quality. The *Yallahs River*, with its ever changing banks, is, in wet weather, fraught with danger; rising amid lofty mountain recesses, it receives tributary torrents from many a rugged glen, and rushes towards the sea, occasionally sweeping away in its brief and headlong course, stones of large size, timber, &c. In the awful hurricane, accompanied by shocks of earthquake, which took place in 1815, the works of several sugar and coffee plantations in this neighbourhood were destroyed, and a large iron bridge was carried away by the stream, not a particle of which was seen afterwards. Many lives were lost at this time, one case (that of a Mr. Smith and his family) was peculiarly distressing, these unfortunates were last seen clinging to a tree, and were then literally torn piecemeal by the fierce war of the elements, some of their severed limbs being alone recovered. "It is worthy of remark," says Mr. Barelay, "to how small a space these visitations are frequently confined. In the present instance the centre of the storm passed from north to south across the island from Annotta Bay, down the course of Yallahs River; on the other side, at Spanish Town, about forty miles west, it was scarcely felt, and one vessel off the Morant Keys at the time, about fifty miles to the east, experienced only a fresh gale."*

Plantain Garden River flows through a fertile level, and highly cultivated vale or savanna, about ten miles in length, terminates in a good harbour, and enters the sea, nearly in the centre of a bight which indents the eastern coast, to the north of Morant Point. It is bounded on the south by low hills, and on the north by an ascending series of heights, from whence the luxuriant beauty of its cane-fields, studded at intervals with extensive estates, buildings and works partially hidden in cocoa-nut groves, is seen to great advantage.

Manchioneal Bay, situated to the north-west of *Plantain Garden River*, and towards the centre of the eastern coast, has a small harbour, difficult of access, from being crowded with rocks, and open to the trade wind and current of the sea, which sweeps westward, and passes down the Gulf of Florida. The village of *Manchioneal* is of inconsiderable size, the houses and stores are not numerous, nor is the population large; the most interesting feature is the ruins of the massive stone walls of a fortification built by the Spaniards. Passing the promontory, called from its position, *North-East Point*, and following the coast, which here exhibits a succession of coves and creeks in a western direction for about six miles, we arrive at *Port Antonio*, under which name is comprised two harbours, divided into eastern and western by a pro-

* *Wesleyan Missions in Jamaica and Honduras*, by the Rev. Peter Samuel. London, 1850; p. 272.

jecting tongue of land; the eastern is well defended from north winds by *Navy Island*, which contains about eighty acres of land: both are easy of access, and have good anchorage. A fort with a half-moon battery commands the double entrance, being built at the northern point of the small but elevated peninsula above alluded to, as are also the barracks, the hospital and other buildings forming what is termed the Upper Town, the streets of which, though laid out at right angles, are overgrown with weeds and grass, and afford pasturage for goats, horses, and donkeys, while hogs, the privileged favourites of the Jamaica public, range about at pleasure. The officers' barracks run northward, and overlook the east harbour, with a verandah back and front; but the rooms are low, and not well adapted for the climate; the men's quarters are comparatively superior. The hospital is an excellent structure. The Lower Town consists of two principal thoroughfares, of which *Harbour-street* forms a segment of a circle on the shore of the eastern haven; and *West-street*, with its stores and warehouses, is convenient for vessels lying alongside the wharves, which they can do in the western port all the year round. The scenery here is very grand; rock, wood, and water combine to make it so; but the situation of the Lower Town is nevertheless considered very unhealthy, owing to the miasma generated in the surrounding morass, and to the want of efficient drainage. The soil is extremely prolific, consisting generally of vegetable mould, mixed with some clay, resting upon porous lime and chalkstone; the former intersected with fissures, the latter soft and more compact, fit for building purposes. Along the sea shore honeycomb-rock abounds, to the great annoyance of pedestrians, being pointed and sharp as broken glass.* In the vicinity of the Lower Town there is an extensive cavern in the limestone formation, on the steep side of the hill, about a hundred feet above the level of the sea, having the usual variety of chambers and passages adorned with stalactites and stalagmites, and carpeted by a soft elastic substance, which feels like moss, but is in reality a coating of bats' dung several feet in depth, and has been successfully used as manure. Numerous skulls of these creatures are everywhere scattered about, and while crowds of living ones flap their heavy restless wings, a pair or more of owls may be seen in the lofty vaults near the entrance, gloomily engaged in picking the bones of deceased bats.†

Seven miles inland from Port Antonio, in direct distance, but perhaps twice as many by the road, is *Moore Town*, the largest Maroon settlement in the island, which contained, when visited by Messrs. Lloyd and Harvey, a population of 600, dwelling in 100 cottages larger and more finished than the negro huts on estates, and dispersed over the slope of a hill, backed by rising mountains. Their own grounds were carefully cultivated, and they occasionally hired themselves out in parties to clear the pastures of the neighbouring proprietors, but insisted on working with their cutlasses, not choosing to employ the more appropriate implements, which they regarded as tokens of slavery.‡ Four miles from Moore Town a settlement named *Altamont* was commenced in 1837 by a few Scottish families, who, allured by the promises made by the local legislature, established themselves in an irregular valley about a mile and-a-half in length, through which the Rio Grande runs, sometimes a gently flowing, shallow stream, but during the frequent and heavy rains, an impetuous torrent. The adjacent land was considered extremely fertile, and well suited to the cultivation of coffee and ginger, and the only obvious defect was the difficulty of transporting produce to market.

The result of the experiment would seem to have been a failure, and the consequent loss to the country, and suffering to the poor families must have been great; as also in other instances where immigrants have been introduced at great cost from the East Indies, Africa, Portugal, and Germany.

The *Rio Grande* enters the sea about five miles to the westward of Port Antonio. *Hope Bay* about four, and *Buff Bay* fifteen miles further in the same direction, afford shipping places for the estates in their neighbourhood; at the latter there is a church, a court-house, and other public buildings. From Buff Bay to Kingston the distance by the road is about thirty miles, across the narrowest part of the island.

Annotta Bay has anchorage exposed to the north and north-west winds; on its western shore there is a village of the same name with a church, Baptist chapel and parochial schools, and about 300 or 400 inhabitants. A little to the westward of Annotta Bay, and between it and Port Maria is a small inlet distinguished in Arrowsmith's recent and excellent map, as *Don Christopher's Cove*, and supposed to have been the scene of Columbus' weary sojourn in 1502 (see p. 18.)

Port Maria gives its name to a town built upon the edge of a semicircular bay, which faces the north-east, and is bounded by two bold elevated promontories, one of which (that to the westward) has on it the remains of an old fort. The buildings stand at the opening of a long narrow valley, inclosed by hills on either side, and between the mouths of two streams, whose banks are clothed with the most luxuriant vegetation. On the opposite shore of the west stream are the suburbs called *Stennet's* and *Manning's* Town; in the rear of Port Maria there is lagoon or marsh, and beyond, and draining into it, a swamp, which stretches for a considerable extent up the valley. The whole appearance of the place is very picturesque, but it is decidedly insalubrious. During the recent visitation of cholera, the population and deaths were—

Locality.	Population.	Deaths.
Port Maria	420	239
Manning's Town . .	330	200
Stennet's Town . .	250	114

Fully two-thirds of those who remained on the spot perished. In one house in the middle of the town, fourteen out of seventeen inmates were swept off within fifty hours. Half the prisoners in the gaol died, and many of the houses of the lower classes, from being crowded to excess, became quite depopulated.—(Cholera Report, June, 1852.)

Separated from *Port Maria* by a small peninsula, the north-eastern extremity of which is termed *Galina Point*, is *Ora Cabessa*, a port and river visited and named by Columbus.

St. Ann's Bay, the shipping place of the rich district of St. Ann's parish, has a narrow entrance between two reefs. The town, built on a hill at the south-east side of the bay, is beautifully situated,

* *Vide Wesleyan Missions*, by Rev. P. Samuel, p. 143.

† *Vide Jamaica Monthly Magazine and Scientific Journal*, June, 1848; p. 57.

‡ *West Indies in* 1837, p. 297.

but so surrounded by sea swamp as to be very unhealthy. The neighbouring heights afford a pleasant and salubrious retreat to the more wealthy inhabitants. There are three villages included in the parish, named *Ocho Rios*, *Dry Harbour*, and *Brown's Town*, the first of which stands on an inlet of the same name, to the eastward of St. Ann's Bay; the second, where there are barracks, to the westward; while the third is charmingly situated inland, and is considered to possess a climate far more temperate and salubrious than that of the coast. In this vicinity, several "free villages" have been formed, which will be subsequently noticed. St. Ann's parish is remarkable for the beauty and variety of its scenery and the richness of its productions. Canefields extend for a distance of about ten miles from the sea, and then give place to coffee plantations, whose bright green foliage, crimson berries, and jasmine-like flowers, exhaling a delicious perfume, contrast agreeably with the more sombre hue and aromatic fragrance of the pimento (all-spice) groves. About the beginning of February, these latter offer very striking and pleasing scenes to the eye of a stranger. The trees, then covered with the green, unripe berries, just fit to be gathered and dried for exportation, are each surrounded by groups of children busily engaged in plucking the loaded twigs, and stripping off the fruit, while flocks of green parrots and parroquets shoot from tree to tree, screaming discordantly while on the wing, but with the characteristic intelligence of their race, becoming as quiet as mice, when, alighting to revel upon the luxurious food, they conceal themselves amid the foliage, which the colour of their soft plumage enables them to do very successfully. The pimento, which, when ripe, becomes black, pulpy, and sweet, retaining very little of its spicy flavour, even in its immature state, offers such irresistible attractions to some of these birds as to tempt the Glass Eye (*Merula Jamaicensis*), and even the Solitaire (*Ptilogonys armillatus*), from the deep mountain recesses, whence they rarely emerge.* In what is termed the *Moneague* savanna and its neighbourhood, there are numerous large farms for the rearing of horses, cattle, and mules, whose bodies are almost hidden by the gigantic tufts of the Guinea grass,† among which they delight to roam. Orange trees, and other varieties of the citron tribe, laden with golden fruit, are thickly scattered over the landscape, to which a park-like character is given, alike by the grazing cattle, the gentle elevations crowned by clumps of trees, and the absence of fences, the estates being only marked by the walls which divide them.

Sevilla Nueva, or *D'Oro*, the first Spanish settlement, stood on the shore of St. Ann's Bay; the site is now partially occupied by a sugar plantation, long remarkable for its productiveness; but relics of the former city still remain, and the ruins of the cathedral are in excellent preservation. On the coast, a little to the eastward of the bay, a remarkable waterfall, called *Roaring River Cascade*, is formed by the junction of eight small streams. The road across to Spanish Town, through the centre of the island, presents varied scenes of Alpine grandeur, cultivated beauty, and tropical luxuriance, but has much more attraction for the eye of a painter than for the ordinary traveller, who, doubtless, would often gladly forfeit some marvellous prospects for an easier road. Near Mount Diavolo, the way is especially steep and difficult, and from its zigzag and winding ascent, would be tedious, but for the enchanting views presented at certain points. One spot in the romantic inland parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, is very remarkable; the road there lies through a deep gorge, called the Bog Walk (i.e. Bocâgua, *a sluice*), by the side of the Cobre River, here formed by the union of the Negro and D'Oro. The rocks often rise to a great height on either side, closely hemming in the channel of the rushing stream, with the narrow adjacent pathway. Here and there the channel is obstructed by rocky islets, and in one place a broad mass of limestone, called *Gibraltar*, attains an absolutely perpendicular altitude of 500 or 600 feet (twice the height of St. Paul's), while in its crevices grow many small and slender fan-palms (*thrinax*). Even in dry weather it is a singularly imposing object; but when, as sometimes occurs during seasons of excessive rain, a cataract pours down from its very summit, breaking into a cloud of mist and spray before it reaches the distant river beneath, the spectacle must certainly be one of extraordinary grandeur. Near Dry Harbour, there is a cavern of great width and depth, terminating in a subterranean lake, a few miles to the westward of which is the inlet forming the *Rio Bueno Harbour*, which though exposed, is yet available for shipping produce.

To the westward of *Rio Bueno*, a cocoa-nut grove extends for three or four miles, and stretches from eight to ten miles inland; yet, notwithstanding this abundant supply of the raw material, from the want it would appear of well-directed capital and enterprise, cocoa-nut oil is still imported from Ceylon. The nuts, however, have now become an increasing article of export.

Falmouth, the chief town of Trelawney parish, is the next place on the northern coast that demands attention. It is situated near the mouth of the *Martha Brae River*, which rising in the mountains of the interior, there almost unexplored, falls into the sea after a winding course of about thirty miles. The original town, named from the Brae, about two two miles inland, has for many years resigned its pretensions to Falmouth, both as to convenience for the shipping, and general business, the latter excelling all the towns on the north side except that of Montego Bay, while its general aspect is more English than that of any other in the island. The streets are laid out at right angles, and most of the houses being kept well painted with stone or lead colour to preserve them, look remarkably neat and clean. In the centre of the town there is a large reservoir of water, which is supplied through underground pipes, reaching the river at Martha Brae, where there is an hydraulic engine to keep up the supply when the river is too low to work the waterwheel. The most prominent building is the Courthouse, which is of stone, having a portico, supported by four massive pillars; a broad flight of steps branch off right and left, and lead to two large halls, into which the upper part of the edifice is divided. There are Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan places of worship, and a substantial Baptist chapel erected by Mr. Knibb. At the extremity of the low sandy projection on which the town stands, a fort, barracks, and hospital have been built; the guns of the fort command the entrance of

* *A Naturalist's Sojourn in Jamaica*, Gosse, p. 64.

† The seeds of this valuable grass were brought from Guinea, about 1740, as food for some birds, a present from the same coast. The birds died; the remaining seeds being thrown away over a fence, took root, and the anxiety of the cattle to obtain them, soon drew attention to their value.

the barred harbour, which affords safe shelter for ships, being defended on the north by a coral reef, running parallel with the shore, but the coral formation threatens to close up the mouth of the haven; already first-class ships have not room to enter, and are compelled to go to Montego Bay. The site of Falmouth has been but recently reclaimed; it is a dead level, without drainage, and scarcely elevated above high-water mark, while a marshy lagoon, of several miles in extent, hems it in on the east, south, and west, covered with mangrove, sea-grapes, and other semi-marine trees and vegetation, affording shelter and nourishment for myriads of crabs, mosquitoes, and sand-flies; and generating a most offensive miasm, which is felt strongly during the night, when the land-wind carries it over the town towards the sea.* In such a locality, fever and disease could hardly fail to make frequent and severe inroads, and so it has proved. During the recent cholera epidemic, out of a population estimated at 3,500, 485 perished. In a single house, a place of dissipation and vice, eighteen out of twenty-six inmates were rapidly seized with the malady, and fourteen died within forty-eight hours.

Montego Bay, in the parish of St. James, about fifteen miles to the westward of Falmouth, is the chief emporium of trade on the northern side of the island, and is distant from Kingston about 120 miles. The town is well laid out, on an elevation which slopes westwards towards the sea; the main street, which divides the town, runs nearly north and south. Many of the buildings and houses are of brick or stone, and the dwellings of the respectable inhabitants are both elegant and comfortable, having gardens or grass-plots attached, adorned with various characteristic trees, shrubs, and flowers; while verandahs, piazzas, and other features of tropical architecture, render the houses as pleasant and cool as possible in this extremely warm neighbourhood. The bay being sheltered on the east and south by a semi-circular hill, the sea breeze by day and the land wind by night, are alike cut off from the greater portion of the town, where the temperature is almost always very sultry. The anchorage for the shipping ranges from four to thirty-four fathoms water, with ample space for a large fleet; but the entrance is not good, and the haven open and exposed, and when the north-west wind blows, unsafe for ships. A large outlay has been incurred in attempting to form a breakwater to keep off the swell; but, from defective engineering, nothing has been achieved, besides burying an immense quantity of large stones in the sea, which have been swept away by the violence of the waves. The plantations here, not only skirt the shore but extend inland for several miles, and render the view from the bay very pleasing. The town forms, as it were, the centre of the picture; and its various places of worship—Church of England, Baptist, Wesleyan, and Presbyterian—together with numerous good houses, stores, and wharves, stand out, relieved by the foliage of the cocoa-nut, orange, star-apple, plaintain, banana, and other trees and shrubs; the sides and back-ground are formed by hills, which stretch along the coast as far as the eye can reach, and rise one above another, richly studded with cane-fields; interspersed with clumps of bamboo, trumpet, broad-leaf, prickly-yellow, cocoa-nut, and majestic wild cotton trees, from whose far-extending branches hang innumerable wreaths of wild flowers, parasitic plants, and creeping vines, which, sometimes bending downward, take root in the ground.

Here, however, as in all the *towns* of Jamaica, with few, if any, exceptions, the habitations of the lower classes are characterized by extreme wretchedness, and by that absence of cleanliness, ventilation, and sufficient space for the decent accommodation of families, which ever proves a fruitful source of disease and crime. Even the public, as well as private dwellings of the poor, too frequently manifest the same lamentable deficiency, alike in policy and humanity, and the results have been appalling. Thus, when Montego Bay was visited by cholera, in December, 1850, nearly 800 persons perished in that single month, out of a population of 6,000 or 7,000; and in the workhouse, only three out of fifty-five paupers survived.†

Great River divides St. James from the parishes of Hanover and Westmoreland; it is not navigable, but is crossed by two large stone and one wooden bridge, and enters the sea after a winding course of thirty-four miles.

Lucea, the town of Hanover parish, stands on the south-west shore of a beautiful horse-shoe-formed bay, the entrance to which is about half-a-mile across, and the depth of water from four to six fathoms throughout. Two streams, called East and West Lucea, flow into the head of the harbour. There are some respectable buildings in the town, such as the Church, Presbyterian, and Methodist chapels. Ridges of high land surround it so closely as to leave only a narrow strip of flat surface adjoining the beach; this is occupied by one large street, above which there are many houses on the sides of the steep adjacent hill, from whence the view is magnificent. The parish is well watered, and full of charming scenery, and the coast abounds in bays and creeks.

The character of Lucea, in a sanitary point of view, unhappily does not correspond with its pleasing appearance; the site of great part was originally a swamp, the soil is generally loose and sandy, riddled in many places with the burrowing of land-crabs; water is found at a depth of two or three feet, and at the east end there is a foul quagmire with large pools of stagnant water; altogether this spot has proved one of the most insalubrious in the island. Diarrhœa, dysentery, and remittent fever, are of frequent occurrence; and in 1837, a very fatal typhus prevailed. In 1850-'1, a full third of its inhabitants died of cholera, most of them at the hospital, which was not to be wondered at, considering its situation at the side of stagnant ditches, its extreme overcrowding, and the want of proper nursing and medical attendance. *Fort Charlotte*, so named in honour of the sister of the Earl of Elgin, is built on the extremity of the peninsula which bounds the harbour of Lucea.

Elgin and *Johnson Hamlets* are situated on the opposite side of the harbour.

Proceeding a few miles to the westward we arrive at a beautiful little inlet called *Orange Cove*, immediately beyond which is *Pedro Point*, the north-west extremity of the island. The coast here takes a south-westerly direction, and is much indented; the chief inlets are *Green Island Harbour*, which receives its name from a little island at the offing, about half-a-league distant from the main land, and is defended by a fort; and *Orange Bay*, into which a river of the same name flows. A bight called *Long* or *Negril Bay* occupies chief part of what ought properly to be termed the western coast, and terminates in a

* Samuel's *Wesleyan Missions*, p. 176.

† *Vide* Dr. Roper's statement, Cholera Report, June, 1852.

promontory known as *South Negril*, which forms the western extremity of Jamaica; the shore then trends to the south-eastward.

Savanna-la-Mar is situated in Westmoreland, the parish which occupies the south-western portion of the island. The harbour, or rather roadstead, is by no means a good one, the water is shoal, and the anchorage unsheltered. The town is built by the sea-side, on an alluvial flat, and is scarcely raised above high-water-mark; the chief buildings are the Church of England, Baptist, and Wesleyan chapels. Though not peculiarly attractive in other respects, the place is very characteristic of West Indian manners. On its eastern side a grove of cocoa-nut palms, nearly a mile in length, fringes the white beach, and on the other the eye rests on a wall of sombre mangrove trees, growing actually out of the sea for miles. The wharf being passed, the visitor enters the broad, long, straight street that constitutes the town. There is no pavement but the sandy earth, ploughed into ruts by the waggons, some of which may frequently be seen with their long teams of oxen, bringing in puncheons of rum and hogsheads of sugar from the country. Right across at irregular intervals run large water-courses, dry at times, but in the rainy seasons, liable every day to be flooded; each then becoming a foaming torrent of muddy water, rushes noisily into the great mangrove morass that environs the town. This swamp extends to the westward for several miles, and exhales a most pestilential miasm, but being below the level of the sea, cannot be drained.

The lower parts of most of the houses are used as shops, or *stores* as they are called in American fashion, each one, whatever the character of its merchandise,—drapery, "dry goods," "hardware," provisions, spirits, or tobacco, are all fitted up in the same manner, with an open piazza in front, three or four yards wide, where the various goods are exposed, and in which the proprietor, and a friend or customer, may commonly be seen, seated on chairs, the feet often on another chair (also in the American fashion), smoking a cigar, and sipping some cooling syrup, or imbibing the more enticing and dangerous beverage known as "sangaree." Behind the piazza is the shop, with unglazed windows, through which communication is freely held with the clerks and assistants inside; this is fitted up with counters and shelves in the English style. Above, the ceiling of the piazza being supported, on the street line, by one or two slender pillars, are the rooms of the dwelling-house, or else balconies; in either case furnished with jalousies, or strong Venetian blinds. Towards the upper end of the long street the shops cease, the houses become more elegant, each inclosed in a court or garden, often adorned with the beautiful or fragrant blossoming trees and plants of the island, or such as unite fruit with beauty and shade. Of the former the scarlet cordia, the noble agave, and the oleander, or South Sea rose, both beautiful and odorous, are great favourites; and of the latter, the wide spreading genip and tamarind, the tall papau, and the golden-fruited members of the *Citrus* genus, from the gigantic shaddock to the diminutive lime. Although the town itself is so superabundantly supplied with water, both from the heavens above and the earth beneath, yet the supply for the houses is miserably deficient, and contributes to the want of cleanliness, which is doubtless one cause of insalubrity. In 1851, out of a population estimated at 1,560, 329 died of cholera between 7th of June and 21st July. Some of the wealthier merchants have pleasant country seats a few miles inland; one of these (Phœnix Park) is graphically described in the book from whence the above description of the town has been chiefly derived, viz., the delightful volume that has resulted from the labours of P. H. Gosse, A.L.S., assisted by the scientific knowledge and long experience of the well-known naturalist, Richard Hill, which affords much interesting detail respecting the endless variety of trees and flowers, birds and insects, that forms one of the loveliest features of this richly-gifted country. As the best class of Jamaica houses are usually constructed on the same principle, the following portraiture will serve as an illustration of the whole:—

"The furnished part of the house is all on the same level, forming what we should call the first floor, the whole of the ground-floor being devoted to store-rooms and cellars. An arched passage, open at each end, leads through the house, beneath the dwelling apartments, from the road in front to the yard behind. A flight of stone steps, with iron balustrades, on which run beautiful twining and creeping plants, such as the lovely crimson *Quamoclit*, the wax-like *Hoya carnosa*, and others, leads the visitor up to the front door, and he is immediately ushered into a spacious hall, in the form of a cross, extending the whole length and breadth of the house. This large hall is characteristic of all Jamaica houses, it forms the principal sitting-room, and, from its shape, admits the cooling breeze to sweep through it, whenever there is a breath of air. The two square areas formed by one side of the cross are filled by bed-rooms; but with these exceptions, the whole of the sides and ends of the hall are either occupied by windows, or open and furnished with jalousies, a broad sort of transverse Venetian blinds, which freely admit the air while they exclude the glare of light, which in this country is scarcely less distressing than the heat. This large and cool apartment is furnished with sofas, ottomans, tables, chairs, &c., not differing from ours; but there is no fire-place, nor any carpet. [In the mountain residences, however, both these articles are requisite.] Instead of the latter, the floor is made of the most beautiful of the native woods, in the selection of which much taste is often displayed, as also in the arrangement, so that the various colours of the wood may harmonize or contrast well with each other. Mahogany, green-heart, bread-nut, and blood-heart, are among the trees whose timber is employed for floors. Great hardness is an indispensable requisite in the wood used, and capability of receiving a high polish, which is given and maintained with great labour. Scarcely anything surprises a European more than to tread on floors as beautifully polished as the finest tables of our drawing-rooms. The mode in which the gloss is daily renewed is curious; if the visitor should peep out of his bed-room about dawn of day, he would see some half-a-dozen sable handmaids on their knees in the middle of the floor, with a great tray full of sour oranges cut in halves. Each maid takes a half orange, and rubs the floor with it until its juice is exhausted; it is then thrown aside, and the process is continued with another. When the whole floor has been thus rubbed with orange juice, it is vigorously scrubbed with the half of a cocoa-nut husk, the rough fibres of which, acting as a stiff brush, soon impart such a reflective power to the hard wood, as would put Day and Martin into ecstasies. After the last touch is given, it is amusing to see the precautions taken by the waiting-maids to avoid dimming its beauty. The preparation for breakfast, and various other duties, performed by servants with bare feet, would seem to make it impossible that the floor should remain untarnished, but it does; and it is thus managed. The girl takes two pieces of linen, and sets one foot upon each, then with her great toe and its next neighbour, she grasps a pinch of the cloth (for the negroes' toes are almost as effective as fingers), and thus scuffles about the floor; practice enabling them to do this with facility, without

their feet ever coming in contact with the wood. A small garden partially surrounds the house, filled with ornamental trees and shrubs, some native and some exotic. The beautiful *Nerium*, called the South Sea rose, is prominent among the latter, as also the gorgeous *Hibiscus rosa-sinensis*, and the Spanish jasmine, as fragrant as it is elegant; and the scarlet Belladonna lily, and many others, add to the gaiety of the parterre. In the garden, and around it, are several curious trees. The noble Malay apple (*eugenia Malaccensis*), or, as it is here called, the Otaheite Cashew, there erects its conical head, covered either with its beautiful flowers, like clusters of crimson tassels, or with its close, luxuriant, richly-green foliage. The Sago Palm, likewise transported from farthest India, has found here a climate and a soil congenial to its growth, and presents a singular object in its stiff, bristling leaves, radiating in all directions, and its heart covered with a brown, woolly, or mealy substance. Immediately before the door is a large arborescent *Euphorbia*, probably *E. Grandidens*, a native of South Africa, with rather inconspicuous flowers, but sure to attract the attention of a stranger by its long, angular, leafless branches, set with spines, like long *Cacti* growing from the trunk of an ordinary tree. A row of Shaddock trees, hung in the season with their golden fruits, as large as a child's head, combines beauty, fragrance, and utility; while cashew trees, mangoes, custard apples, sops, and guavas, all valuable fruits, but too common to need description, form groves around the mansion. * * * Scores of humming-birds hover from day to day around the blossoms of the trees, sucking from flower to flower upon the wing, just as the hawk-moths do in our English gardens in the summer twilight, on trees in the sunshine.—(*A Naturalist's Sojourn in Jamaica*. London: 1851, pp. 155—159.)

Bluefields Harbour is very spacious, and possesses excellent anchorage; a coral reef stretches off some distance from the shore.

The water is unusually transparent, so that at a depth of six fathoms, the bottom, with every rock, patch of sand, or bunch of weeds, is as distinctly visible as if seen through the medium of a broad plate of glass. There is a fort here, but no town. The view from seaward is extensive and imposing; the verdant Guinea-grass pastures of Bluefields, and the neighbouring pens, sloping upwards, backed by the lofty rampart of the Bluefields ridge, rising into one conical peak of half a mile in height, and others of less elevation, and jutting out into the bay in a bold promontory, covered from its rounded summit to its base upon the sea-beach, with dense primeval forests. To the westward the view is very fine; the town of Savanna-la-Mar, being, as before stated, scarcely above the sea-level, can be recognised only by the clustered masts of the shipping; but above the town and the adjacent flat country, rises blue and distant, yet bold and well-defined in outline, the noble mountain named the *Dolphin's Head*, which, however, in form resembles rather a crouching lion. To the south end of Bluefields a tract of country extends for some miles, to which the name of *Surinam Quarters* was given by the planters who came here from Surinam in 1675. The remnant of the ill-fated Scottish colony at Darien also found refuge here, and settled farther to the eastward, in the neighbourhood of *Scott Cove*.

Black River Bay is a wide open inlet, at the head of which stands a village of the same name built at the mouth of the *Black River*. This stream enters the sea after a meandering course of about thirty-four miles, during which it flows, for the most part, through a flat country, and receives several tributaries both on the eastward and westward; it is the deepest and least rapid river in the island, and is navigable for canoes nearly thirty miles from the sea. The village is remarkable for little beyond the handsome parish church in its neighbourhood.

Lacovia, the chief town of the parish of St. Elizabeth, is situated a few miles inland in a kind of basin, and is liable to be inundated by the waters of a large morass which surround it.

The *Val de Vaca Morass* extends along the shore from Black River to the *Pedro Plains*, and these terminate near *Great Pedro Bay;* the south-eastern boundary of which is formed by the promontory called *Pedro Bluff*. A low ridge or spur, called the *Santa Cruz Mountains*, runs nearly parallel with, though some miles distant from, the flat land above mentioned.

Alligator Pond, situated at the junction of St. Elizabeth and Manchester Parishes, is merely a shipping place for the latter parish, which is chiefly occupied by pens and coffee plantations; upwards of 10,000 tierces of coffee have been shipped in one year from this port. The town named *Mandeville* is one of the most healthy, agreeable, and improving places in the colony. It stands on a plateau 2,500 feet above the level of the sea, in the midst of green woods and pastures, and is surrounded on all sides by chains of high land; to the north a ridge extends, near the extremity of which is an isolated eminence called *Martin Hill*, and to the south and westward the *May Day Hills*, which seem connected with the lofty *Don Figuerreros Mountain*, environ the town.

Mandeville contains a church and rectory, and a chapel established by the London Missionary Society, but now chiefly supported by its coloured congregation. It has a court-house, jail, house of correction, a magazine and arsenal, and other buildings. There was formerly a great deficiency of water, there being only one spring of fresh water in the whole parish, but tanks have been constructed, and in the town at least there is now an abundant supply.

The inland and mountainous parish of Clarendon bounds that of Manchester on the eastward, and contains an isolated eminence called *Bull Head*, 2,140 feet in altitude, which is considered to mark the centre of the island. In the southern portion of this parish tobacco was grown by the Spaniards. All the roads are exceedingly bad, and impassable in wet weather; in the mountain districts there are literally none, and the people cannot reach town or market, save at the hazard of life. The *Rio Minho*, or *Dry River*, rises near the north-western boundary, crosses Clarendon in a south-easterly direction, and after receiving several small, and one considerable tributary, called the *St. Thomas*, enters the parish of Vere, flows through it in a tortuous but southerly direction, and joins the sea near *Carlisle Bay*, after a course of about twenty-six miles in direct distance, but including its various meanders, above fifty. The lower part of Vere projects into the sea in the form of a peninsula, at the extremity of which a neck of land (through which runs a low limestone range of hills called *Portland Ridge*) juts out in a south-easterly direction, enclosing a small but secure haven called *West Harbour*. Near the termination of the ridge is *Portland Point*, a little to the westward of which is an inconsiderable promontory, in 17° 44′ S. lat., 77° 10′ W. long., which constitutes the southern extremity of the island. Near Portland Point there is a remarkable cave, with two entrances, 300 or 400 yards apart, comprising several spacious chambers, supported by massive natural pillars, and adorned with endless varieties of stalac-

tites. A hot salt spring, near the mouth of the *Milk River*, has been found beneficial for rheumatism. Vere has no town, and only a few scattered negro hamlets; there are, however, about twenty-six sugar estates in cultivation.* The early English settlers in this neighbourhood made large fortunes by the cultivation of indigo, in which the Spaniards had probably set them the example, as when visiting the southern coast, in 1851, I saw some large stone vats, constructed evidently and used for the preparation of this valuable dye.

At the head of the extensive bay, known as *Old Harbour*, is a town or village of the same name, the chief place of the small and level parish of Saint Dorothy, and famous as the spot selected by the Spaniards for their principal ship-yard. The entrance to the bay is rendered perilous by shoals; the eastern haven, sheltered by *Goat Island*, still bears the name of *Galleon Harbour* (see map), from its having been the custom of the Spaniards to moor their richly laden vessels here for security during hurricanes; but the channel leading to it is now so choked up with mud as to have become useless, and even the merchantmen visiting this port to take in cargoes, lie further out in the bay, where there is depth of water for vessels of almost any burden, and excellent anchorage. At the distance of about two miles from the town is a small hamlet called the *Market*, where the negroes assemble to dispose of the produce of their land, and supply their own wants. The next parish is that of St. Catherine's, from whence this brief description of the leading topographical features of the island commenced with an account of Spanish Town. The mountainous parish of St. John, whose chief stream is the *Rio Montano*, has no town, but at a place which retains the native name of *Guanaboa*, there is a small hamlet, with a church and parsonage, and further to the north-eastward are some strong stone barracks, which command a narrow pass communicating between the northern and southern portions of Jamaica.

The romantic scenery of the adjoining inland parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, has been noticed in connection with the road between Spanish Town and St. Ann's Bay. A charming vale, called *Sixteen-mile-walk*, from its distance from the former place, is a favourite resort of the citizens, its only drawback being the singular fog which almost every morning obscures its beauties, until about nine o'clock, when it is dispersed by the rarefying power of the sun. The neighbourhood is, however, considered very healthy, and some of the earliest and best sugar-fields were established here.

Negro or Free Villages.—The dwellings of the negroes, during slavery, were of the most wretched and unwholesome description, being usually low mud huts, with long thatch almost reaching the ground, nearly devoid of light or ventilation, placed in some useless swamp, with a rank vegetation around, and a pestilential miasm diffusing at all times the seeds of disease. In one of these hovels, eight or nine feet square, seldom boarded, sometimes the moist floor strewed with half-dried grass or herbs, eight or ten human beings, in a state of semi-nudity, would enter at the close of their weary day's toil, and after labouring like the beasts of the field, incited by the same stimulus, the cart-whip, prepare, as best they might, a hasty and often insufficient meal, and then flinging themselves down, and huddling together, without regard to sex or age, would seek a brief respite from suffering, if, indeed, the too frequent pangs of bodily pain, caused by hard labour, exposure to every vicissitude of weather, or lacerated limbs, would let them; till the hated "shell blowing" summoned them at dawn to return, with steps quickened by fear, to the scene of their misery. Blessed be God, these times are past; but owing to various causes, since emancipation, the majority of the people have been unable to construct better habitations; nor, it would appear, have the proprietors and overseers of estates, as a body, deemed it necessary to provide accommodation suited to the altered position of the labourers in their employ. Dr. Milroy, in alluding to the results of his official investigation, after describing the general character and condition of the lowest class of dwellings, says, "still more wretched than the ordinary negro houses are the huts which are provided in some places for occasional or stray labourers, and far too generally for the use of the watchmen, consisting of a few bamboo rods stuck into the ground in this form, Λ with some thatch rudely thrown over them; often have the poor occupants been found lifeless in the morning, having died during the night without any one near them. Is it not an outrage on our common nature to require human beings to occupy such kennels?"—(Letter to the Governor of Jamaica, 31st March, 1851).

From this and other statements it would appear, that even the inhabitants of the towns, in the occupation of their own freehold, or hired dwellings, are better, rather than worse off, than when tenanting the miserable shelter provided for them on the estates. If this be so, it is one more mistake added to the long list which have alienated, and to a great extent, still alienate the employers and employed in Jamaica. Certainly the negro is not insensible to the comforts, conveniences, and even luxuries of life; and considering the long and grinding oppression to which he has been subjected, it is perfectly

* Vere and Clarendon are dry parishes, and here, as in other parts of the island, the difference in the production of sugar and coffee between a season of abundant moisture and one of drought, is very great; in sugar it is as *four* to *ten* thousand tons. The late Edward M'Geachy, Crown Surveyor of Jamaica, endeavoured in vain to induce the planters to undertake works of artificial irrigation, as is practised in the East Indies and other countries. In an able pamphlet, published at Kingston, in 1846, Mr. M'Geachy pointed out how much of the diminished production of Jamaica was owing to destructive droughts, by which the peasantry were compelled to attend to their own provision grounds, which they could not neglect, for any wages that it was in the power of the planter to give; and he demonstrated, by figures, that certain sugar estates in Vere, Clarendon, and a few other parishes in the great plains, produced in 1846 only 14,150 tons, whereas, even with the labour then available in the island, they ought to have yielded 48,125 tons. Referring to the "rich and extensive plains (of Liguanea), exceeding 154,000 acres of mostly rich, and perfectly flat ground, intersected and bounded by several large rivers, and some bog land, capable of the most profitable system of drainage, and traversed for a distance of fifteen miles by a highly finished, substantial railway," and adjacent to the "city and seaport of Kingston, with its 40,000 inhabitants;" and also to the "rich and flat district around Spanish Town, with several small villages, numerous grazing farms, and fifty to sixty fine sugar estates, with room for five times as many more," he adds: "although sugar is the chief cultivation, there are not now, even in good seasons, more than 5,000 to 6,000 tons produced," whereas, by a proper use of the water power, available in the neighbourhood, that amount could easily be five times multiplied—(pp. 30, 31.)

marvellous to see the progress in these respects already made, not by a few individuals, but by hundreds, and even thousands.

"Free villages," as they are termed, have been extensively established; they had their origin in the constant disputes between a large and respectable portion of the emancipated negroes and their former masters, who in many cases offered an insufficient rate of wages, which the peasantry were unwilling to take; whereupon they were subjected to exaction and arrogance in regard to the rent of their mud cabins and provision grounds, the previously fixed amount was arbitrarily doubled, and even trebled, or each member of a family, from childhood to old age, was charged with payment for permission to remain on an estate; and in some instances they were forcibly ejected from their hovels, their live stock killed, and their growing crops destroyed.

The negroes naturally desired to escape the species of villeinage to which they were being subjected. One of their first and most considerable attempts was the formation on the borders of Clarendon and Manchester parishes, of a village named Porus. About 1,500 settled there, having bought land in small lots; but, unfortunately, much of the soil has proved of bad quality. A Mr. Andrew Drummond about the same time bought 700 acres for £500 currency, and sold it in small lots (excepting about twenty reserved acres) for £2,000.* At the Baptist station of *Sligo Ville*, so called from the delightful country seat of Lord Sligo, some fifty acres of fertile mountain land were divided into 150 freehold lots, which were gradually purchased by the negroes, and a similar course was I believe adopted at the Wesleyan mission villages of *Brown's Town*, *Beechamville*, and *Watsonville*, in St. Ann's parish; *Guy's Hill*, in St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, and other places. Then again the negroes frequently formed distinct settlements in the following manner: out of their scanty earnings they clubbed together funds which they placed in the hands of their respective ministers, to be invested in the purchase of such suitable landed properties as might come into the market. A Baptist missionary (the Rev. John Clarke) has recorded in a letter (dated February, 1852), addressed to the excellent Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, some evidences illustrative of the beneficial results of this plan. The first purchase he made consisted of a property containing 120 acres of good land, distant about eight miles from Brown's Town, where a Wesleyan mission was established in 1835; the cost, with the expenses of conveying and surveying, was £700; of this sum £400 was paid down by about eighty or ninety of the negroes, and the remainder was contributed by instalments, and by additional purchasers; one hundred building lots were laid out, with an acre of provision-ground to each; on these neat cottages were built; a house on the property was converted into a school, and a chapel and mission-house were subsequently erected. The settlement was called *Sturge Town*, and its condition was thus described by Messrs. Candler and Alexander during their visit to Jamaica, in 1850:—

"Population, 541; houses wattled and shingled, 103; wattled and thatched, 2; huts, 6; total number of houses, 111; floor of apartments boarded, 45; terraced, 163. Families, 113; parents, 228; children and unmarried persons, 313. Children who attend the day-school, 112. Sabbath-school, 200. Copies of the Scriptures, 187. Each house has its separate acre of land, where, in addition to provisions, pimento is frequently cultivated, and in some instances sugar-cane. There are also in the village some small wooden mills for grinding the cane, and on almost all the little properties some simple contrivance for expressing its juice. Such villages, built on the summit or slope of some fine hill, interspersed with bananas and plantains, and shaded by mangoes and bread-fruit trees, have a very pleasing appearance, and greatly enliven the face of nature. The moral condition of Sturge Town is, we believe, superior to most that have not the advantage it possesses of a resident missionary. The minister of the station, Mr. Samuel Hodges, for the last seven or eight years, has laboured with much devotedness to promote the temporal and spiritual welfare of the people."

Clarkson-Ville was established on a property of 600 acres, the cost of which was nearly £1,500. One hundred families settled there, each possessing a building lot, and one to four acres of provision-grounds. A portion of the land is rocky and mountainous, and did not readily sell. A mission-station and school has been commenced, and is proving a blessing to the neighbourhood. Mr. Francis Johnson, formerly a slave, is the respected and useful minister of the congregation.

Wilberforce, near Brown's Town, has forty families comfortably located on a small piece of land.

Stepney contains 100 acres, which were bought for £300; it is a picturesque village, with a commodious school-house and place of worship. Numerous other hamlets have been built in different parts of the island on land which the negroes have bought at prices varying from £3 to £12 per acre, according to its situation and productiveness. Their designations show the feelings of the people; some, like those already named, indicate the grateful veneration with which they regard the leaders of the great national movement, that struck off their fetters; among others denoting glad and grateful sentiments, may be mentioned *Bethany*, *Salem*, *Philadelphia*, *Goshen*, *Providence*, *Harmony*, *Standfast*, *Happy*, and *Liberty Valleys*. Several have English names, such as *Stepney*, *Homerton*, *Highbury*, and *Claremont*. Others still retain their colonial designations, as *Greenhill*, *Thatchfield*, &c. "In almost every one of them there is a small place of worship called a class-room, in which many of the people assemble for devotional exercises every morning, before going forth to labour, and in the evening when the toils of the day are over."† The villagers have naturally become more industrious, thoughtful, and frugal, and are generally desirous of occupying respectable stations in society; a large number have acquired the franchise, and vote for the election of members of the House of Assembly, and for parochial officers. Their agricultural efforts are at present mainly directed to the cultivation of articles required for domestic use, and those for which there is a daily demand in the town markets. A considerable quantity of sugar is even now prepared, and if central manufactories were established, or the *Métayer system* adopted, much more would be produced.

The bare fact that, whereas twenty years ago, there was scarcely any coloured landowners in the island, and that their number is now estimated at upwards of *one hundred thousand*, places in its strongest light the immense improvement which has taken place in the physical and civil condition of the bulk of the population, and not less so in their moral state, when it is considered how much industry and self-denial

* See evidence of R. M. Martin, before Select Committee of Parliament, on East India produce; 21st July, 1840; p. 255.

† *Anti-Slavery Reporter* of 1st March, 1852, pp. 38, 39.

must have been exercised to enable a negro to lay by out of his small earnings sufficient for the purchase of a piece of land, which once obtained, he never tires in improving, and never parts with but for a larger or better homestead. The free villages are very beneficial to the sugar or coffee estates in their vicinity, provided the owners or managers manifest a kindly spirit towards the peasantry, who are glad to work four or five days a week for hire, in order that they may add to their money acquisitions for the purchase of clothes, or to invest in the improvement or extension of their own little properties. Gradually they are adding to their marketable and exportable products; coffee, pimento, ginger, arrow-root, cocoa-nuts,* wax, and honey, are now in this list, to which it is to be hoped cotton may soon be added.†

Nor is it only as cottier proprietors that the industry of the negro is manifested; when unable, from want of funds or other causes, to purchase a legal right to land, they often settle as "squatters" on the mountains, where I have seen them in secluded dells and on the steep slopes of hills, cutting down the forests, burning the brushwood, planting potatoes and maize, creating gardens in the wilderness, and toiling with an energy and continuousness that gave the fullest contradiction to the assertion, of the Jamaica negro creole being indolent, or at best fitful, in his work.

Geology.—The lowest formation of the island, according to the observations of a distinguished geologist (Sir Henry de la Bêche), consists of a slaty schist; above it blue limestone, next grauwacke, surmounted by red sandstone with seams of clay. More recent investigators assert that the base of Jamaica is porphyry, sienite, and greenstone, supporting deposition and transition rocks. White and blue limestone abound, as does also quartz of different varieties. The lower mountains, near Kingston, are principally composed of a whitish bastard marble, of a smooth even grain, which takes a good polish; it is frequently used as limestone. In some places a kind of *ribbon* rock is observable, formed of alternate pophyry, trap, hornstone, and petro-silex; in other localities basalts appear in strata, under cover of different incumbent rocks, and are also found in amorphous masses, but never in the columnar form, which they are supposed to assume only on being exposed to sudden refrigeration, by the action of the external air, and when freed from the pressure of incumbent rocks.

The diffusion of the white limestone is very extensive; it constitutes whole ranges of hills, as in the parishes of Manchester, St. Catherine, St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, and St. Ann's, also the Long Mountain near Kingston; pervading, in fact, nearly all the midland, and by far the greater portion of the whole island. It is characterized by being hollowed into innumerable holes and cavities, among which the falling rains immediately disappear; hence arises the general scarcity of springs, the occasional sinking of rivers in districts principally composed of these rocks, and the necessity the inhabitants experience for the construction of tanks. The Port Royal and St. Andrew mountains are composed of white limestone, porphyry, sienite, greenstone, red porphyritic, conglomerate and silicious sandstones, with red sandstones and conglomerates of an older date. Rounded pieces of all these rocks form the diluvial gravel of Liguanea Plain. The surface of St. Catherine Plain, or *Vega*, consists, for the most part, of an earthy clay; the immediate substratum is generally a silicious sand of varying depth. Beneath the sand is a blue clay-overlying strata, in which are water springs. The talus of the neighbouring hills is fragmentary limestone, mingled abundantly with a red friable earth, highly charged with oxide of iron. A black carbonate of iron, in the form of ferruginous sand, may be always observed in the water-courses of the streets of Spanish Town after rain-floods. On some parts of the banks of the river Cobre, a humid brick mould formed from disintegrated trap rocks, lies to a considerable depth; in this mould small particles of gold are found, and the river soil is slightly auriferous. The pebbles within the stream are composed of angular masses of black basalt, green serpentine with mottlings of white, a brown grit, and pebbles of porphyry, and compact limestone. The detrital washings of these rocks compose the river sand.

Crystalline spar, in small detached masses, is seen in various parts of the island; rock-spar, very clear, and in masses of great size, is obtainable in the mountains of St. Ann, where it constitutes entire strata. Mixed and purplish coloured schist is common in the mountains of St. John, and also the hard lamellated amianthus, in a form resembling petrified wood. Argillaceous slate forms a considerable feature in the Blue Mountains, but the greater part of the higher range appeared to me to be trappean. The united action of heat and pressure has formed several conglomerates. The convulsive submarine impulses which the island has received, have greatly

* It is really wonderful what a degree of economy and intelligence these people manifest in making the most of their limited means, and the results of this earnestness will probably in a few years become very striking. On a space of from two to five acres (the average of negro properties being about three) may be seen an extraordinary variety of the tropical trees, most prized for their fruit, as well as eminently conspicuous for their beauty. There is the tall and graceful cocoa-nut; different kinds of the citron tribe, with evergreen foliage, golden fruit, and delicately white and fragrant blossoms; the star-apple, with parti-coloured leaves of shining green on one side, and on the other of a bright bay; the papaw, whose large fruit has the singular property of rendering tender the toughest meat, by a few drops of its juice; the mango, which, though introduced at no very distant period, now towers around every homestead; and the bread-fruit, with its enormous leaves eighteen inches in length, and bunches of fruit of proportionate size. Rows of young plantain trees rise from amid the verdant carpet formed by the broad leaves of the coco (*cocolasia esculenta*), and in another part of the ground, the luxuriant yam twines its slender stems up tall poles, while melons and gourds trail along the surface. A little patch of sugar-cane occupies one corner; a few bunches of the castor oil plant, or of the cassava, another, with two or three cotton trees—not the lowland giant of that name, but the Malvaceous shrub that here throws out its snowy bunches of genuine cotton. A small tract, carefully cultivated and kept free from weeds, is usually exclusively devoted to the growth of those useful and closely-allied plants, arrow-root and ginger, each consisting of succulent green shoots, formed by the sheathing leaves, and the former displaying handsome heads of scaly flowers.

† A poor man in Jamaica has recently invented a "gin," for separating the wool from the seed, of such simple and cheap construction, as to induce the House of Assembly to give the inventor a small sum of money in acknowledgment of this useful exercise of his mechanical genius. I saw this simple but effective machine tried by the intelligent Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. M'Larty Morales, who stated that he was devoting a portion of his estate to the cultivation of cotton.

disrupted the several formations, and changed the horizontal continuity of various masses.

When Sir Henry de la Bêche wrote his able sketch of the geology of Jamaica, the science, to whose progress he has so largely contributed, was comparatively new, and the island was, as it is even now, but imperfectly examined. Mr. Richard Hill, of Spanish Town, who has done much to illustrate this as well as other portions of the natural history of his native land, thinks that Dr. Darwin's sections of the Andes, some four times repeated, would correctly delineate the geology of Jamaica.

Fossil corals are imbedded in the chalky white limestone, and the teeth of sharks have been found at Bath estate, in the parish of Westmoreland, and at or near Prospect estate, in the parish of Portland. Similar fossil teeth have been obtained at Malta, and in the United States of America, being, in some instances, six inches long, and five wide at the base. The white shark, and other large species of the genus *carcharias productus*, and *carcharodon*, which possess cutting triangular teeth, crenated (finely notched) on their margins, with a broad base, and respectively hollow or solid in the centre, are at the present time known to attain a size of forty feet; but this magnitude is far inferior to that attributable to the extinct species, which, judging from the teeth found in the tertiary deposits of this, and other countries above alluded to, must have been from 60 to 100 feet in length.—(Jamaica *Monthly Magazine*, June, 1838.)

Mineralogy.—The geological formation of Jamaica indicates the presence of metals — among which may be named gold, silver, copper, lead, and iron—all of which have been found in the neighbouring islands of Cuba and Hayti. Long says (vol. ii., p. 240,) that "it is very certain" the Spaniards obtained both gold and silver here; and adds—"the bells which hung in the great church at St. Jago de la Vega, when the English took possession, were cast of copper produced in the island." * * * "Lead ore likewise abounds here, richly impregnated with silver." A silver mine is said to have been worked by the Spaniards in the Healthshire Hills, in St. Catherine's, and ruins of works are found in several places, some arched with brick, and having regular paved or flagged galleries. Copper has recently been discovered, widely scattered in small deposits, but not as yet in any continuous vein, yielding a steady supply. Owing to the great contortions caused by earthquakes, and other subterranean action, the lodes appear to have been disrupted, and the ore dispersed in masses of various size. In richness, it is equal to any found in Cuba or in Australia, and especially so as regards the grey carbonate, which has been ascertained to contain 60 to 70 per cent. of pure copper. The blue carbonate and the sulphates are also rich, and gold and silver have been traced, mingled with different varieties of the ore. Several companies are now searching for a continuous and available lode, of which the miners entertain confident hopes. Judging from the copper I saw myself in the Blue Mountain range, and its collateral buttresses, and that obtained from other localities, there is a fair field open for enterprise; if successful, the result must be advantageous to the island by drawing labour thither and furnishing a profitable article of export.

The Soil is of various descriptions, differing in depth and fertility. On the north side of the island it is generally of a chocolate colour, in other parts a bright yellow, and remarkable for a shining surface when first turned up, and for staining the skin like paint when wetted; it appears to consist mainly of a chalky marl, containing a large proportion of calcareous matter; the earth, termed "brick mould," is deep and mellow, on a retentive under strata; this, next to the ash mould of St. Christopher's, is considered the best soil in the West Indies for the sugar-cane. A red earth abounds most in the hilly lands, and a purple loam, sometimes mixed with a sandy soil, in the savannas and low lands. The principal soils on the interior hills and mountains may be thus enumerated—a red clay on a white marl; a red clay on a grit; a reddish brown clay on marl; a yellowish clay, mixed with common mould; a red grit; a loose shelly mould; a black mould on a clay or other substrate; a loose black vegetable mould on rock; a fine sand; and varieties of all the foregoing. The mountain-land, even to the highest summits, when first cleared of wood, possesses more or less a deep surface of rich black mould mixed with shells; a soil which will grow anything. The brick mould (a compound of very fine particles of clay, sand, and black mould), is even more productive, but far less extensively distributed. It is often of great depth, easily laboured, and so inexhaustible as scarcely to require manure; during droughts it retains sufficient moisture to preserve the cane-root from perishing, and in very wet seasons it suffers the superfluous waters to percolate, so that the roots are never in danger of being rotted; next in fecundity is the black shell mould, previously mentioned, which owes its fertility to the mineral salts and exuviæ intermingled with it. The soil about Kingston, on the Liguanea Plain, consists of a layer of deep mould, chiefly composed of decayed vegetable matter, with a proportion of marl and some carbonate of lime, entirely free from gravel, and highly absorbent of water: the substratum varies, being sometimes a compact aluminous earth alone, in other places mixed with gravel; in sinking a shaft, layers of aluminous earth and gravel are found, running horizontally, approaching to pure clay at the bottom, and at four feet from the surface a strata of finely pulverized silica. Around Stony Hill, the surface is similar to what is frequently met with in elevated situations in Jamaica, namely, a rich dark mould, varying in depth from two to twenty inches, with a substratum of argillaceous and red earth, evidently containing a mixture of carbonate of iron; and in many parts the surface of the ground studded with limestones of a very large size. Mica frequently occurs, especially among the hills between St. Catherine's Parish and Sixteen Mile-Walk, and when washed down with the floods may be easily mistaken for golden sand: near Spanish Town it is found incorporated with potter's clay.

Climate.—Although situated within the tropics, extraordinary varieties of temperature characterize different parts of the island, occasioned by distinct degrees of elevation, position north or south of the dividing range, and exposure to the winds on the eastern or western coast. At Kingston, the medium temperature throughout the year is 80°. The heat is mitigated by sea and land breezes, and by the dense canopy which masses of cloud occasionally interpose between the almost vertical rays of the sun and the earth. The difference between the heat of the coast districts and that of the elevated regions in the interior may be illustrated in the range of the thermometer (F.) at *Up-Park Camp*, near Kingston,

and at the agreeable mansion termed *Pleasant Hill*, opposite St. Catherine's Hill, in the Port Royal Mountains, about 4,000 feet above the sea.

Months.	Pleasant Hill.	Up-Park Camp.	Mean of each.		Difference.
January . . .	61° to 64°	71° to 84°	63°	77°	14°
February . . .	61 „ 65	72 „ 84	63	78	15
March	62 „ 66	77 „ 86	64	81	17
April	63 „ 71	79 „ 87	67	83	16
May	65 „ 73	75 „ 87	69	82	13
June	66 „ 75	78 „ 86	70	82	12
July	70 „ 79	77 „ 89	74	83	9
August	69 „ 81	77 „ 87	75	82	7
September . .	69 „ 79	76 „ 89	74	82	8
October	66 „ 72	74 „ 86	69	80	11
November . .	65 „ 70	73 „ 85	67	79	12
December . . .	62 „ 68	73 „ 84	65	78	13
Annual Mean	65 to 52	75 to 86	68	81	13

Note.—Fractions of degrees omitted.

In examining the above table, it must be borne in mind that although 80° of Fahrenheit's thermometer does not denote an oppressive degree of heat (for the mercury frequently attains that height in England during the summer months); yet every degree beyond that point is felt by the human frame in a greatly increased ratio. At *Pleasant Hill* the mercury reached 81° during only one month in the year; at Up Park Camp, it ranged to 84° every month, and for two months to 89°; the difference at the hottest period is very material, inasmuch as it makes the distinction between an enjoyable and a very trying temperature.

I have often experienced, in different parts of the globe, the rapid diminution of temperature consequent upon exchanging a lowland for a highland climate, but never more remarkably than in this part of Jamaica. In the middle of May I left the hospitable mansion of Mr. Atkinson at 6 A.M., after a restless and feverish night on the plain of Liguanea, not far from Up-Park Camp; and at noon, under the guidance of a kind friend, reached *Pleasant Hill*, part of the journey having been performed in a carriage, and the remainder on mules, over narrow mountain roads, down steep declivities, across the rapid Yallahs River, and amid grand, picturesque, and ever varying scenery. The change of climate was delicious, the air cool, fragrant with the white and red rose, and perfumed with the orange blossom; on the Liguanea Plain during the previous night the lightest covering had been scarcely bearable, yet at *Pleasant Hill* a couple of blankets were agreeable. At *Abbey Green*, about 5,000 feet above the sea, the highest habitation, and coffee plantation in the island, a fire during the evenings in June was acceptable. Mr. Coppard, the proprietor of this estate,* is a good specimen of rude health, and as active and energetic as if still dwelling in his native county of Sussex; never, in fact, feeling ill, though all day out of doors. On the 21st May, I rode thirty miles in the mountains, and was on horseback ten hours, without suffering much fatigue, a day's work not easily accomplishable in the lowlands.

At Stony Hill, nine miles from Kingston, and 2,000 feet above the sea, the thermometer is generally, during the hot months, 74° at 6 A.M., 82° at 2 P.M., and 80° at 6 P.M.; during the cold months at corresponding hours, 68°, 75°, and 73°; in November and December, when the north winds prevail, the mercury falls as low as 66° Fahrenheit.

At Maroon Town, formerly Trelawney, situated on a high mountain between the parishes of Westmoreland and St James, the thermometer seldom or ever rises higher than 71° or 72° at noon, falling during the night and early part of the morning as low as 50° and 52°. The troops stationed here, have for several years, enjoyed excellent health; and, in 1795, when the yellow fever was at its height in Jamaica, a newly raised regiment, the 83rd, did not lose a man from this malady.

The four seasons may be described as that of vernal or moderate rains, in April and May, lasting six weeks; the summer hot and dry, including June, July, and August; the autumn, the dreaded period of hurricane and heavy rains, often lasting through September, October, and November; and the winter serene and cool, comprising December, January, February, and March.

Considerable allowance must, however, be made for the differences occasioned by aspect and local circumstances, between places on the northern or on the southern side of the island; the winter is always longer on the former coast:—westerly winds prevail at this season over the whole space between Jamaica and Cuba, and even as far as Hayti.

Hurricanes have several times ravaged different parts of the colony. On the 3rd of October, 1780, a terrific storm destroyed an immense quantity of property; in one parish alone the damage was estimated at £700,000. The town of Savanna-la-Mar was entirely swept away by the sea, and 300 persons perished. Several men-of-war foundered, were wrecked, or dismasted. The merchants of Kingston subscribed £10,000, and the British Parliament voted £40,000 for the relief of the sufferers.

Rain,—the quantity which falls during some seasons is enormous. The northern side of the island receives a larger amount than the southern, distributed in smaller but more frequent showers. I have vainly endeavoured to procure returns of the quantity which has of late years fallen at Kingston or Spanish Town. At Manchioneal the quantity which fell from 1831 to 1839, dividing the early or May from the latter, or September rains, is thus shown—

Year.	1st January to 31st August.		1st September to 31st Decem.		Total.	
	In.	Parts.	In.	Parts.	In.	Parts.
1831	55	55	45	57	101	12
1832	63	13	40	32	103	45
1833	73	83	54	13	127	96
1834	60	4	62	87	122	91
1835	86	98	35	14	122	12
1836	37	45	21	68	59	13
1837	75	1	21	43	96	44
1838	62	80	53	39	116	19
1839	30	64	51	78	82	37

Sir Hans Sloane states the amount at Spanish Town, in 1688, to have been upwards of 100 inches. Long, in 1774, makes it much less, and considers that 65 to 70 inches is about the annual mean for the whole island. At Newcastle barracks the annual fall is found to be 70 inches. Even this measurement, compared with that of climates in the temperate zone, is very large; for example, only 35 inches fell in England, in 1852, yet this was the largest quantity registered in any twelve months during the previous forty years.

* Excellent potatoes, peas, and other English vegetables, including carrots of large size, are cultivated here in great perfection.

That the climate is not inimical to the human constitution is evident from the long lives and good health enjoyed by Europeans and negroes of regular and moderate habits; and indeed a degree of intemperance, which in many countries would be speedily followed by death or disease, here often and long escapes with comparative impunity. Governor Modyford, in a letter to the secretary of state, Lord Arlington, dated 1665, observes, with regard to the healthiness of the island, "really, my lord, no man hath died but an account hath been given—y't e gott his decease either by surfeitts or travelling at high noone in a hott day—or being wett with rain, and not changing in season. The Spaniards, at their first coming, (I mean those who trade with the Royall Company) wondered much at the sickness of some of our people; but when they understood of the strength of their drinks, and the great quantity they charged themselves with, and the little observation of times and seasons, they told me they wondered more they were not all dead." There have been several instances of whites, mulattoes, and negroes attaining a great age in the island. Colonel Montague James, the first white person born in Jamaica after its conquest from the Spaniards, lived to the age of 104; it is stated that for the last thirty years of his life he took scarcely any other food than chocolate.* Long says he knew three white inhabitants of the island who were upwards of 100 years of age, and he speaks of others living when he wrote his work, who were beyond ninety. These persons, he says, were not decrepit; they were able to stir about, had good appetites, and moderately sound faculties. Among the numerous instances of longevity among the coloured people, the following are well attested. A negress who arrived in Jamaica four days after the destruction of Port Royal, died in 1834, aged at least, 148 years. Another lived to the age of 151, and in the early part of 1850, a black man died on the property of Mr. Justice MacDougal, who had attained 130 years. A creole negro, well known as "Old Hope," who was baptized shortly before his death, on 31st May, 1815, by the name of Roger Hope Elletson, lived upwards of 140 years. He was full six feet high, and must have possessed great vigour; twelve months before his demise he could walk from Hope estate to Kingston (between six and seven miles) and back in the same day. His head was well covered with hair, very slightly tinged with grey; he had lost one eye by an accident, but the sight of the other was perfect, and he retained some of his teeth to the last. All his other senses were good, and his mental faculties unimpaired. He had never been ailing, never drunk rum or any ardent spirit, was never treated with harshness or severity, but had always had good masters and overseers. In the early part of 1819, he began to decline by imperceptible gradations, and quietly expired without any bodily pain or mental anxiety, on Whit Monday, 31st May, 1819.‡ There are perhaps few other parts of the globe where an African, Creole, and European population can, within the same limited space, find climates adapted to sustain the peculiar energies, and preserve the healthy condition of each race.

* See Bryan Edwards' *History of the West Indies*, and also Dr. Binn's Essay on Cocoa and Chocolate, in Simmonds' *Colonial Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 210.

† Derived from an account printed in H.M. printing office, Kingston, 1819.

‡ See Valuable Report of Dr. Milroy to H.M. Secretary of State, in 1852.

Diseases.—Yellow, or continued fever, has, on several occasions, afflicted Jamaica; other forms of the same malady, of a typhoid, remittent, and intermittent character, together with dysentery, diarrhœa, rheumatism, and influenza, are the most prevalent disorders extant. The negroes, owing to poor diet and unhealthy locations, suffer greatly from cutaneous eruptions, ulcers, and *yaws*, a species of leprosy. Recently the island has been severely visited by cholera, which chiefly attacked the coloured population; very few white persons died, although freely mingling with the sick. The progress of this formidable epidemic in the West Indies, and in the New World, is worthy of chronological record:—

1832.—Cholera appeared at Quebec, Montreal, Upper Canada, and the north-west states of the American Union; and thence it spread to New Orleans.

1833.—It reached Cuba, where the mortality was very great; at the city of Havanna above 10,000 people died; and in the country districts from a fourth to a half of the entire black population perished.

1834.—Different parts of the New World were affected, Halifax and Charleston for the first time.

1835.—It still lingered in the southern states of the Union and at Cuba.

1836.—At the end of this year all traces of it disappeared; and for twelve years it was not heard of in America or in the West Indies.

1848.—(December). It appeared nearly simultaneously at New Orleans and at New York, followed the track of the great rivers, spread over every part of the Union, and descended the St. Lawrence to Montreal and Quebec.

1849.—The Mexican Gulf was visited by the disease, which proceeded along the line of the Magdalena River up to the city of Bogota, which is 9,000 feet above the sea, and several hundred miles from the coast.

1850.—(March), Cuba was attacked; in June, Mexico and the Mexican coast; also the North American cities, especially the southern ones; the President died at Washington of the disease.‡

On 7th October of this year, the fearful pestilence appeared in Port Royal; on the 9th, at Kingston: and on the 18th, at Spanish Town. Thence it spread over different parts of the island, raging particularly at such places as invited the pestilence by their marshy or uncleanly state, as previously shown in the topography.

The great amount of sickness, and the rapid destruction of life which attended it, caused an almost complete prostration of the industrial pursuits of the colony, a very enhanced price for labour, and even the abandonment of many estates. At *Bath* and Plantain Garden River districts, in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, which contains numerous sugar estates, the population was estimated at 8,000; of these 1,708 were swept off in a few weeks. According to returns laid before the House of Assembly, 1851-'2, the numbers who perished by this fearful scourge are thus stated—(from George, Metcalfe, Catherine, and Ann parishes, the returns are imperfect; and the mortality has been guessed at):—Kingston, 3,675; St. Andrew, 2,012; Port Royal, 474; St. David, 802; St. Thomas-in-the-East, 2,626; Portland, 305; St. George, 800; Metcalfe, 1,345; St. Catherine, 2,400; Dorothy, 358; Vere, 782; Clarendon, 892; Manchester, 20; St. Ann, 1,531; St. Mary, 2,319; St.

John, 566; St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, 1,300; St. Elizabeth, 347; Westmoreland, 1,140; Hanover, 1,520; St. James, 2,567; Trelawney, 2,259. Total, 30,590. Dr. Milroy estimates the aggregate deaths at between forty and fifty thousand, and considers that a fifth of the population was attacked with the severe form of the disease. The following is an abstract of the remarks made by him in commenting on the absence of the most ordinary sanitary precautions on the part of the local authorities:—

There is not a district in the island in which very numerous deaths are not continually taking place, which, in all human probability, might have been prevented by timely assistance. There are no means of ascertaining correctly the death-rate in any part of the island: with the exception of a pretty accurate register of the burials in the burying-grounds of the Church of England, all is confusion and mere conjecture. In 1844, the local legislature passed an Act for registering births and deaths; but no measures beyond that of awarding salaries were taken to ensure its enforcement; so worthless has it proved, that during the year ending September, 1850, only 20 births and no fewer than 700 deaths were entered in Kingston. Entire parishes and extensive districts, with a scattered population of many thousand souls, have, for several years past, been left without a medical man. Most of the parishes (some of which are as large as an English county) have not an hospital or a dispensary; and it is admitted on all hands, that the destitution of medical relief is one of the most serious social evils in the present condition of the community; but there seems no likelihood of a remedy being provided where the defect can alone be supplied, viz., by the Assembly or representatives of the people in the colony; in 1846, they passed a Dispensary Act; but within two or three years of its enactment it became a dead letter. Among other flagrant abuses, especial mention is made of the disgraceful and immoral state of the leper or yaw huts, and the revolting practice of burying the dead in the plots or gardens around dwellings, not unfrequently within a few yards of the door, and this, sometimes, in the very precincts of the towns.

It would be folly to seek, in secondary causes, an explanation of the deplorable sanitary state of Jamaica, and of evils which years of patient, well-directed effort, can alone remedy. Happily there are now few, if any, men of eminence throughout the island, who do not cordially detest the very name of slavery, and acknowledge it to have been accursed in its effect alike upon the moral and material welfare of the whole population. One of the most respected and influential of the West Indian proprietors of the present day, Wemyss Anderson, in a pamphlet published at Kingston in 1851, writes:—

"Slavery did its evil work in Jamaica, as it has done everywhere. Not only did it permanently injure the slave as a man, but it injured also those who had to work him. The reckless habits which prevailed amongst the men of those days; the lowness of social morals; the absence of religion, and religious observances; the frequency of dissipation and debauchery; the excessive toil, with exposure, exacted from subordinates, and the too frequent indifference to their reasonable comforts, all proclaimed and illustrated, in distressing variety, the hardening influence of slavery on the human heart, and realized a condition of society exceedingly unfavourable to life and health. Much of the unhealthiness and mortality of the island then, might justly be imputed to these accounts."

The number of troops stationed in the island during the year ending March, 1851, was 1,770, of whom 756 were white and 1,014 black; average number of officers, 73; 29 of the white, including one officer, and 99 of the black died, during the year of cholera. The mortality among the Europeans was formerly very great. Dr. Wahab stated, in 1833, that he had examined the returns at Up Park Camp, and found that in fifty years 48,000 soldiers had perished. Between 1812 and 1836 the deaths among European troops amounted to 8,326 men. The admissions into hospital during the period were more than twelve times the number of deaths, and the invalidings were very numerous: thus, in 1819, 754 died out of 2,969 = 25.4 per cent.; in 1825, it was 29.3 per cent., 777 men having died out of 2,644. In 1827, out of 3,083 men 636 perished, viz., 20.6 per cent. This destruction of life, and the pecuniary loss entailed upon the state, each soldier being valued at £100, were among the evils and burthens which slavery occasioned. The death of 754 soldiers was equivalent to a drain on the British exchequer of £75,400.

Return showing the Average Strength, Admissions into Hospital at all the Stations, and Deaths, of the White and Black Troops in Jamaica for ten years.

Years.	White Troops.					Black Troops.				
	Average strength.	Admissions.	Deaths.	Ratio of admissions per 1,000 of mean strength.	Ratio of deaths per 1,000 of mean strength.	Average strength.	Admissions.	Deaths.	Ratio of admissions per 1,000 of mean strength.	Ratio of deaths per 1,000 of mean strength.
1827	2,795	6,372	626	2.280	224	228	61	10	269	44
1828	2,536	4,103	189	1.618	74	187	38	3	202	16
1829	2,709	3,923	140	1.448	62	214	37	6	173	28
1830	2,842	4,712	275	1.657	97	284	80	4	281	14
1831	2,232	3,691	298	1.653	133	265	76	12	287	45
1832	2,046	3,584	227	1.751	111	250	85	2	340	8
1833	2,815	5,186	244	1.842	86	336	81	5	241	15
1834	3,016	5,593	283	1.854	93	328	27	2	106	8
1835	2,881	4,638	215	1.610	75	236	53	3	225	13
1836	2,985	4,145	183	1.389	61	309	47	8	152	26
Total .	26,857	45,947	2,680	—	—	2,637	585	55	—	—
Average	2,685	4,594	268	1.711	99 or 100	263	58	5	220	19

Note.—Jamaica, White troops, 1.711 per 1,000 of mean strength admitted annually.
" " 100 per 1,000 " died annually.
. Black troops, 220 per 1,000 " admitted annually.
" 19 per 1,000 " died annually.

The amount of sickness and death has greatly varied at different stations; during six years ending with 1822, the ratio of mortality at several barracks, was—Up-Park-Camp, 1 in 5; Port Maria, 1 in $3\frac{1}{4}$; Savanna-la-Mar, 1 in 7; Spanish Town, 1 in $6\frac{1}{4}$; Port Antonio, 1 in $6\frac{1}{2}$; Port Royal, 1 in $8\frac{3}{4}$; Montego Bay, 1 in $10\frac{1}{2}$; Stoney Hill, 1 in $11\frac{1}{2}$; Fort Augusta, 1 in 16; Falmouth, 1 in $10\frac{3}{4}$; Lucea, 1 in $14\frac{1}{2}$; Maroon Town, 1 in 64.

By the removal of the troops to Newcastle, the mortality of the European soldiers has been diminished to *one-fourth* of its former amount; and it might be still further reduced, but for the pernicious evils of the "canteen system," by which an ever present temptation is offered to the soldier, the government making a large item of revenue by renting the privilege of selling spirits, &c., at a heavy annual sum. At Newcastle, for instance, the rent of the canteen-shop is £900 per annum, and the soldier, already fevered by the climate, drinks new rum per force; for cooling drinks, tea, coffee, &c., are not placed within his reach; beer is a shilling a bottle, and there are no light wines to be had.

The quarantine law, according to the recent report of the Central Board of Health, as at present conducted, is "an irksome incumbrance, interrupting commerce, obstructing national intercourse, perilling life, fostering and engendering disease, and squandering large sums of public revenue."—(Report, p. 71.) The board, therefore, recommend a revision of the existing laws on the subject.

Return showing the Average Strength, Admissions into Hospital, and Deaths, &c., of the Troops stationed at Newcastle, 4,000 feet above the sea.

Year.	Average strength.	Admissions.	Deaths.	Ratio of admissions per 1,000 of mean strength.	Ratio of deaths per 1,000 of mean strength.
1842	632	647	15	1.023	23.0
1843	633	502	11	793	17.0
1844	614	1,038	13	1.690	21.0
1845	582	559	5	960	8.5
1846	590	662	9	1.122	15.0
1847	456	491	13	1.076	28.0
1848	471	434	12	921	25.0
1849	437	454	2	1.038	4.5
1850	414	431	7	1.041	16.9
1851	433	455	24	1.050	55.0[1]
Total .	5,262	5,673	111	—	—
Average	526	567	11	1.077	20.9 or 21

Note.—[1] Year of cholera.

At Newcastle, 1,077 per 1,000 of strength admitted annually
„ 21 per 1,000 „ died annually.

CHAPTER IV.

POPULATION, WHITE AND COLOURED—RELIGION—EDUCATION—PRESS—CRIME—GOVERNMENT—FINANCE—COMMERCE—AGRICULTURE, AND SUMMARY.

The statistics of population are more imperfect in Jamaica than in any other British settlement. During slavery there was naturally a desire to withhold, as far as possible, all information calculated to illustrate the frightful decrease constantly taking place in the slave population. Since emancipation, only one census (1844) has been taken. It was deemed advisable that, in the year 1851, an enumeration of the subjects of the crown should be made throughout the empire, and the Governor in October, 1850, suggested to the Assembly that it was "desirable to make arrangements for having the population of Jamaica numbered at the same time." This recommendation met with no response.

The island annals are far from affording materials for a succinct account of the progress of the colony, with regard to its increase by slave importation, by free immigration, or by births. The Journals of the Assembly, however, record some valuable, though fragmentary, evidence on this head.

The earliest statistical document illustrates the condition of the island at Lord Windsor's departure, 28th October, 1662; there were then—men, 2,600; women, 645; children, 408; negroes, 552; acres planted, 2,917. In June, 1670, the roll of officers and men in six regiments of militia (one of cavalry and five of infantry) gives 2,720 men; and a "list of the ships under the command of Admiral Morgan," comprises, *English*, 28 vessels; tons, 1,120; guns, 180; men, 1,326. *French*, 8 vessels; tons, 465; guns, 95; men, 520.

The following census, taken in 1673, shows the parishes then formed:—

Parishes.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Negro Slaves
St. George .	60	17	21	20
St. James . .	89	20	16	22
St. Mary . .	78	15	13	79
St. Anne . .	86	24	25	28
St. John . .	246	82	100	745
St. Thomas .	475	166	171	1,570
St. David . .	173	84	105	735
Clarendon . .	460	169	234	1,123
St. Elizabeth .	270	57	61	783
St. Andrew .	565	274	430	1,408
St. Catherine .	834	569	110	2,679
Port Royal .	714	529	426	312
Total . .	4,050	2,006	1,712	9,504

Note.—There were, besides, 800 seamen belonging to ships and privateers, who offered themselves for the defence of the island, then threatened by the Spaniards.

The manner in which England followed the example set by Spain, in the introduction of labour obtained by violence to cultivate the fair land, whose native owners had been exterminated for the gratification of the most shameless and cruel avarice, has been detailed in the preceding chapter (see p. 25), as far as imperfect data would allow; the following table shows the distribution of the slaves in the various parishes, at intervals during the century preceding emancipation, and the total amount of the whole coloured inhabitants according to the census of 1844.

Counties and Parishes.	Slaves.							Free.
	1734.[1]	1768.	1787.[2]	1808.	1812.	1824.[3]	1834[4].	1844.[5]
Surrey—								
Kingston	3,811	5,779	16,659	6,649	5,370	6,095	12,578	28,690
St. Andrew	7,631	9,813	9,613	17,262	16,570	15,316	13,785	18,036
Port Royal	1,548	1,432	2,229	8,149	7,980	6,407	6,264	6,647
St. David	1,540	2,316	2,881	7,479	7,203	7,704	7,608	6,446
St. Thomas-in-the-East	6,176	14,624	20,492	27,455	26,291	24,789	22,799	24,836
Portland	640	2,813	4,537	7,932	7,440	8,018	6,875	8,276
St. George / Metcalfe	1,085	2,765	5,050	13,136	13,400	12,655	11,760	8,560 / 13,545
Middlesex—								
St. Catherine	5,502	7,308	5,304	8,272	8,479	7,357	8,525	11,941
Dorothy	2,298	3,665	3,129	5,017	5,130	4,759	5,383	5,083
Vere	3,582	5,940	7,487	10,700	14,359	7,159	8,377	8,262
Clarendon	10,769	15,517	14,747	21,235	20,228	17,608	15,905	16,875
Manchester	—	—	—	—	—	17,416	18,774	21,380
St. Ann	4,441	8,320	13,324	24,118	23,702	24,761	25,128	24,637
St. Mary	2,938	12,159	17,144	26,139	25,781	25,402	23,736	15,239
St. John	5,242	5,455	5,880	7,279	6,690	6,295	6,176	8,039
St. Thomas-in-the-Vale	7,568	8,382	7,459	11,952	11,973	12,050	10,368	15,377
Cornwall—								
St. Elizabeth	7,046	10,110	13,280	23,600	22,280	18,350	19,858	24,634
Westmoreland	9,081	15,186	16,700	20,888	21,019	21,216	19,971	23,666
Hanover	3,339	13,571	17,612	23,004	23,167	22,256	20,552	20,994
St. James	2,297	21,579	18,546	24,872	24,970	24,130	21,904	24,572
Trelawney	—	11,739	19,318	28,629	27,950	26,795	25,042	25,836
Total	86,534	178,473	221,391	323,827	319,982	316,538	311,368	361,571

Note.—[1] The returns for 1734 are from the House of Assembly Journals, vol. i. [2] Edwards says that one-seventh part of the whole was not returned in the rolls of 1787. [3] Bridges' average of 1823-4. [4] The population of 1834 is from the Valuator's return, on abolition of slavery; and that of 1844 is derived from the census of that year, by adding the black and coloured population together.—The parish of Manchester was formed, in 1814, out of St. Elizabeth, Vere, and Clarendon parishes: that of Metcalfe, in 1841, out of St. George and St. Mary. [5] General census.

Respecting the increase of the population by births, and its decrease by deaths, there is no correct evidence whatever; all that can be stated with certainty is, that there was, on the whole, a heavy annual diminution, which was, however, more than counterbalanced by fresh importations. The decrease of a branch of so proverbially prolific a race, can be attributed to no other cause than the inherent evils of slavery, manifested more especially in the ill-treatment and insufficient food often allotted to adults, and the premature births resulting from the practice of flogging women during pregnancy; infanticide, or wilfully-procured abortion was, moreover, a frequent crime, committed by the wretched parents to save their offspring from a life of bondage. The mortality of slave infants was excessive. Dr. Maxwell, some years ago, estimated from the results of an extensive course of observation, for a series of years during slavery, that no less than a fourth part of the whole of the negro children perished from one disease alone; viz., *tetanus nascentium*, a species of lock-jaw developed soon after birth; in some districts the loss was considerably higher. It is to be feared that the present generation are comparatively enfeebled, by the injuries inflicted upon them, or upon their immediate progenitors; for, in the Report of a Committee of the Assembly in 1846, on the condition of the rural classes as affected by the want of proper medical assistance it is stated that "one-fourth of the black infant population die from the first to the eighth day after birth."

The relative proportions of the white, slave, and free coloured inhabitants, are thus shown at intervals ranging from 1658 to 1851; but the statements must only be regarded as approximative.

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Slaves.
1658	4,500	—	1,400
1670	7,500	—	8,000
1698	7,365	—	40,000
1734	7,644	—	86,534
1746	10,000	—	112,428
1768	17,947	3,408	176,914
1775	12,737	4,093	192,787
1788	23,000	—	256,000
1800[1]	30,000	10,000	300,000
1807	—	—	360,000
1817	—	—	346,000
1829	—	—	324,420
1834	—	35,000	310,368
1844	15,776	361,657	
1851	15,000	450,000	

Note.—[1] According to Edwards (vol. v., p. 57) the slaves imported from 30th of September, 1800, to 30th September, 1808, were 86,821, and the number re-exported was 7,885. There are no returns where the dash (—) is inserted.

A general census of Jamaica was taken in 1844, and though by no means so full or so accurate as those made in some of the neighbouring islands, it still affords much valuable information :—

Counties and Parishes.	Inhabited Houses.	Sugar Estates.	Coffee Plantations.	Breeding Pens.	Pens, with Residences.	Farms, &c.	Population.			Colour.					
							Males.	Females.	Total.	White.		Coloured.		Black.	
										Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Middlesex—															
St. Catherine .	838	5	—	19	82	332	5,857	6,938	12,795	484	370	1,412	1,997	3,961	4,571
St. Dorothy .	89	10	1	17	—	428	2,628	2,637	5,265	122	60	454	436	2,052	2,141
St. John . .	—	10	6	—	11	1,133	3,940	4,245	8,185	96	50	577	632	3,267	3,563
St. Thomas in the Vale .	80	24	5	4	—	1,781	7,719	7,981	15,700	218	105	1,137	1,200	6,364	6,676
Clarendon . .	—	41	138	10	48	602	8,504	8,869	17,373	366	132	1,372	1,296	6,766	7,441
Vere	2	29	—	5	—	821	4,070	4,384	8,454	143	49	477	507	3,450	3,828
Manchester .	113	—	161	—	—	2,522	10,886	11,203	22,089	397	306	1,483	1,542	9,006	9,355
St. Mary . .	147	39	—	2	—	5,099	7,757	7,973	15,730	288	113	1,127	1,218	6,342	6,642
St. Ann . . .	311	32	44	81	174	1,465	12,656	13,167	25,823	663	523	1,856	2,038	10,137	10,606
Surrey—															
Kingston . .	3,831	—	—	—	52	—	14,285	18,658	32,943	2,203	2,050	4,749	6,840	7,333	9,768
Port Royal .	232	3	63	—	7	197	3,335	3,521	6,856	124	85	530	701	2,681	2,735
St. Andrew .	282	18	101	—	221	847	9,335	9,625	18,960	500	424	1,355	1,510	7,480	7,691
St. Thomas in the East .	629	61	21	13	44	—	12,631	12,681	25,312	356	130	1,390	1,631	10,885	10,920
Portland . .	195	24	1	10	16	631	4,067	4,474	8,541	139	126	535	638	3,393	3,710
St. George .	90	16	27	7	—	395	4,422	4,334	8,756	141	55	635	537	3,646	3,742
St. David . .	—	10	43	9	—	402	3,158	3,466	6,624	117	61	365	386	2,676	3,019
Metcalfe . .	102	24	18	11	—	320	6,843	7,002	13,845	212	88	860	942	5,771	5,972
Cornwall—															
St. Elizabeth .	104	20	37	91	85	1,965	12,504	12,942	25,446	465	347	2,878	2,833	9,161	9,762
Westmoreland	270	48	—	57	29	1,709	11,778	12,822	24,600	589	345	2,234	2,552	8,955	9,925
Hanover . .	297	70	—	8	7	717	10,323	11,252	21,575	396	185	1,805	2,042	8,122	9,025
St. James . .	582	74	1	14	46	1,144	11,988	13,554	25,542	579	391	2,222	2,780	9,187	10,383
Trelawney . .	1,212	86	4	20	—	193	12,947	14,072	27,019	691	492	2,193	2,625	10,063	10,955
General Total	9,406	644	671	378	822	22,703	181,633	195,800	377,433	9,289	6,487	31,646	36,883	140,698	152,430

The total population is stated by the census at 377,433, of whom 15,776 are white, and 361,657 coloured. Those born in the island numbered 322,992.

The *descent* of the inhabitants is thus distinguished :—African, 33,519; American, 480; Belgian, 1; British, 1,689; Danish, 3; Dutch, 18; English, 3,450; French, 1,342; German, 615; Haitian, 12; Irish, 1,298; Indian, 1; native, 332,922; Portuguese, 2; Scotch, 1,523; Spanish, 331; South American, 225; Swede, 2.

Profession, trade, or employment.—Artists, 108; architects, 29; agriculturists, 61; bankers, 13 ; boatmen, 564; clerks, 1,555; fishermen and women, 1,484; household servants, 20,571, (5,181 are males, 11,194 females; of 4,196, sex not distinguished in the returns); labourers, 50,653, (21,633 males, 16,970 females, sex of 12,050 not stated); agricultural labourers, 132,192, (males, 50,958; females, 49,777; of 31,457, sex not stated); lodging house-keepers, 157; ministers of religion, 267; military attached to, 104; military pensioners, 32; mariners, 97; miners, 41; merchants, 433; pilots, 26; policemen, 315; planters, 3,987; professional persons, 453; retail traders, 1,672; surveyors, 86; store-keepers, 544; teachers, 640; master tradesmen, 7,399; journeymen tradesmen, 10,097; tavern-keepers, 59; other various occupations, 948; no occupation, 142,831. (This latter head probably includes a large proportion of women and children, both white and coloured, and also many of the small freeholders, who occasionally work for hire).

Sex.—Is is gratifying to learn from the census of 1844, the rapid establishment of a fair relative proportion between the sexes, which has taken place since the abolition of slavery. Among the creoles or criolles (a corruption of a Spanish word, signifying native, and consequently applicable to all born in the island, whether of white or coloured parents), the preponderance is in favour of females, an indication of an augmenting population.

Age.—Under 5 years, 51,707; from 5 to 10, 47,221; from 10 to 20, 62,733; from 20 to 40, 121, 309; from 40 to 60, 68,499; over 60, 25,963. Nearly one-half the population are between the ages of 10 and 40. Nearly 100,000 (98,928), or more than one-fourth, were born between 1834 and 1844. The *increase* under the head of children under 6 years of age, between these two periods, by far the greater part of which has taken place since the termination of the apprenticeship system, appears to have been 20,512, which affords a marked contrast to the period of slavery, when a constantly decreasing population furnished the philanthropists with some of their most forcible arguments. Premiums held out by the legislature, and by humane or politic proprietors, had then utterly failed to check this decrease; now, without any factitious aid, the natural law of increase has resumed its operation; so much so, that a recent visitor remarks, concerning Kingston, that he had never seen "a place so abounding in old people and babies. Almost every woman you meet, and of whatever age, has an infant in her arms, or somewhere upon her person, while the streets are littered with children more advanced."*

Houses.—In 1844, there were inhabited houses,

* Bigelow's *Jamaica in* 1851, p. 18.

with "footland," 9,406; sugar estates, 644; coffee plantations, 671; breeding "pens," or farms, 378; pens with residences, woodland, and pasture land, 822; farms, and other settlements, 22,703.

Characteristics of Population.—The heterogeneous ingredients of which the early population of Jamaica was composed, after the period of its conquest by England, has been partially shown in the previous chapter. Royalists and republicans, Jews and Quakers, have at different times sought shelter here from the violence of political tempests. The warlike attitude which even civilians were compelled to assume in a slave colony, soon banished the peace-loving members of the Society of Friends; but the Jews have multiplied greatly, and are now among the most enterprising and successful traders in the colony. Among the lower class they frequently strike the traveller, who has not before seen a black Jew, very forcibly, the colour and some of the other characteristics of the African race being strangely blended with the marked profile, and unmistakeable lineaments of the Israelite. The varieties of colour resulting from the intercourse of Europeans and Africans are distinguished with nicety by the Spaniards, and are shewn in the annexed diagram, taken, but slightly altered, from Long—*

White man = Negro woman.
|
Do. = Mulatto.
|
Do. = Terceron.
|
Do. = Quateron, or Quadroon.
|
Do. = Quinteron.
|
Mestee (nearly white.)

There are mediate or stationary grades, neither advancing nor receding, and retrograding steps by marriage between the mulatto and the negro, whose offspring are termed "Sambos," and are frequently very quick and intelligent people. In Jamaica the quateron was always considered free.

The white creoles—that is, persons born in Jamaica of white parents—are of slender form, very fair, or rather of a waxen hue, and possess pleasing features, with fine gazelle-like eyes. They are characterized by considerable talent, indolent habits, and affectionate, though often proud and irritable temperaments. The coloured race, i. e. those of mixed blood, are tall, of sinewy structure, and well-favoured, especially the women; both sexes partake more largely of the traits of their European, than of their negro progenitors. In early youth, their form and features are remarkable for grace, flexibility, and vivacity; in more advanced life they usually incline to corpulence, and frequently sink into the listless, apathetic, and luxurious habits induced by a seductive climate.

The mestees, and even the quinterons, are often so fair as not to be distinguishable from natives of European descent, but sometimes the dark blood will be manifested more strikingly in the child than in the parent, and at others a singular diversity will be remarkable between own brothers and sisters: thus one or two will be much fairer than the rest, and devoid of the more distinguishing African characteristics, or woolly hair. The pure negroes differ much from one another, and although a large number of them do not bear the more marked peculiarities observable in the numerous and distinct nations of the western coast of Africa, from whence they were originally taken, yet the origin of many may be easily conjectured, and the descendant of the warlike Coromantine, or the peaceful Eboe, be readily recognised. They are all well made, though they vary much in height and proportions, and the practice of carrying heavy weights on the head, gives them, especially the women, an erect bearing.

The Maroons are a noble-looking race, tall and elegant in person, with an European, rather than an African cast of features, and the independent demeanour of a mountain race. Some of the women are decidedly handsome, and have the complexion of Spanish gipsies. The total number of Maroons was stated, in 1834, at about 1,500; since then their distinctiveness, as a free people, has been merged in general emancipation, and in the last census they are classed with the negro population: their number now may possibly be about 2,000.

There has been some immigration from various quarters since 1834, but the statistics of this as of other important matters, have been so sadly neglected, that it is not possible to present any distinct view of the subject. In 1844-'46, and '47, there were introduced, from the East Indies, 6,932 "Coolies," the name given in Calcutta and some other portions of British India to a large class of the labouring population. The result of this costly and ill-conducted experiment has been referred to (p. 70); the majority of the unfortunate strangers have proved utterly worthless as labourers, and many of them are to be seen in the principal towns, wandering about, and picking up such refuse as they may find in the streets, which they throw into a sort of chiffonier's sack, generally slung over their shoulders. Their lithe and graceful figures, set off by the eastern costume, to which they adhere as far as extreme poverty will permit; their chiselled features, and large, dark, lustrous eyes, render their appearance very striking; and their pertinaceous, silent mendicancy, has rather the character of an appeal for justice than for charity. Their presence affords a painful warning of the impolicy as well as inhumanity of lavishing large sums upon the introduction of ill-selected labour. The money thus worse than wasted, in adding to the burdens of the colony by increasing its dead weight of pauperism, if devoted to the encouragement of the existing labouring population, by the irrigation of land, or mechanical improvements for the economy of labour, might have produced unqualified good. The total number of immigrants, from 1834 to 1849, was 15,309; and the cost to the island, for eleven years, ending 1848, was £180,252. Some of the Africans captured in slave ships, and liberated at Sierra Leone and St. Helena, have voluntarily proceeded to Jamaica, but the aggregate number is not stated in any of the ordinary official records. From an isolated document, it appears that the number of these liberated Africans who reached Jamaica, up to July, 1850, was 2,765. Probably the total number of immigrants, since 1834, has not exceeded 20,000. The entire population was thus estimated by the Governor, Sir C. Grey, in June, 1852: negroes,

* "The Dutch transcend the Spaniards very far in their refinement of these complexions. They add drops of pure water to a single drop of dusky liquor, until it becomes tolerably pellucid. But this needs the apposition of such a multitude of drops, that to apply the experiment by analogy to the human race, twenty or thirty generations, perhaps, would hardly be sufficient to discharge the stain."—(Long's *History of Jamaica*, vol. ii. p. 261).

350,000; coloured, or mulattoes, 100,000; whites, 15,000 = 465,000. His excellency adds, "the white creoles and the natives of Europe, both together, are at most only fifteen or twenty thousand." As this estimate was given subsequent to the devastations of cholera, the population of all classes (including the Maroons, who are in number probably about 2,000), may be taken at half a million. Calculating the area of the island at 4,000,000 acres, or 6,250 square miles, this would give a density of 80 mouths to each square mile of territory.

The inhabitants are, however, unequally distributed. In Cornwall county, the density ranges from 79 in Westmoreland parish, to 119 in St. Elizabeth to the square mile: average of its five parishes, 102. In Middlesex the range varies from 28 in Vere parish, to 125 in St. Thomas-in-the-Vale; the average for Middlesex county, including St. Catherine's parish, which comprises Spanish Town, is about 73 to the square mile. Bearing in mind the immense portion of the area composed of mountains, ravines, and swamps, the density is not inconsiderable; and the industry of half a million of inhabitants rightly directed, and thriftily employed, ought to yield satisfactory results alike to employer and employed.

Mr. Anderson, in a letter published in the *Colonial Standard* in 1850, declared his accordance in the opinion of the Chief Justice, Sir Joshua Rowe, in designating the reiterated cry of want of labour as absolutely suicidal, calculated to discourage the approach of capitalists, and put a seal on the permanency of depression. He stated that he could readily obtain hard labour (viz. trenching, ditching, draining of lagoon lands, and grass planting) "to any extent for a shilling a-day, and that many individuals in various districts confirmed his experience by their own;" adding with much truth, "we shall never, by mere importations of people from Africa, raise the country to true prosperity. That is not the true remedy—quantity we have already, but a good quality of people [labour?] we have yet to seek, and we must establish it by every means in our power."

Mr. Bigelow's remarks concerning the waste of labour have been before quoted. Another keen observer bears the following confirmatory testimony.

"There is an immense amount of producible labour in this island running to waste, so to speak: * * * a prodigious waste of time and labour, which might be more profitably expended, and which is sorely needed for the sugar estates all round: dozens are engaged where, under better management, two or three might suffice; and this remark applies to the people in the towns as well as in the rural districts. * * * In nothing is the wasteful expenditure of money and labour more conspicuous than in the common practice in Jamaica of yoking eight or ten oxen to a cart or a plough, when the same amount of work would, it is well known, be done with two or four, in the adjoining island of Cuba. * * * There is nothing in the character of the negro to forbid the hope of even rapid improvement and social amelioration, if he be not left to himself, or at the mercy of political or mercenary traffickers; he is quick, shrewd, and apt to learn when he chooses, and works hard if he has an object in view; he makes a good soldier, boatman, and even pilot; he is marvellously improved if he has had an opportunity of visiting England; he then aspires to have English habits. There are many points of resemblance to the Irish character about him." (Dr. Milroy's Cholera Report, 1852; p. 96.)

The Rev. Dr. King says, "I have inspected some of the mountain residences, and been struck with their great superiority to our highland cottages; I have seen the negroes extracting, by mills of their own making, the saccharine juice from sugar-canes of their own growing, and applying an energy to the process such as I have never witnessed in any of the operations of our indolent highlanders."—(*State and Prospects of Jamaica.* Published in 1850; p. 212).

Whenever the African is placed in a situation favourable to the development of physical and intellectual power, he rapidly substantiates a claim to an equality at least with his Asiatic brethren, and in some respects to the higher orders of the European race. In Jamaica several gentlemen of mixed or of pure African blood, stand on a par, both as regards natural and acquired advantages, with any of their fellow-subjects of European descent. Mr. Moncrieff, now chairman of Quarter Sessions, is a lawyer of repute, and by his forensic attainments and eloquence would, probably, take a leading position at Westminster Hall. Messrs. Heslop and Russell are also barristers of ability; Mr. Richard Hill, to whom is confided the important trust of superintending the stipendiary magistrates' department, by his scientific researches has identified his own name with the natural history of the island. Drs. Scott and Clarke are eminent in the noble profession which aims at the relief of physical suffering; the Hon. Edward Jordon, who formerly represented the city of Kingston, has been recently elevated to the Council. Robert Osborne, though born a slave, is now a distinguished member of that Assembly by whom his testimony, a few years since, would have been contemptuously rejected.

Several coloured missionaries are labouring zealously and successfully to inculcate the blessed precepts of the gospel; and I have heard able and pious European missionaries bear witness to the respect and attachment with which their fellow-labourers in the Lord's vineyard are regarded.

I could have wished that space were afforded to illustrate at length the general character of the coloured and negro population. The official communications of such men as the Earls of Mulgrave and Elgin, the Marquis of Sligo, and Lord Metcalfe, of Sir Lionel Smith, who ruled over Jamaica during the trying period of transition from hereditary and unmitigated slavery to entire freedom, afford abundant evidence, that in orderly conduct, peaceableness, industry, obedience to the laws, and loyalty to their sovereign, they are unsurpassed by any section of British subjects. It is deeply gratifying to be able to state that the feelings expressed by H.M. representatives were cordially shared by the Bishop of the Established Church. Considering the leading part which non-conformist missionaries had been privileged to bear in the good work referred to, the testimony of Dr. Lipscomb is at once valuable, as proceeding from an unprejudiced source, and interesting as indicative of the writer's generous and Christian spirit. In describing to the Secretary of State the manner in which the memorable 1st of August, 1838, had passed, the Bishop writes—

"I have very sincere pleasure in bearing my testimony to the peaceable and orderly behaviour of all classes, and particularly of the negroes, on this auspicious occasion. I never beheld a more impressive and affecting scene than Spanish Town exhibited, where I assisted at the duty; and all the accounts received from the clergy concur in reporting the same correct behaviour generally throughout the island. I had long known the objects of this benevolent measure as the most patient, enduring, and 'long-suffering' people on earth, and 'not easily provoked;' but it was not till the actual promulgation of this great and glorious measure of justice and mercy, that I was enabled fully to appreciate their advancement in Christian prin-

ciples, evincing the good effects of religion on 'servants who have hitherto not known,' or very imperfectly, 'their Lord's will.' They have proved themselves worthy of the boon they have received by their conduct, and are much better prepared for it than I could have possibly conceived. The quiet manner in which the whole has passed off has added much to the general effect, and made a deep impression on men's minds. It has encouraged and animated the good, and confounded and disappointed the bad. I feel convinced that nothing less than this happy change in their condition could ever have held out to us the hope of effectually improving the people; and, so long as one link of the hateful chain of slavery remained, that great work must have been delayed. I have only to repeat to your lordship, that the conduct of all classes of the people on this joyful occasion has been beyond all praise; and I am not aware of any instance of intoxication or boisterous merriment, in either of the large towns in this neighbourhood, to mar the Christian character of the late festival."—(Letter to Lord Glenelg, 6th August, 1838.)

Ministers of all religious denominations have borne, and continue to bear, similar witness: Presbyterian, Wesleyan, Independents, Baptists, and Friends, have vied with each other in expressing admiration at the conduct of the people, at the period of and subsequent to emancipation.

John Candler, a much respected member of the Society of Friends, who recently visited the West Indies, gives the following statement as to the condition and bearing of the people in Jamaica; which entirely coincides with what I felt and witnessed myself in 1851:—

"The change effected in their civil condition, though very great, and at last somewhat sudden, has served to elevate their character in the estimation of all observers. I expected, on landing, to find a race who, having been always oppressed, treated with contumely, and trod upon, would continue to exhibit some traces of their former degraded condition, some marks of servility that belonged to the slave; but in passing through the country from one end to the other, I should scarcely believe, from what I see, that slavery had ever existed here. Freedom has wrought wonders for the people: there is an air of independence in their carriage and manner, when they meet and converse with you, that is quite astonishing, equal to that of the freest nations; not bold and obtrusive, but attended with a civility and courteousness that are very pleasing, and tell much in their favour." [In a separate communication, the same writer observes]—"Some of the planters still insist upon it that they are an idle people, because they do not on the whole perform as much work as in slavery; but who that has seen them at work in the canefields, or hoeing coffee on the steep hills, or has travelled among their provision grounds in the mountains, can call them an idle people? I have seen them again and again, hundreds and thousands of them, men, women, and children, loaded with provisions and fruit, which they carry on their heads, pouring down from the hills to Kingston market, carrying weights which no European would encounter, and sweating under the heavy toil; yet all labouring cheerfully, because they are free."

In fact, market-days are the festivals of the Jamaica negro population, and the fatigue they then undergo is literally a labour of love. Almost every coloured proprietor has a donkey of his own, it is the next thing to be acquired after his freehold, and upon it he packs, in small panniers, his surplus produce, sending it under the care of a woman, often of a child, to join the long, joyous, straggling procession of some miles in length, which may be seen entering Kingston in the cool of the morning. It is indeed a pleasant sight, full of promise for the future.

Governor Sir C. Grey, in his annual official report for 1851, speaking of the former slaves, states, that where they have freehold or permanent provision-grounds, their huts are tolerably clean, and their life is not by any means devoid of physical comfort. He adds—

"It is unjust to make a general imputation against them of laziness; for although, in common with the inhabitants of all warm climates, they feel, more than those of cold ones, a liking for repose, and a sense of enjoyment in it, there are few races of men who will work harder or more perseveringly, when they are sure of getting for themselves the whole produce of their labour."

And in another despatch he remarks—

"The hamlets, villages, and towns, as they are called, of the negroes, which have sprung up in the interior, and amongst the mountains, and in which they live in great physical comfort, are a remarkable and interesting feature in the state of the island."—(Report on *Blue Book*, published in 1849; p. 97.)

Lord Stanley, who visited Jamaica in 1849, speak- of the negroes, says, "the labourer, out of his earnings, buys land, builds a cottage, furnishes it handsomely;" his lordship adds, "I have seen one of these negro-houses, belonging to a common *field-hand*, provided with all the comforts of an English farm-house."—(Letter to Mr. Gladstone. London, 1850, p. 61).

Religion.—The morals and habits of the European portion of the population have, during the last fifteen or twenty years, undergone a great and very satisfactory change. The fashionable vices of former times, if still occasionally, are at least only covertly committed; intoxication has much decreased; and the practice of duelling, once so frequent, is now regarded as an exploded barbarism. The sabbath is becoming more and more respected, and the temples of Divine worship better attended. The spiritual condition of the coloured population is the object of much anxiety, and is considered by some zealous Christians as discouraging. But this feeling does not seem to be well grounded, but rather to be formed upon an imperfect view of the whole bearings of the case. The enthusiastic ardour with which the new-made freemen, on the memorable 1st of August, 1838, thronged the chapels, poured out glad hosannas to the Great Redeemer of their souls and bodies, and prayed for blessings on the heads of those who, in His name, and for His sake, had braved many hardships while representing their sufferings, and pleading their cause, was undoubtedly an extraordinary manifestation of religious feeling, swaying a multitude, of whom a very large portion must have been still in the darkness of heathenism. But was it reasonable to expect that from that moment the negroes would, as a body, show themselves consistent, practical Christians?—that in their poverty they would charge themselves with the entire support of ministers in a position far above their own, and would for ever utterly abjure the pagan superstitions instilled into their minds in infancy, and handed down from generation to generation? As individuals, hundreds, probably thousands, have done all and more than this, and some communities liberally support their own ministers, but very few are willing, if, indeed, able, to exert the great self-denial necessary for this end, in the present distressed condition of the island; nor does a readiness to communicate, always, or indeed often, increase proportionately with any man's worldly possessions, whether white or black; for successful thrift, however praiseworthy in itself, is apt to be attended with covetousness. Then, too, many of the

oldest and most respected ministers have been withdrawn by death, or for other circumstances; nor is it to be wondered at that their successors, however good and pious, should possess less influence over their flocks, than the men who had endured persecution with and for them, who had been literally friends to the friendless, eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame, and who could consequently appeal to their past trials in attestation of their present disinterestedness.

Besides this, there is no question but that, about the period of emancipation, some missionaries of the Baptist denomination, such as Mr. Knibb and others, by their avowed abhorrence of slavery and unhesitating exposure of its iniquities, during their visit to England, had earned great and well-deserved popularity among the negroes, many of whom not unnaturally came to look upon them rather as the champions of their political and civil rights, than as spiritual guides, and consequently sought their aid more as a means of obtaining deliverance from bodily coercion, than from the deeper bondage of sin.

In such nominal converts as these, a grave reaction after the first thrill of grateful delight had passed away, was to be expected; but it is to be hoped that the supporters of Christian missions will not, for this reason, slacken their endeavours for the instruction of the people, lest they also should come under the imputation of acting upon impulse rather than upon principle. It is true that *Myal* and *Obeah* men, by dint of lies and cunning, contrive to make many dupes among the more ignorant of their race, and by adroitly practising on their excitable and superstitious temperaments, induce them to apply to them for their relief from sickness or any other infirmity, or to aid them in procuring the immediate object of their desires. These are dense dark clouds, which nothing but the pure strong light of Christian truth can ever dissipate. Even in Europe, centuries of civilization, where not attended with sound and practical religious views, have failed to banish such popular delusions as the evil-eye, philtres or love-charms, fortune telling, and the like; and though witchcraft and witch-finding are no longer heard of, quackery in many forms, and but thinly veiled, prevails, and sufficiently attests the credulous weakness of even educated communities.

Among the negroes, the true converts are very easily recognizable—they afford many eminent examples of devoted piety. Dr. King, a minister of the United Presbyterian Church at Glasgow, who visited Jamaica in 1850, speaking from actual observation, says that "in the missionary churches of all evangelical denominations," there were examples of "artisans and sempstresses who contributed in some instances a tenth or even larger proportion of their living," to religious purposes. "Where, in this country," he asks, "shall we find a handful of people of whom most are poor and none are rich, willing, as in Kingston and at Montego Bay, to raise [each] £300 sterling per annum for the support of their religious ordinances?"*

He instances one congregation (that of Mr. Blyth at Hampden) which "it is impossible to look on, with its large and diversified machinery of beneficence, and hesitate to acknowledge that great good has been accomplished. There are about 800 communicants in his church; the average attendance on his ministrations is greater by several hundreds. Ably and sedulously assisted by members of his family, he superintends classes of young people, prayer-meetings, out-stations, &c., and all these institutions are numerically prosperous." * * * There are like fruits of pastoral efficiency to be found, he adds, in the Established Church, and also in the various dissenting bodies.†

The Governor (Sir Charles Grey), in his report on the state of the island, dated 12th February, 1849, thus refers to the condition of various denominations: "the ecclesiastical establishment is in good and useful working condition, and is respected and popular: the ministers of the Wesleyan Methodists in this colony are a highly intelligent body, whose influence is apparently increasing: the Baptists are much divided amongst themselves, and certainly have not the power over the negro population which they possessed a few years ago: the Presbyterians are a considerable sect, and of great respectability: the Moravians have several establishments, which they carry on in that peaceable and benevolent spirit which is their invariable characteristic."—(*Blue Book*, printed in 1849, p. 98).

The temperance movement has been attended with very beneficial results among the christianized section of the negro population. In a number of the churches more than half of the members are connected with total abstinence societies, and many more act on the principle, although they have not taken the pledge.

I have not been able to learn the number of individuals connected with different communions, but hope to be enabled to offer some information on this subject in the concluding section on the West Indies generally.

The ministers of various denominations are as follows: the Established Church of England and Ireland has a bishop with an annual stipend of £3,000; three archdeacons, of whom two have £600, and one £800 a-year; the whole of which is paid from the British treasury. There are twenty-two rectors with stipends varying from £500 to £780, and fifty-one island curates, who receive from £100 to £400 per annum, paid from the colonial revenue. In addition to these, there are fourteen stipendiary curates, whose aggregate incomes amounting, in 1851, to about £2,100, are paid from the British treasury; and twelve missionary clergymen, supported by the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*. Altogether the ministers of the Episcopalian Church in the island number about 100. The Presbyterian Church has twenty-four stations, and sixteen ministers; the Wesleyans have 119 places of worship, and twenty-four ministers; the Independents, or London Mission, thirteen stations, and nine ministers; the Moravians, or United Brethren, twenty-nine stations, thirteen places of worship, and seventeen ministers; the Baptist‡ Western Union possess thirty-nine chapels, and have twenty-two ministers: and the American Mission seven chapels, and six ministers. The Roman Catholic Church has a vicar-apostolic, and six priests; and the Jews have four readers, or rabbi. The total number of ministers of religion of all denominations, in 1851-2, was 208, or in the proportion of one to every 2,500 of the inhabitants.

Education.—The extent and nature of public

* *State and Prospects of Jamaica*, p. 210.

† *Idem*, pp. 43, 45.

‡ It will be remembered that the Baptists and Wesleyans had several of their chapels destroyed by the white colonists in 1832. Compensation, to about half the amount of the damage, was made to the societies by a parliamentary grant.

and gratuitous instruction is very imperfectly shown in the official returns. Some returns were laid before the House of Assembly in November, 1851, respecting 196 schools of all denominations, containing 13,950 scholars of both sexes; it would appear that fifty-two of these schools, containing about 5,000 pupils, are maintained or aided by the Diocesan Church Society. A normal school established in the middle of the year 1847, is supported by the local government, and it is to be hoped will work well. There are ten free schools, supported mainly by funds bequeathed by various benevolent individuals, among whom may be named Peter Beckford, who made a large bequest in 1744; Francis Smith, who left £3,000 for a school in connexion with the Church of England; and Messrs. Munroe and Dickenson, who made a donation of about £20,000 for educational purposes. Woolmer's Free School has an endowment of £12,000; Manning's of £7,852; and Vere Free School of £9,000. The funds of these and other charities have been vested in the Island Treasury, and bear a high rate of interest, but the capital has been all spent.

Among the seminaries established by religious bodies of different denominations may be mentioned, twenty-four Wesleyan, forty-one Moravian, and thirty-five Baptist Western Union schools. The return to the Secretary of State respecting these latter thirty-five schools is very complete. It appears they contain 1,836 boys, and 986 girls. From eight other Baptist Western Union schools there are no returns for 1851; but they are officially stated to be "in vigorous operation." In connection with the Baptist Western Union there are fifty-two Sunday schools, having 718 teachers, and 9,067 scholars; in twenty-two of these schools 2,065 scholars can read the Scriptures.

The following table will convey an idea of the chief scholastic establishments of four denominations.

Denomination.	Day-schools.	Pupils.	Sabbath scholars.
Wesleyan . .	24	1,870	3,252
Moravian . .	41	2,614	2,090
Baptist . . .	43	2,822	9,067
American . .	—	310	732

The other religious associations have also effective Sunday schools; but the information forwarded to England respecting them appears to be very slight and defective. There is a *Calabar Baptist Institution*, for the education of young men devoted to the ministry in Jamaica, and in Western Africa. It is supported by voluntary contributions, and is said to have accomplished much good. The *Presbyterian Synod of Jamaica* has an academical institution at Montego Bay for the training of teachers for Jamaica and Africa. The *Mico Charity* normal and model schools in Kingston, were established in 1836, for the purpose of aiding missionary and educational societies in training teachers, who are provided with board and lodging during their studies.

A board of education is presided over by the governor, bishop, president of the council, and speaker of the assembly, and five other gentlemen named by the governor. The board has a paid secretary and inspector of schools.

It is to be feared that the landed proprietary of the colony are not yet aware how much of future peace and prosperity depends on the moral and industrial training of the rising generation; the intelligent editor (Mr. Henderson) of the *Jamaica Almanack* for 1852, observes that "little public interest appears to be taken by civilians in the education of our peasantry. * * * There are other and serious evils connected with the education of the people of Jamaica, but an almanack is not the place to notice them." Of the episcopal schools it is remarked—"some, where under favourable auspices, are well attended, and comparatively prosperous; others doing little good." (pp. 156–'7.) Examples of resident proprietors earnestly striving to educate and elevate the poorer classes within the more immediate sphere of their influence have come within my own knowledge, especially that of Mr. Charles M'Gregor, of Kingston, and his sister, whose efforts have been seconded by several excellent persons, and who have found a rich reward in witnessing the beneficial results attending on their Christian endeavours. Certainly there is no lack of talent on the part of the negro or mulatto children; indeed those who have examined the classes jointly composed of the white and coloured races, have frequently considered the advantage to be on the side of the latter. Education or rather *knowledge* of some sort they will acquire, and it is of the last importance to all interested in their welfare or that of the island, that it should rest upon a sound basis.

Nor is it with regard to the lower classes only that there is so great need of improved educational arrangements; the higher ranks, if unable to afford the expense, or unwilling to incur the hazard and manifold trials attendant on sending their children to Europe or America, under the charge of strangers, for some of the most critical years of their life, are in a still worse position. This, and the scarcity of labour cry, are among the obstacles which chiefly prevent the emigration of small farmers and capitalists to Jamaica, where they are especially needed to form that middle class, so necessary to the prosperity of all free countries, but which cannot exist in a slave-state, where the dignity of labour can never be duly admitted, or labour and capital be united in the same individual.

NEWSPAPERS.—There are about seven, three of which are published daily at Kingston, two at Montego Bay, and two at Falmouth, tri-weekly. The *Jamaica Almanack*, prepared annually by Mr. George Henderson, a bookseller at Kingston, is a creditable publication, and contains much useful information.

CRIME.—It is impossible to frame a comparative statement of the amount and nature of offences now committed, and those perpetrated during the period of slavery; because then the master flogged at his own discretion, or caused the delinquents to be punished by the local tribunals; and there were no trustworthy returns kept of committals or crimes. But from the general tenor of the various documents transmitted to the Secretary of State, it would appear that crime is not increasing, and that it is decidedly small in proportion to the population, especially with regard to the more aggravated descriptions of offences. The negroes are generally of a mild and peaceful disposition; and deeds of violence are of unfrequent occurrence among them. There are nineteen prisons in the island, and a large penitentiary* at Kingston, where criminals from each county

* The building is constructed on the radiating principle, in its simplest form, which has been found so advantageous for inspection and supervision. The wall encloses an area of about ten acres, twenty feet in height, and has a

undergo the sentences awarded them. During the year ending 30th September, 1851, the commitments to the penitentiary from nineteen prisons amounted to 336, out of a population of about 450,000. There was not one murderer. Among the crimes the greater number, namely, 184, were for petty larcenies; for riotously demolishing a house, 26; for assault, 18; cutting and wounding, 13; burglary, 7; felony, 2; and the remainder were comparatively minor offences.

GOVERNMENT.—As previously stated (pp. 23–4) Jamaica was at first ruled despotically, then a municipality was established, and soon afterwards a representative assembly.

Deputy-governor Littleton and council, in an ordinance, "dated at Point Cagua, 23rd October, 1663," declared that they "had seriously debated and considered the great good and content it will be to this island, and to all the good people thereof, as well the merchant and the planter, to have an assembly chosen and selected by the votes of the inhabitants;" whereupon all freeholders were empowered to return members to the first assembly, which met at St. Jago de la Vega, 20th January, 1663–'4.

From this period the affairs of the colony have been administered by a governor, council, and assembly.* Various changes have been made in the franchise. In 1774 the qualification requisite for voting at elections was £10 per annum, arising from lands, tenements, or hereditaments; and for a representative, an income of £300 per annum, or £3,000 in gross over and above what was sufficient to pay his debts. In 1830 the franchise was extended, for the first time, to the free coloured people; and considerable modifications have since been made in the qualifications of the electors of the members for the Assembly; at the last election the privilege of voting was conferred by the possession of a freehold of the annual value of £6, or by the receipt of any rent-charge payable out of freehold lands in the island, of not less than £30 per annum;—the occupation of a house of the annual rent of £20;—or the payment of direct taxes to the amount of £3 per annum. The money qualification of a member of Assembly at the same time was the payment of direct taxes in his own right (and not as the representative of an absentee) to an extent of not less than £10 per annum. With regard both to the electors and representatives, all distinctions of creed or colour have been abolished. In the present House (1853) among forty-seven members there are nine Jews, and three Roman Catholics; and fifteen men of colour, of whom three are of pure negro descent.

Kingston, Port Royal, and St. Catherine's parish (which includes Spanish Town) return respectively three members; the other parishes send two each. The Council consists of a president, or senior member, the commander of the forces, the chief-justice, bishop, attorney-general, and six other members nominated by the governor. As in the Assembly, so here, creed or colour is no disqualification; at present one member is coloured, and two are Roman Catholics. This body exercises the functions of an executive or privy council, and that of a legislative council.

The House of Assembly, however, claims and exercises the extraordinary power (to which even the Commons of England do not pretend) of initiating all legislative enactments, leaving to the governor and council only the authority of a veto. The governor receives no official communication respecting the contents of any bill until it is brought before him for his decision—there is no member of the Assembly to act as the exponent of the views of the executive, and no other official means by which suggestions can be offered, or information conveyed from the representative of the Crown. The undivided authority of the Assembly, and the exclusion of the governor and council from all participation or responsibility in the allocation and disbursement of the public revenue, has certainly not worked well, but has, with other circumstances, contributed to the present financial embarrassment of the colony. Sir Charles Grey, in a despatch dated 31st December, 1851, says—

"The whole course of fixing, raising, and managing the public revenue in Jamaica is exceedingly faulty and perverted. The government is in no way represented in the House of Assembly, nor has any organ there by which any tax can be proposed, or any estimates of expenditure, or of ways and means, can be laid before the legislature. All advice, by way of message, from the governor as to particular measures, is regarded as dictation, and resented as breach of privilege. No member has more right or authority than any other to recommend the sort of taxes that are to be imposed, or the rate or duration of them; and so jealously careful is the Assembly of its privileges, that the revenues for the most part are voted only from year to year, though in 1850 I prevailed on the legislature to make the interest of the island certificates a permanent charge on the import duties, and to that extent provision is made against the contingency of no Import Duty Act being passed in any particular year. Every member has the right also to propose a grant or appropriation of public money; and in the course of each session a number of miscellaneous grants, though of much less amount now than formerly, are successively authorized, without much reference to estimates or to the ability of the revenue to bear them, and towards the end of the session are included in one enactment, each individual member who has a grant to propose being naturally inclined to reconcile other members to his own measure by consenting to support theirs. Much of the expenditure, loosely, and without much responsibility, is managed by boards, and there is one principal board of commissioners of public accounts, the remarkable constitution and functions of which were, perhaps, sufficiently explained in my general report connected with the *Blue Book* of Jamaica for 1847. In the last session, a step, but I fear a very imperfect one, has been taken towards a better system of audit, by the appointment, under the Island Act of the 14 Vict. c. 53, of an officer with the title of auditor-general. Upon the whole, it may be truly said that there is no system or consistency sary to give validity and effect to an act passed by any colonial legislature, such act, unless confirmed by H.M. within three years of its being passed, should be considered disallowed. By the English statute 6 Geo. III. c. 12, all the British colonies are declared to be dependent upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain, who have full power to make laws to bind such colonies in all cases whatsoever. But by the 18 Geo. III., c. 12, the king and parliament declared, that thenceforth they would not impose any duty payable in the colonies, except for the regulation of commerce, and that the produce thereof should always be applied to the use of the colony in which it was levied.

guard tower at each angle. The plan was devised by the humane and active prison inspector, Mr. John Daughtrey, after a careful examination of the best plans of confinement in the United States. The foundation-stone was laid by the Earl of Elgin, in 1846.

* The Council and Assembly, with the consent of the governor, who represents the crown, may enact laws, statutes, and ordinances, for the government of the colony, so that they be not repugnant, but as near as may be agreeable to the laws and statutes of Great Britain. By an order in council, dated January, 1800, it was declared, that in all cases where the royal confirmation was neces-

whatever in the conduct of the financial affairs of the colony, nor any recognised organ of government or legislation which has the power to bring about effectual and comprehensive improvements."

The remarks referred to with respect to the Commissioners of Accounts are as follows :—

"For the public taxes the collecting constables are accountable to the receiver-general and the commissioners of public accounts, whose powers in this respect may be said to be almost unlimited. I do not believe there is a person in the island whose real opinion does not condemn this system of superintendence and control, which is provided for the collection and the remission of the taxes and the keeping of the public accounts, as vesting the power and the responsibility in far too many persons, as being in practice lax and inefficient, full of uncertainty and confusion, and abounding in facilities either for partial favour or unequal pressure. The board of commissioners of accounts consists, as I have mentioned, of all the members of assembly for the time being; and in these, all powers of auditing the public accounts are vested: but although the receiver-general is placed more at their mercy than he ought to be, and is liable to be infinitely harassed, yet, as there are forty-seven members of the board, and what is everybody's business is nobody's, there is practically, and in reality, no efficient audit at all: what is done in that way is chiefly done by the secretary. The function of the board, however, which is the most liable to abuse, and that which in turbulent times, and in the hands of designing men, might be subversive of all government, is the control which it holds over the collection of the revenue, with a large power of relieving both taxpayers and collectors from their debts and liabilities. Of the forty-seven members of the assembly, with all their divisions and subdivisions of political sentiment and party feeling and connection, three are a quorum for many important purposes, and nine for any purpose whatsoever which is within the compass of the extraordinary and various powers of the board."—(Government Report, p. 85.)

A searching inquiry and thorough reformation is certainly much needed.

There is a supreme court of judicature, assize courts in Surrey and Cornwall, courts of quarter-sessions in each parish or precinct; several inferior courts of common pleas, with limited powers; a court of error, held by the governor in council for hearing appeals from supreme and assize courts, together with vice-admiralty, and ordinary or ecclesiastical tribunals. An insolvent debtors' act is in force. Each parish has a *custos rotulorum*, holding an office somewhat analogous to that of the lord-lieutenancy of an English county, who, together with a bench of justices, holds sessions of the peace every month, and common pleas courts for trying actions to the extent of £20. There are about twenty stipendiary magistrates paid by the British treasury (see Finance section). The *custos* also presides over the vestries in each parish, who assess and appropriate local taxes, and fulfil other parochial duties.

Military Defence.—Up to the period of emancipation, a large and increasing European military force was deemed necessary to prevent the slaves from forcibly attempting to acquire their freedom; since 1838, this large item of expenditure to the British treasury has been materially diminished, and now one European and one black regiment, with a small force of white and coloured artillery, suffices for the island. Formerly the militia included nearly every able-bodied freeman in Jamaica; in 1834 it consisted of 25 troops of horse, with 683 effective men, and 21 regiments of infantry, containing 9,256 men; altogether about 10,000 well-armed white and coloured citizens. Now the regiments, with few exceptions, are disembodied in respect to their quota of non-commissioned officers and men; and the whole system, notwithstanding its imposing muster-roll of major-generals, colonels, subalterns, &c., is rapidly falling to decay.

Finance.—Among the features which characterize the present condition of Jamaica, none is more conspicuous, or, when inquired into, more discreditable, than the state of the public treasury, and the means by which it has been gradually completely emptied, even of the charitable and other funds deposited therein. The actual state of affairs has for years been purposely shrouded in obscurity, as little as possible being stated on the subject; but partly because concealment is no longer practicable, and partly from the decidedly improved principles manifested in the Assembly, the veil has at length been raised, and consequently there is now some prospect of reformation, since the necessity for it can hardly be longer denied. A finance committee of the Assembly, with Mr. William Smith as their chairman, published documentary evidence at the latter end of 1850, which clearly exhibited the ruinous system that had been so long continued, and which, unless stopped by stringent measures, must inevitably end in public bankruptcy, even though for a time it might be propped up by assistance from England; which, however, would, as on previous occasions, tend rather to enrich, or at least to keep up for a time the falling credit of individuals, than to effect any permanent improvement in the island. No satisfactory comparison can be drawn between the amount of revenue levied during slavery, with that raised at the present time; the necessary records having been very badly kept, and the nature of some of the leading items differing; for instance, a poll-tax of 5*s.* 10*d.* per head on slaves, furnished a considerable sum of money in the former list. The general taxation was formerly equivalent to about £300,000 sterling per annum.

The income and expenditure for a series of years is shown in the following table, collated from the Assembly returns :—

Year.	Revenue.	Expenditure.
1845	£276,045	£273,199
1846	281,885	276,787
1847	240,310	306,658
1848	190,787	235,695
1849	179,230	192,552
1850	187,425	218,648
1851	209,379	260,196
1852	—	—

The sources from which the revenue is derived are numerous, and can only be briefly alluded to. Fees are demanded on all imaginable pretexts; a list of those authorized would occupy some pages, and there are many besides which are exacted without legal right. The quit-rent and tax on land is at the rate of 1*d.* per acre per annum. The tax on stock consists of 2*s.* 6*d.* per head on all "horse-kind," excepting breeding stock, for which and for unbroken colts and mules used for agricultural purposes, the tax is 6*d.* per head per annum. On each coach, chariot, &c., there is levied 6*s.* per annum; on the net profits of any business or profession or agency,

5*s.* per £100, and the same on all salaries, public or parochial, or on sums received as fees of office. There is a duty of 2*s.* per gallon on all spirits made in the island; stamp duties are exacted on commissions, licences, appointments, deeds, &c.; import duties are very various, and in some instances heavy. Beer pays £4 7*s.* per tun; corn, 3*d.* per bushel; wheat, 6*d.*; spirits, 6*s.* to 8*s.* per gallon; tobacco, £32 per cent. on the value; various wares and merchandise for plantation supplies, £4 per cent. There are tonnage, light, and other dues. A cholera tax was imposed on houses of 6*d.* in the pound, to meet the heavy expenses incurred during that terrible visitation, which cost the island about £50,000, independent of the large contributions sent from England, Barbadoes, and elsewhere. Of the revenue for the year ending 5th January, 1852, amounting to £193,228, the import duties yielded £136,757; poll, land, and stock tax, £21,763; rum, £30,684; gunpowder tonnage, £2,620; stamp duties, £7,183.

Parochial and Public Taxation on Hereditaments, according to Parishes, irrespective of Custom Duties and other sources of general revenue, for the year 1851.

Counties and Parishes.	Actual valuc.	Assessed annual value at 6 per cent.	Rate per £.	Amount of taxes as per rating.	Other parochial taxes.[1]	Total taxation for parish purposes.	Total public taxes in aid of general revenue.[2]	Grand total of public and parochial taxes.
Middlesex—								
St. Catherine . . .	£312,755	£18,765	1*s.* 8*d.*	£1,563	£1,800	£3,363	£2,499	£5,862
St. John[3]	156,330	9,379	1 8	500	450	950	369	1,319
St. Dorothy	156,386	9,383	1 2	563	463	1,026	737	1,763
St. Thomas-in-the-Vale	297,650	17,859	1 2	1,041	970	2,011	1,154	3,195
Clarendon	258,000	15,480	1 8	1,290	1,084	2,374	1,840	4,214
Vere	274,900	16,494	2 5	1,993	692	2,685	1,201	3,886
Manchester	333,333	20,000	2 4	2,333	932	3,265	1,510	4,775
St. Mary	496,368	29,782	2 4	3,474	1,674	5,148	2,265	7,413
St. Ann	991,363	59,480	1 3	3,717	2,361	6,078	4,645	10,723
Surrey—								
Kingston	700,000	42,000	3 8	7,700	6,436	14,136	5,277	19,413
Port Royal	184,620	11,041	1 3	690	472	1,172	987	2,159
St. Andrew	366,666	22,000	1 8	1,833	2,080	3,913	1,984	5,897
St. Thomas-in-the-East	666,666	40,000	1 0	2,000	1,405	3,405	2,265	6,070
St. David	216,466	12,988	1 2	757	515	1,272	816	2,088
Portland	266,666	16,000	1 0	800	313	1,113	1,140	2,253
St. George	302,500	18,150	0 5	378	558	936	1,262	2,199
Metcalfe	471,083	28,264	1 5	2,060	1,142	3,202	1,797	4,999
Cornwall—								
St. Elizabeth . . .	731,263	43,875	0 11	2,010	1,555	3,565	2,857	6,422
Westmoreland . . .	833,333	50,000	2 5	6,041	4,080	10,121	3,629	13,750
Hanover	730,400	43,824	1 4	2,921	1,622	4,543	2,784	7,327
St. James	909,966	54,598	1 6	4,094	1,769	5,863	3,762	9,625
Trelawney[4]	1,246,798	74,807	1 0½	3,896	5,092	8,988	894	9,883
Total	10,903,512	654,169	—	51,654	37,465	89,129	45,674	135,235

Note.—[1] Including taxes on horses, mules, asses, and dogs; also on wheels, licences for rum, for taverns, and for billiards; on waggons, drays, and carts; on hawkers, on trade, business, and profession; on sale of gunpowder, pounds, markets, pew rents, fines, parish lands, &c. [2] On hereditaments, houses, horses, mules, asses, and dogs; wheels, trade, business or profession, and land-tax. [3] Partly for 1850 and partly for, on an average, 1847, which is considerably greater than for 1851. [4] For 1849, the latest year for which I can obtain returns on this head.

The expenditure in 1851 was,—for civil government, £179,170; military disbursements, £972; governor and council, £6,000; grants, £9,830; cholera expenses, £36,509. Among the items in the civil expenditure were,—interest on loans, charities, &c., £23,499; police, £10,001; constabulary, £8,201; public hospital, £6,380; prisons, £14,050; penitentiaries, £8,831; printing, £4,877; immigration, £1,902; highways, roads, and bridges, £3,377; rectors' stipends, £11,858; curates', £19,749; judges' salaries, £16,037; clerks of the peace, £5,225; magistrates' clerks, £2,847; Assembly, £3,619, and £900 for speaker. Among the grants there were, £3,425 for board of education; and £1,148 towards the lunatic asylum now building. The civil list comprises about 460 persons, who are paid out of the general revenue.

This statement, which is derived from the *Blue Book*, transmitted to H.M. Secretary of State, varies somewhat from the returns laid before the House of Assembly for the year ending 10th October, 1851, in which the following disbursements are set forth:—for the collection of the revenue, £26,278 (or about 15 per cent. of the whole); civil departments, £41.408; which includes, amongst other items, police, £13,620; constabulary, £3,629; public hospital, £7,670; printing, £5,161; roads and bridges, £4,733; ecclesiastical. £34,036; judicature, £45,362; governor's salary, £4,320; secretary and clerks, £1,800; House of Assembly, £4,240; governor and council, £6,000; parochial transferred to public, including clerks of peace, and vestries, coroners, &c., £13,770; interest on loans, charities, and deposits, £25,852; boards and committees of health, £45,918; grants to public institutions, &c., £10,338.

I cannot trace when the island debt commenced; it appears to have existed in some shape or other long anterior to the abolition of the slave trade, and to have originated in the power entrusted to the

Assembly of issuing paper-money in the form of island certificates bearing interest. Permission to create a paper currency was given by the Crown to the Earl of Carlisle on his appointment as governor in 1678: his lordship was authorised on any sudden emergency to pass laws (with consent of the Assembly only) to raise money without transmitting such money bills to His Majesty.* Emergencies and pretexts were of course not long wanting to justify or excuse the exercise of this dangerous power.

In 1722, the government was so deeply in debt that its bills were at a discount of 50 per cent., and even the expenses incident on the trial of some pirates could not be defrayed.† The revenue was then inadequate to meet the ordinary annual expenditure.

In 1758, "the island was obliged to borrow £6,000 from the golden chests of chancery, hitherto untouched. * * * It was the reproach of Governor Knowles that, with an increase of taxes, and in a time of profound peace, he left behind him a considerable debt." About 1760, owing to an alleged deficiency of circulating medium, "the Assembly was obliged to stamp and issue $100,000 at an advance of twopence each upon their former rate." In 1763, "the exigencies of the public service required an unexpected vote of credit, and in the sportive flow of wealth, a public lottery was proposed and adopted under the authority of the Assembly, and the management of the receiver-general."‡

In 1787 that official exposed his empty chest, and declared himself unable to pay the troops, which was certainly an alarming state of affairs, when it is considered there were then 240,000 slaves in the island, and but 30,000 whites. Bridges records that in 1796 the public debt pressed hard upon the revenue, and again in 1801, that a very heavy debt existed, for which a high rate of interest was paid. But it was not only by issuing an unlimited quantity of paper money, and by gambling lotteries, that the finances of the colony were deranged; in 1811 the current coin (dollars) was clipped, by cutting a piece out of the centre equal to 12½ per cent. This was done on the plea of an insufficient circulating medium, caused by the Americans refusing to take bills at a fair rate of discount in payment for their bread-stuffs, fish, &c., for which they required specie, and thereby drained the island of its metallic currency.

In 1832 the "certificates" in circulation amounted to £399,255; and the loan certificates, including £64,415 loan deposits, to £250,035, showing a debt exclusive of loans from Great Britain of £649,240 currency=£389,544 sterling. The distribution of the "certificates" in circulation from 1822 to 1832, was £645, £6,585, £41,203, £79,928, £61,741, £39,965, £96,499, £10,825, £12,000, £49,864=£399,255.

Under irregular and often interested management, unchecked by any efficient control from England, it may readily be supposed that there would be, as indeed there have been, many fluctuations in the currency; in fact the system of finance has been had throughout, and has given a licence to jobbery and extravagance, under the plea of expediency, of which the present generation are reaping the results, in embarrassment and excessive taxation.

Parliamentary grants, several of which have been referred to in previous pages, were from time to time voted out of the taxes of the United Kingdom, to meet pressing exigencies; and in February, 1834, a loan of £200,000 was paid over from the same source to commissioners nominated by an act of the Assembly, dated the 10th of October, 1833. An agreement, contract, and declaration, was executed by these commissioners, providing for the payment of interest at 4 per cent. per annum; viz., £24,000 sterling, being three years' interest to February, 1837; and £8,000 annually during the years 1838, '39, '40, '41, '42, '43, and 1844, in which latter year, the principal was also to be liquidated. The whole interest yet paid has however amounted to only £22,000; viz., £8,000 paid in 1845; £7,688 in 1846; and £7,640 in 1847. The Assembly asked for a longer period of time to discharge the principal, which being granted, they, in 1844, passed an Act agreeing to pay off the whole loan by annual instalments of £10,000: but only two sums of £20,000 each have yet been repaid, leaving £140,000 of the original loan, and about £25,000 interest, still due.

The increase of the island debt is thus stated in the Journals of the House of Assembly:—

Year.	Debt.	Cash in Chest.
1841	£546,267	£25,621
1842	613,297	108,497
1843	591,584	143,953
1844	499,786	45,258
1845	512,053	56,026
1846	555,445	97,032
1847	551,439	21,583
1848	578,135	11,352
1849	584,295	4,486
1850	627,369	4,878
1851	690,651	—
1852	—	—

Note.—The amount paid for immigration purposes from 1st of October, 1834, to 11th of October, 1847, was £217,034, exclusive of £2,069 paid by the British Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. In 1851 there does not appear to have been any cash left in the chest.

During four recent and successive years there has been a heavy deficiency of income to meet expenditure; viz., in 1847, £64,348; in 1848, £44,958; in 1849, £16,147; and in 1850, £38,078: total, £163,531; to which must be added £69,193 due for deposits and other credits, and £7,150, the estimated loss by the defalcation of the late receiver-general, making a total of £239,874. "The consequences of this enormous deficiency have been postponed, and its amount in a great measure overlooked by the creation, in 1848 and 1849, of *red* notes, amounting, on the 10th of October, 1850, to £36,988; and in 1850, of *exchequer* bills, amounting, on the 10th of October, 1850, to £28,350; and by the appropriation of the funds applicable to the payment of chancery, charitable, and savings' banks deposits, to the extent of £174,536." * * * The actual excess of expenditure and unliquidated liabilities over the revenues collected during the five years, ending the 10th of October, 1850, amounted to the sum of £298,805."§

It is evident from the above statements, that nothing could have been more injurious to the financial condition of the island than "the facility which was presented to the receiver-general for meeting demands by the creation of 'red' notes and exchequer

* *Laws of Jamaica*, vol. i., p. 38.
† Bridges' *Annals of Jamaica*, vol. i., pp. 350, 352.
‡ *Idem*, vol. ii., pp. 90, 100, 105.

§ Report of Finance Committee of the House of Assembly, 14th January, 1851, printed in journals of the House for 1851-'2, pp. 78 and 79.

bills, and the appropriation of the funds belonging to depositors."*—(Report of Finance Committee.)

The "liabilities of the island in 1851," were—"Charities and other depositors, £192,502; notes in circulation, old issue, £37,337; exchequer bills ditto, £36,000; loan certificates due in England and Jamaica, £212,313; notes issued for cholera purposes, £15,000; exchequer bills ditto, £37,500; interest on loan to H.M. government, £29,867; interest, salaries, &c., £58,716; loan (? due) to H.M. government, £160,000. Total, £779,235.† The total debt may now be estimated at a million sterling.

The following statement, shows the items composing the debt in 1851, irrespective of interest on loan from Great Britain, or arrears of salaries, grants, &c.:

Curates' fund, £8,428; rectors' ditto, £22,605; customs (unappropriated salaries), £598. *Charities*—Munroe and Dickenson's, £22,178; Gregory's, £2,400; Jamaica Free School, £4,051; Manning's ditto, £7,852; Merrick's Charity, £1,200; Presbyterian Institution, £2,262; Russea's Free School, £2,700; St. Jago de la Vega ditto, £600; Smith's Charity, £1,800; Vere Free School, £9,000; Woolmer's, £12,000; Jamaica Life Assurance, £19,850; apprentice valuations, £2,168; island notes of 1841, £344; ditto, 1848 and 1849, £36,993; ditto, 1850, cholera purposes, £15,000; court of chancery deposits, £28,222; insolvent act deposit account, £8,179; loan due to H.M. government, £160,000; island loan certificates, £212,312; savings' bank deposits, £34,722; trustees of the Ferry and River Road and Liguanea Water-works, £36; trustees of marriage settlement of Duke and Duchess of Buckingham, £821; John Auvray, £100; heirs-at-law of S. Denton and J. E. Wilmot, £273; exchequer bills, £36,000; ditto ditto, £37,500; Jamaica Orphan Asylum, £450. Total of debts due by the public of Jamaica, £690,651.—[See Journal of House of Assembly for 1851-'2, p. 202.]

The above deposits in the public treasury were made under the authority of divers acts of the colonial legislature. The curates' and rectors' funds are composed of fixed drawbacks on their stipends, and dedicated to the purpose of providing for the widows and children of the clergy of the Established Church. The interest on all these deposits and liabilities now amounts to about £35,000 a-year. The receiver-general recently, by a clause in the Annual Import Duties Bill, is directed to pay from the proceeds of those duties, before any other claims, the interest on all loans, charities, and deposits. The interest on the island loan certificates issued prior to July, 1850, is secured upon a permanent fund by the Island Act, 14 Vic. c. i. & ii. The interest of the so-called exchequer bills is charged upon the stamp duties.‡

The "loan certificates" outstanding on 10th October, 1850, amounted to £213,312. The whole was issued on a pledge of being redeemed at intervals; the latest instalment being payable on the 1st January, 1855: £43,668 at six, and £107,844 at five per cent., are payable in Jamaica; and £17,650 at six, and £44,150 at five per cent., in London.

The money expended by England in Jamaica must have been enormous.§ The expenses defrayed by Great Britain in 1851 consisted of allowances, provisions, &c., to the troops, £79,500; navy, £17,669; ordnance department, barracks, &c., £21,211; special services—stipendiary magistrates, £10,541; cholera relief, £2,325. Total, £131,246. This is irrespective of the ecclesiastical charges borne by the mother country, and of course of the large sums expended in the colony by the different missionary societies.

BANKS AND MONETARY SYSTEM.—The circulating medium, and the banking arrangements of the colony, are as defective as the other portions of the financial system.

The power assumed by the Assembly of issuing irredeemable paper-money was equally unjustifiable and impolitic; and the unavoidable evils of the system were aggravated by the very slight control exercised over the parties entrusted with the responsible office of carefully guarding against fraud; consequently, in these issues it is difficult to say to what extent malversations have been practised.

The following fact, which I ascertained by direct communication with several members of the Assembly, affords a curious illustration of this subject. In 1843-'4, the whole of the old currency notes issued in 1832, and amounting to £240,000, were called in. It is well known that a considerable loss invariably occurs in paper-money; some notes are accidentally burned, and otherwise destroyed, or they are hoarded in some secret place, and rarely found again; but in Jamaica the *notes were found to have increased*, and there proved to be an outstanding excess, amounting in value to between £7,000 and £8,000, beyond the sum originally issued.

The island treasury notes not bearing interest in circulation on 31st December, 1851, amounted to £52,337; these are received at the government offices in payment of taxes, custom duties, &c.; but should the holder desire to convert them into cash, he is obliged to submit to a discount. There is also a large amount of paper which the Assembly designates as *exchequer bills*; on the 10th October, 1851, their nominal value stood thus—old issue, £36,000; ditto, for cholera purposes, £37,500—making a total of £73,500. There are two banks in the island; one, the *Jamaica Bank*, has a paper circulation of £42,366; the other a branch of the *London Colonial Bank*, £41,100; both these establishments redeem their notes with specie; but the total circulating medium of the island is so restricted, as to exercise a decidedly injurious effect upon commerce and internal industry; the redeemable paper scarcely exceeds four shillings per head for the whole population.

The diminished issues since 1842, are thus shown:

Year.	Issues.	Year.	Issues.
1842	£288,439	1847	£208,372
1843	334,833	1848	172,784
1844	245,707	1849	130,288
1845	222,798	1850	145,276
1846	220,498	1851	135,803

An institution termed the *Planter's Bank*, whose notes had a circulation of from £50,000 to £80,000, was, in 1846, owing to mismanagement, not to use a harsher expression, obliged to suspend operations in 1849-'50. There are no proper returns, as in other

* On the death of the late receiver-general of the revenue, as the colonial treasurer is termed, it was ascertained that there was a deficiency in his chest of more than £12,000, of which not one-half has been recovered from his securities.

† Journals of Assembly, 1851-'2, p. 402.

‡ Despatch from Governor Grey, 31st December, 1851.

§ The sums expended in the ordnance and barrack department between 1829 and 1847-'8, amounted to £147,874, of which Great Britain defrayed £72,527. Since the commencement of the present century, there have been spent from the imperial revenues at least ten million sterling, irrespective of the slave compensation-money or charges connected with emancipation.

colonies, to show the deposits, coinage, discounts and liabilities of each bank. The coin in the island was roughly estimated to amount, in 1851, to £200,000; but this is being continually lessened, as the Americans, who bring food and lumber in large quantities to Jamaica, take nothing in return but cash or bills.

Monies—English; doubloons are also current;—Old Mexican, at 66*s.*; Columbian, at 64*s.* Accounts are kept in English denominations. There are four savings banks in the island, whose original establishment is chiefly attributable to an excellent man, the Rev. T. B. Turner, one of the island curates. The *Kingston* savings bank was formed 17th November, 1838. In May, 1852, the number of depositors was 385, and their deposits £9,989. *St. James'* savings banks, established 1838; deposits in May, 1852, £21,722. *Trelawney* savings bank; deposits in May, 1852, £1,122. *St. Ann's* savings bank, established 14th of June, 1845; deposits in May, 1852, £2,002: total deposits, £37,835. The Assembly has absorbed these as well as all other funds committed to its trust; and this circumstance cannot fail to check the beneficial influence which such institutions are calculated to exercise in encouraging, among the poorer classes, industry and thrift.

COMMERCE.—The trade of Jamaica has undergone considerable fluctuations, occasioned by various political and social changes. A mere statement of the money value of the past and present imports and exports would convey a very erroneous impression respecting the internal consumption of British manufactures; for, during many years, the island was an entrepôt for the supply of different places in Central and Southern America with European goods; and although the custom-house entries gave a large total of imports, a considerable proportion was re-exported. This traffic has almost ceased; and the value of both imports and exports now indicates the actual consumption and production of the colony.

While slavery existed, the mass of the population were wretchedly and scantily clad, but at present they generally wear decent habiliments, and, as their means increase, indulge in luxuries; hence, as a market for British manufactures, the value of Jamaica to England has decidedly increased since emancipation. Moreover, when the production of sugar was deemed the sole means of acquiring wealth, the food of the inhabitants for ten months out of the twelve was imported from England and America; this improvident system is now, to some extent, rectified by the negro proprietors of small allotments, through whose labour the markets are partially supplied with daily requisites.

But for the surplus food raised by them, numbers of the inhabitants of this fertile island might die of absolute starvation; for, with strange inconsistency, the higher proprietary classes will sooner allow their sugar-fields to remain out of cultivation than employ them in the production of cerealia and vegetables, or the rearing of live stock. The fine fish with which the shores abound, meets with the same supine neglect; for, poor as the people are, they will sooner pay for a foreign supply than use that with which a bountiful Providence has liberally provided them. In a few instances, where the owners of estates have devoted their time and means to the production of food, they have derived considerable profit, and might reasonably be expected to do so, since every article, even wheat, may be readily and economically raised in different portions of Jamaica.

At present, the prices* of provisions are exorbitant, and they are nearly all of inferior quality.

The following tabular view shows the quantity of food imported during the last year of slavery, 1834; the last year of apprenticeship, 1838; during 1846-'50, and 1851. The years 1850 and 1851 must be considered as exceptional, because of the interruption to all ordinary avocations occasioned by cholera.

Imports of Food into Jamaica, in 1834, 1838, 1846, 1850, *and* 1851.

Articles.	1834.	1838.	1846.	1850.	1851.
Flour . . . . . barrels . . .	53,998	69,111	107,330	77,469	66,106
Meal . . . . . „ . . .	13,152	11,569	19,333	18,705	9,497
Bread . . . . . „ . . .	6,382	6,883	—	—	—
„ . . . . . bags . . .	135	393	—	—	—
„ . . . . . cwts. . . .	4,249	1,075	—	—	6,763
„ . . . . . pounds . . .	—	—	1,038,240	830,928	—
Rice . . . . . casks and bags	4,082	17,687	—	—	—
„ . . . . . pounds . . .	1,730,680	265,082	3,529,136	2,616,322	3,881,226
Corn, oats, pease, &c. . . bushels . . .	17,234	33,041	185,433	102,582	75,734
Fish (dry) . . . . . casks . . .	7,563	9,633	—	—	—
„ „ . . . . . boxes . . .	7,848	9,387	—	3,571	2,401
„ (pickled) . . . . tierces . . .	194	846	1,558	—	—
„ „ . . . . barrels . . .	69,122	41,557	40,669	44,865	50,632
„ „ . . . . kits . . .	642	1,304	—	—	—
Codfish . . . . . quintals . . .	—	—	116,262	109,595	106,779
Beef . . . . . barrels . . .	3,904	2,671	3,881	1,831	2,647
Pork . . . . . „ . . .	15,665	9,299	33,812	20,187	10,314
Wet tongues . . . . . „ . . .	—	—	686	501	650
Dry ditto, hams, &c. . . cwts. . . .	—	—	3,486	2,590	2,859
Butter and lard . . . . firkins . . .	13,717	17,997	25,798	21,104	16,736
Candles . . . . . boxes . . .	14,178	8,812	19,277	11,544	14,349
Soap . . . . . cwts. . . .	18,866	11,350	39,076	37,936	46,308

* Prices of articles for domestic use, in the market of Kingston, Jamaica, May, 1851:—Beef, 6*d.* per lb.; mutton, 1*s.*; veal, 7½*d.* (very inferior); pork, 7½*d.*; turtle, from 6*d.* to 7½*d.*; fish, generally about 9*d.*; turkeys, 10*s.* to 14*s.* each; ducks, 3*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.*; guinea fowls, 3*s.* 6*d.*; fowls, 2*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.*; pigeons (tame), 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* per pair; yams, vary according to the supply, from 3*s.* to 12*s.* per 100 lbs.; potatoes (native) from 1½*d.* to 4½*d.* per lb.; cabbage, 6*d.* for a good head; English peas, 6*d.* for a pint; eggs, from three to four for 3*d.* and 6*d.*

The absence of any consecutive commercial returns renders it impracticable to show the actual quantity or value of British manufactures imported previous and subsequent to the abolition of slavery; there is no doubt, however, that the inland dry goods trade of the colony has considerably increased since 1834. In some returns the imports are given for Kingston only; in others, for the various ports.

The declared value of imports from Great Britain exclusively, at two periods, during slavery and apprenticeship, was in currency:—1830 to 1833, £5,103,328; annual average, £1,275,667: 1835 to 1838, £6,457,969; annual average, £1,614,492 = £968,695 sterling.

But a large portion of the goods thus represented were re-exported; Jamaica, as before stated, being then an entrepôt for the Spanish main and other places. There is no complete record of the annual re-exportations, but the following statement, for two years, will illustrate the well-known fact. British manufactures, paying 1 per cent., were, in—

Year.	Imported.	Re-exported.
1839	£1,171,401	£359,032
1840	1,256,880	347,026

At this period, £100 currency was only equivalent to £60 sterling; £1,256,880 was consequently equal to £754,128 sterling; from this is to be deducted £347,026 currency = £208,215 sterling; thus, the actual value of British manufactures consumed in 1840, was £545,913 sterling.

The conversion of currency into sterling in 1841, must still be borne in mind that the increased value of the present imports may be appreciated: these, in the last two years, ending January, have been—1850, £1,218,073; 1851, £1,129,776 sterling.

During 1851, the value of British imports at the different stations was thus rated: — Kingston, £501,287; Montego Bay, £52,167; Falmouth, £49,247; Savanna-la-Mar and Black River, £25,807; Port Morant, £17,762; St. Ann's Bay, £9,662; Port Maria, £7,335; Annotto Bay, £5,664; Lucea, £4,273; Bio Bueno, £2,008: total, £675,212. Almost the whole was required for domestic consumption. The average of British imports only for several years may be given at £800,000 sterling; a greater quantity than was consumed during slavery.

In the next page a table is given showing the chief exports for a series of years; among the minor items not included in that list, may be mentioned:—

Articles.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.
Arrowroot . . lbs. .	88,218	99,118	226,186	258,426
Succades . . cwts.	418	290	1,528	214
Shrub . . . gals.	419	155	378	397
Honey . . . „	—	271	2,363	2,332
Bees-wax . . lbs. .	—	1,036	5,243	14,195
Logwood . . tons.	4,051	3,736	6,732	5,318
Fustic . . . „	567	623	1,466	875
Lancewood spars No.	9,770	9,181	12,482	8,469
Mahogany . . feet .	18,606	23,808	4,030	11,399
Lignum Vitæ Ebony, &c. } tons.	220	26	336	417
Cocoa nuts . . No. .	—	—	6,400	264,923
Cotton . . . lbs.	—	—	—	5,516

Cotton of every kind can be produced in Jamaica, and, indeed, a variety of spices are found wild; the plant itself is unquestionably indigenous. The valuable description termed "sea island" yielded the first year the seeds were sown, 500 lbs. to the acre, whereas in the southern states of America, 400 lbs. is considered a good yield. The total expense of cultivation is £5 to £7 per acre, the value of the produce £35 to £37. The absence of winter (which not unfrequently blights the United States crop), and the abundance of fertile unoccupied land, indicates that Jamaica might become a great cotton country; and the chief justice, Sir J. Rowe, at a recent meeting for the purpose of forming an experimental plantation, declared there was no want of labour for the production of cotton simultaneously with that of sugar. One hundred acres might be planted, and the produce taken to market with fifteen labourers, four ploughs, and four mules.

Rice, of a fine grain, and not much inferior in size to that of Carolina, has recently been grown on morass lands by Mr. W. W. Anderson. *Tobacco*, quite equal in quality and size of leaf to that of Cuba and Manilla, grows almost wild; yet in 1851, 195,198 lbs. manufactured, and 513,436 in leaf, were supplied from a foreign market. *Salt* may be collected on the sea-shore, but 32,077 cwt. were imported in 1851. *Bricks* to the number of 456,608 were brought in, in the same year, although the best materials for their manufacture abound. In the time of the Spaniards Jamaica was literally overrun with *cattle*, yet, in 1851, 2,157 head were introduced.

Cacao and *indigo*, once the staple products of the island, are now entirely neglected. Although the soil is peculiarly favourable for cocoa-nuts, and the trees abound, yet the colonists import *cocoa-nut oil* from Ceylon. Now the negroes are turning their attention to the subject, as the produce of a tree is worth from £2 to £3 per annum, and it will continue to bear nuts for 100 years. The cottiers usually plant one or more trees on the birth of a child. *Silk* might be largely exported, as the mulberry thrives well. Various *spices*, *dyes*, and *drugs*, which we now obtain from foreign countries, might all be grown and prepared in Jamaica.

Soap might become a valuable article of trade; a Dr. Robinson, in 1767, obtained a premium of £100 from the local legislature for the manufacture of an article which united all the qualities of Castile soap to another of singular efficacy, namely, perfect solubility in salt water. The process of preparation consists in expressing by heavy rollers the juice of the lower leaves of the *coratoe* or *curaça* plant, a species of the *agavé*. The juice, after being strained through a hair sieve, is inspissated by the heat of the sun, or over a slow fire; the material is then made into balls or cakes.

The shipping entering the island ports has not been sensibly diminished of late years. In 1830 the tonnage inwards amounted to 120,721 tons; since the abolition of slavery it has ranged from 110,000 to 115,00 tons; in 1851 (the year of cholera) the tonnage of shipping entering inwards was from Great Britain, 46,554; from British colonies, 19,994; from United States, 28,286; from other foreign countries, 11,134. Total, 105,968 tons.

The exports unquestionably manifest a very large diminution in very important items. The decrease, however, at first sight appears greater than it really is, especially as regards sugar. Within the last few years the size of the sugar hogshead has been augmented from seventeen or eighteen to twenty and twenty-two cwt., for the convenience of carriage, and lessening of dues, &c. Thus 40,000 now represent 50,000 hogsheads of the former measurement. Moreover, during slavery the bulk of the

population never tasted sugar except what they obtained surreptitiously, or the skimmings or refuse during crop time; whereas it now is largely consumed by all classes. Allowing eight ounces a week per head for a population of 450,000, an annual supply of 5,000 hogsheads is required exclusively for domestic consumption. The same remark, though in a lesser degree, applies to rum and coffee.

Year when Exported.	Hogsheads of Sugar.	Puncheons of Rum.	Casks of Molasses.	Pounds of Ginger	Pounds of Pimento.	Pounds of Coffee.
1772	76,109	—	—	—	—	841,558
1773	80,738	—	—	—	—	779,303
1774	75,781	—	—	—	—	739,039
1775	81,404	—	—	—	—	493,981
1788	89,340	—	—	—	—	1,035,368
1789	91,021	—	—	—	—	1,492,282
1790	91,131	—	—	—	—	1,783,740
1791	91,020	—	—	—	—	2,299,874
1793	82,138	35,194	—	1,063,600	1,968,560	3,938,576
1794	97,124	40,628	—	1,297,100	2,758,080	4,901,549
1795	95,362	38,421	—	1,996,320	2,626,380	6,318,812
1796	96,460	41,492	—	2,778,000	1,182,880	7,263,539
1797	85,109	28,746	—	3,621,260	411,240	7,869,133
1798	95,858	41,940	—	2,273,980	1,107,900	7,894,306
1799	110,646	38,013	—	1,353,460	2,570,640	11,745,425
1800	105,584	37,841	—	652,320	1,640,880	11,116,474
1801	136,056	49,363	—	34,680	1,806,720	13,401,468
1802	140,113	46,837	366	260,980	1,041,540	17,961,923
1803	115,494	44,006	461	419,940	1,941,060	15,866,291
1804	112,163	42,663	429	769,480	2,603,700	22,063,980
1805	150,352	53,950	471	412,860	940,680	24,137,393
1806	146,601	58,780	499	460,660	2,541,000	29,298,036
1807	135,203	52,811	699	425,320	2,401,380	26,761,188
1808	132,333	53,507	379	394,400	823,980	25,528,273
1809	114,630	44,850	230	1,229,140	4,465,200	52,586,668
1810	112,208	43,335	293	485,720	3,429,240	25,885,285
1811	138,292	55,098	446	803,640	2,763,720	17,460,068
1812	113,173	44,111	151	574,900	1,141,000	18,481,986
1813	104,558	45,604	208	579,360	1,925,640	24,623,572
1814	109,158	44,598	145	642,160	1,356,240	34,045,585
1815	127,269	54,321	242	946,540	3,438,240	27,362,742
1816	100,382	36,416	166	1,311,160	3,518,820	17,289,393
1817	123,766	48,776	354	1,824,020	2,068,320	14,793,706
1818	121,758	50,827	407	1,391,040	2,697,900	25,329,456
1819	116,344	45,333	253	943,160	3,098,760	14,901,983
1820	122,922	46,933	252	617,420	1,666,740	22,127,444
1821	119,560	47,870	167	524,520	3,199,560	16,819,761
1822	94,515	29,403	144	454,140	2,366,460	19,773,912
1823	101,271	36,244	614	527,700	2,918,640	20,326,445
1824	106,009	38,760	910	1,121,240	4,104,540	27,677,239
1825	79,090	28,747	894	2,015,260	2,614,140	21,254,656
1826	106,712	37,662	549	2,924,040	2,065,920	20,352,886
1827	87,399	33,570	204	2,464,300	3,785,400	25,741,520
1828	101,575	38,235	189	2,724,483	3,762,780	22,216,780
1829	97,893	37,430	66	2,070,660	6,543,900	22,234,640
1830	100,205	35,025	154	1,748,800	5,560,620	22,256,950
1831	94,881	36,111	230	1,614,640	3,172,320	14,055,350
1832	98,686	33,685	799	2,355,560	4,024,800	19,815,010
1833	85,401	34,976	755	2,811,760	8,423,100	9,866,060
1834	84,756	32,111	486	2,976,420	3,605,400	17,725,731
1835	77,970	27,530	300	2,050,840	7,284,660	10,593,018
1836	67,094	20,536	182	2,620,280	5,654,340	13,446,053
1837	61,505	21,976	173	2,759,840	5,744,220	8,955,178
1838	69,613	25,380	149	2,567,640	2,708,640	13,551,795
1839	49,243	16,072	18	1,669,200	3,812,760	8,897,421
1840	33,660	11,472	18	1,400,800	3,063,980	7,279,670
1841	34,491	11,769	51	1,834,120	3,595,380	6,433,370
1842	50,295	16,566	109	2,008,300	3,753,960	7,048,914
1843	44,169	15,046	177	1,456,725	3,546,720	7,367,113
1844	34,444	11,631	92	1,993,600	1,462,440	7,148,775
1845	47,926	16,997	15	1,888,480	7,181,220	5,021,209
1846	36,223	14,395	76	1,462,000	2,997,060	6,047,150
1847	48,554	18,077	22	1,324,480	2,800,140	6,421,122
1848	42,212	20,194	2	320,340	5,231,908	5,681,941
1849	41,656	16,784	1	415,866	5,712,424	3,430,228
1850	37,188	15,591	9	799,276	4,059,825	5,127,255
1851	40,249	18,492	40	1,176,676	4,439,697	5,595,273
1852	—	—	—	—	—	—
1853	—	—	—	—	—	—

Note.—The Jamaica sugar hogshead is singularly ill-adapted for inland transit and for ship stowage: in Cuba the sugar is packed in small and nearly square boxes, admirably suited for any description of carriage; in the Mauritius and Bengal mat bags are used, which are nearly as advantageous as the Havannah boxes. The cane is probably indigenous; the manufacture of sugar commenced about 1673, in which year the governor (Lynch) sent H.M. secretary of state, a pot of the then precious commodity, with its history. Coffee (according to Lunan) was introduced by Sir N. Laws, in 1728.

The cruel and ignominous treatment to which the labouring population were exposed up to the very termination of the apprenticeship system, and which happily had no parallel in any other part of the West Indies, has made many of the Jamaica negroes detest sugar cultivation, and consider it as a badge of their former hateful servitude. The planters and overseers were emphatically warned of this danger by successive governors, and several of the most upright and intelligent of the special magistrates offered valuable suggestions, respecting the best means of establishing a good understanding between masters and labourers. Mr. Stephen Bourne, special magistrate, strenuously recommended the proprietors to undertake "a general repair of all the negro houses, and to offer an ample portion of good land for gardens, as near as possible to the cottages and provision grounds;" to dismiss "every harsh and unkind overseer;" to provide schools and religious instruction for the people, so that consolation might he afforded to the sick and dying; to "offer every apprentice a lease of his house and land for a term of seven, fourteen, or twenty-one years, at a fair rent, to be paid either in money or in labour;" to choose "two of the steadiest men on each estate, swear them in as constables, and in consideration of their taking on themselves to promote the public peace on the property, to let them have their houses and lands rent-free, with an undertaking of a gift of an acre of land in fee at the end of two years, if they have faithfully performed their duties during that period."*

Except in a very few instances, these and all similar preliminary measures were, as has been stated (see p. 69), despised or neglected; the overseers, deprived of the power of coercion by the whip, thought only of using it in another form by the exaction of oppressive rents, and if these were not paid, the cattle were turned in on the provision grounds of the people, their few pigs, goats, and poultry shot, and the ties of old association which might, and (from the peculiar attachment cherished by the negro to the spot on which he was born) probably would, have sufficed to attach them to the properties to which they had previously belonged, was thus rudely and for ever severed. By impolitic barshness or neglect, a large number of people were compelled, in self-defence, to cease from being labourers for hire on the sugar estates, and to become cottiers; the more so, because the high price of provisions absolutely necessitated that they should grow food for their families, who must otherwise have starved. Proprietors, or their agents, have therefore, to a great extent, themselves to blame for the diminution of labour which they have experienced, and which has tended to bring about the diminished cultivation of sugar and coffee, shown in the following return, advertised by order of the House of Assembly in the leading London journals of March, 1853.

"A Return of all Properties in the island of Jamaica, upon which cultivation has been wholly or partially abandoned since the 1st day of January, 1848; and showing the number of acres; the assessed annual value on the 1st day of January, 1848; the assessed annual value on the 28th of March, 1852; the average amount of taxes paid annually for four years, prior to the 1st day of January, 1848; and the amount of taxes assessed for 1852:—

Parishes.	Sugar Estates.		Coffee Properties.		Pens.		Number of acres.	Assessed annual value on Jan. 1st, 1848.	Assessed annual value on March 28th, 1852.	Average amount of taxes paid annually for four years prior to Jan. 1st, 1848.	Amount of taxes assessed for 1852.
	Totally abandoned.	Partially abandoned	Totally abandoned.	Partially abandoned.	Totally abandoned.	Partially abandoned.					
St. Catherine	2	—	—	—	3	—	4,105	£1,257	£592	£209	£98
St. John	5	—	1	—	5	—	17,025	3,179	430	475	132
St. Dorothy	1	2	1	—	1	1	5,578	1,495	807	231	97
St. Thomas-in-the-Vale	9	4	25	3	—	—	26,420	6,175	3,838	1,027	588
Vere	5	—	—	—	—	—	9,273	3,033	1,215	331	202
Clarendon	10	—	1	—	2	—	24,576	3,008	954	576	266
Manchester	—	—	8	2	—	—	6,673	681	206	175	50
St. Mary	8	7	—	—	—	—	17,846	7,529	4,258	1,210	645
St. Ann	8	1	19	18	2	—	29,367	7,654	3,402	771	490
Port Royal	1	—	2	3	—	—	2,956	1,026	658	132	82
St. David	6	1	10	4	4	—	16,005	3,584	2,480	401	412
St. Andrew	4	7	3	6	—	—	15,106	4,865	1,776	938	328
St. Thomas-in-the-East	18	9	3	1	—	—	37,935	9,251	4,198	862	672
Portland	3	8	—	—	—	—	15,225	3,109	2,478	463	335
St. George	2	8	12	10	3	5	37,063	8,572	7,214	1,166	643
Metcalfe	2	2	6	13	—	—	15,248	6,022	2,955	796	363
St. Elizabeth	4	1	5	6	10	16	43,663	4,196	2,775	823	330
Westmoreland	9	5	—	—	—	—	18,510	5,423	2,886	831	277
Hanover.	13	5	—	—	—	—	18,149	5,422	3,100	718	358
St. James	7	5	—	—	—	—	11,480	4,611	2,798	711	336
Trelawney	11	6	—	—	—	—	18,984	8,342	4,197	859	571
Total	128	71	96	66	30	22	391,187	98,439	53,221	13,715	7,284

Note.—The shillings and pence are omitted.

There is without doubt a great depreciation of landed property in Jamaica; numerous estates, both of sugar and coffee, have been thrown out of cultivation, or in other words "abandoned." For this various causes may be assigned. 1st. Several properties, during the period of high prices for sugar and coffee, were laid out for the raising of these products, which, by reason of soil and position, were utterly unfit for such culture, although they would have proved profitable if kept as grazing pens, or, in

* See *Colonial Freeman* of 26th March, 1838, a periodical published at Kingston.

some instances, as agricultural farms. This may be illustrated by the well known fact that when the price of wheat in England was eighty shillings per quarter, land was appropriated to its growth which was only fit for pasture or timber. 2nd. The absence of available capital wherewith to remunerate labour, or purchase new and improved machinery, by which the quantity of sugar obtained from the cane might be largely increased. 3rd. The disinclination manifested by the proprietors to parcel out their estates in small farms or allotments on lease or sale to the coloured people, who have consequently been often compelled to resort to the mountains, and become squatters. 4th. Many of the abandoned estates belong to absentees or mortgagees, who will neither continue the cultivation, nor sell, but hold on in the hope that "protection" will be revived, or that something will be done by government to raise the value of property, and thus enable them to realize more profitably, or incur less loss, than would be the case if the lands were now sold. The sooner the proprietors of estates, thrown out of culture, can be brought to understand that government is alike unable and unwilling to give an artificial worth to such possessions, the better; like many insolvent Irish estates, those of Jamaica would then be brought into the market, and find purchaser sable and willing to provide capital, energy, and skill, for turning the land to good account. At present one great check to the sale of Jamaica properties is their unwieldy size. A decided change for the better would probably be made by the passing of an Encumbered Estates Act.

Sugar is now cultivated extensively, and with profit, in Demerara, where land is abundant, and the negroes have largely become proprietors of the soil; there is no reason why Jamaica, under a sound and judicious system, should not be equally productive. With an honest Assembly, an able governor, a sound financial system, a cessation of party and political squabbles, a cordial co-operation of all classes for a restoration of harmony, and above all, a prayerful reliance on Divine Providence, the island might become permanently prosperous, and an honour to the empire of which it forms an important and integral part. To accomplish this great object, the evils and deficiencies of the past agricultural and manufacturing system must be remedied, and the improvements adopted in Barbados, Antigua, Demerara, and other places introduced. On this subject many interesting facts have recently been published by several gentleman in the colony, and especially by Mr. Thomas Henney, in a prize essay "on the defects of the agricultural system hitherto pursued in Jamaica." This skilful tropical farmer dwells much on the absence of fencing, whereby a flourishing field of canes is laid waste in a few hours by the trespass of stock (an evil which I myself noticed in 1851); on the general want of sufficient guinea-grass to fodder the stock when penned; on the wretched state of the pastures, which are seldom cleaned at all, or only in the most superficial manner; on the absence of manuring, and the collection of any proper composts, to which neglect, irrespective of the long-continued and successive droughts, he considered all the falling off in the production of sugar might be justly attributed. In commenting on the want of proper agricultural implements, Mr. Henney says, that until recently, "except on a very few estates, even the plough was unknown or despised;" in a large district there was only one estate where that very simple instrument, the three pronged fork, was used; "the hoe, dung-basket, and bill, were, with few exceptions, the sole implements of husbandry up to a very late period."

He likewise points out the want of care or judgment manifested in not planting the varieties of the cane in the peculiar soil best suited to their respective qualities, and the disgraceful state of the roads, by which the mill is not unfrequently stopped during crop-time, the cattle being unable to drag the loaded wains through sloughs where they were axle-deep in mud. The state of agriculture makes the island present a mortifying contrast to Cuba, the estates of whose resident proprietary exhibit stone-fenced cane-fields, and husbandry which would delight a Norfolk farmer. The manufacturing process in Jamaica, which is equally slovenly, imperfect, and ill-adapted to the requirements of the present age, was ably described in a series of papers published in *Simmond's Colonial Magazine* in 1848-'9. They were written by a Mr. John Biggs, a colonial engineer, who had spent twenty-six years in the British West Indies, during twenty-two of which he had resided in Jamaica. This gentleman's remarks agree with, in many points, and confirm those of Mr. Henney, and so far as the actual cultivation and preparation of sugar are concerned, seem well deserving of attention.

Respecting the 120 resolutions drawn up by the late Lord George Bentinck's celebrated parliamentary committee on the sugar-producing colonies, Mr. Biggs declares, that while many of the premises were indisputable, the conclusions thence drawn were totally at variance with facts. West Indian distress he attributes mainly to the want of common attention to their own interests on the part of the planters, which had been in a great measure caused by the protection they had so long enjoyed in the sugar market, whose effects had been to render them careless of attending to an improved cultivation and manufacture, or to the prevention of waste.

The errors of the present system are stated under ten distinct heads, of which the following abstract shows the leading points.

First.—The imperfect preparation of the lands before planting, whereby the labour expended in the after-cleaning of the crops is doubled, or even trebled.

Second.—The practice of cultivating quite one-third of the canes, rather for the purposes of fuel, than for their yield of sugar.

Third.—The wilful waste of valuable manures, which, if properly applied, would restore the temporarily exhausted lands in the immediate vicinity of the sugar-works, and prevent the necessity of cultivating more distant ground, and bringing the canes from a distance, which, owing to the mountainous character of the country, and the wretched state of the roads, must inevitably increase materially the labour of the cattle, and in bad weather form a very heavy item in the long list of contingencies.

Fourth.—The use of the hoe in numerous operations, that could be more speedily and efficiently performed by implemental husbandry, and thus expending from 50 to 75 per cent. more manual labour than is necessary.

Fifth.—The employment of six to seven months in taking off the crop, whereas the machinery and arrangements ought to be such as to complete the whole operation in three months, otherwise the canes must inevitably be cut at improper periods, either too early or too late. In the former case the saccharine matter cannot be perfected in them, and a waste of time and fuel must ensue in evaporating the extra quantity of aqueous parts in the juice, which, after all, can only produce sugar of a very inferior quality; while in the latter, the greater portion of the saccharine will have gone to support new

vegetation, some of the late cut canes frequently having new sprouts eighteen inches in length; and the effect on the succeeding crop must of course be very mischievous, from the sprouts or rattoons being necessarily deprived of the best seasons for growing.

Sixth and seventh.—The loss of juice by the imperfect grinding of the cane, and the bad and wasteful method of clarifying it, by which the sugar is greatly deteriorated.

Eighth and ninth.—Petty thefts, and the material thrown away by careless packing in the wharf-stores, by drainage, and on board the ships on their voyage home.

Tenth.—The consumption of double the quantity of fuel, and more than double the amount of labour, at an increased cost, to that which would be required, but for the employment of non-efficient machinery, and a dilatory manner of cropping.

Nor is it only the evils of their manufacturing and agricultural system that are now openly admitted and canvassed by the Jamaica colonists. The publication, by the House of Assembly, of such plainly expressed sentiments as those contained in the following extract, shows that other deficiencies and abuses are likewise acknowledged and deplored.

"Absenteeism is at an end. Proprietors, to reap any benefit from possessions, must make Jamaica their home; they must reside here, they must be content with limited means. Had this been done some years back, the state of Jamaica would have been different now, the most beautiful island in the Carribbean sea would have been able to boast of cities as great and as wealthy as the Havanna. The time has now arrived when, to save ourselves from utter ruin, we must be up and doing, we must cast off that apathy which has so long distinguished us as a community, which has made the creole a bye-word among nations, which hangs as a veil over all our undertakings, and is visible throughout all the departments and workings of our constitution, mars the usefulness of all our public improvements, and is too evident in all the concerns of private life. It is useless to cry out for more labourers, or for immigration; where are the thirty and odd thousand beings who this time last year were among us? Before we import others to supply their place, let us ascertain why it is our population has not increased, why has immigration so signally failed; let us search out the number of those who daily and hourly die from the effects of preventable causes; let us apply the remedy that experience assures us does exist; let the mouldering bones of hundreds of immigrants, victims of misplaced confidence, cause those in authority to pause, ere they, by their sanction, delude others; ere they hold out promises which can never be realised. Examine the present sanitary condition of the island; mark the fact, that districts of twenty, thirty, and forty square miles in extent exist, without a single qualified medical practitioner; observe the fact that the existing laws, meagre as they are, as relates to sanitary matters, are daily broken, are put to open defiance in our very towns and thoroughfares. Consider this, and few, under such circumstances, can advocate the further introduction of his fellow-man. Correct all this, and then will immigration prove to us a benefit; then will it be a boon to the liberty-crippled American black, a source of temporal and eternal advantage to the African heathen. Till this is done, any further attempt to induce strangers to embark their fortunes here, can be but to disregard the laws of God and man, and by exposing the deceived to destruction, to bring down greater judgments yet upon the authors of their ruin; as it is, with the population we already have, great difficulties must be anticipated; old habits and darling prejudices must be torn up and rooted out, and whatever the labour may be, it must he done."*

SUMMARY.—The facts narrated in the preceding pages will, it is hoped, enable the reader to form his own conclusions respecting the past and present condition of Jamaica, many of them have not been recorded without pain, for the memory of the writer vividly retains the remembrance of the superb scenery of this noble island, of its invigorating mountain air,† but, above all, of the hearty kindness of its impoverished but still nobly hospitable white inhabitants, and the contented and happy appearance of its coloured population. With regard to the House of Assembly, he takes this opportunity of acknowledging the courteous reception he there received, and the acceptable gift of a copy of their journals and laws, which has since been forwarded to him in England.‡ The concluding pages of the historical section were already in the press; and owing to the periodical issue of the work, could not be delayed; otherwise it would have been a grateful duty to have transcribed some of the many just and munificent legislative acts recorded in the island annals. Their examination has not, however, led him to regret the insertion of any statement in the preceding pages, but rather served to deepen his convictions respecting the evils inevitably associated with a system which in all ages, and among all nations, has produced similarly baneful results. The colony is at the commencement of a new era; the Representative Chamber now stands on the broad basis of popular franchise, and contains intelligent and patriotic men, alive to a sense of the serious responsibilities attached to their position, and having a stake at issue in the property of the island. Still a faithful history of the past is necessary both in explanation of the present state, and as a guide and warning for future legislation, and he who honestly narrates the truth, whether in regard to an individual or a community, performs a service and confers a benefit of which the value will be tested by time and experience. The persons more especially identified with the unhappy period of slavery have, most of them, passed away; many were permitted to live and acknowledge the errors committed under a false and corrupting system; and of those who remain, few, if any, now believe that real advantage can ever be derived from a policy essentially opposed to the dictates of Christianity, and to the first and universal principles of justice.

* Second report of the General Board of Health of Jamaica, signed by J. Gayleard, *president of the council*; C. Mc Larty Morales, *speaker of the House of Assembly*; P. Yule, lieutenant-colonel *commanding royal engineers*; L. Q. Bowerbank, *president of the college of physicians and surgeons of Jamaica*, and others; presented to the legislature, and printed by order of the Assembly, dated 29th November, 1851; pp. 116-'7.

† The mountain climate is peculiarly salubrious, and has been found very beneficial to invalids of consumptive habits; it closely resembles that of Madeira, and is becoming a favourite resort with the Americans.

‡ When visiting Jamaica in 1851, I paid my respects to the House of Assembly then sitting at Spanish Town, and the following insertion was ordered to be recorded in the journals of the House:—"That a committee be appointed, of which Mr. Speaker shall be chairman, to procure a copy of the journals and laws of this island, and to present the same in the most acceptable manner to Montgomery Martin, Esq." In February, 1853, I was favoured with a case containing the journals and votes of the General Assembly from 1663 to 1851-'2, comprised in fourteen large folio volumes of about 520 pages each, and in fifteen lesser sized thick volumes, ranging from 580 to 880 pages each. The laws of the colony are printed in twelve quarto volumes, varying in size from 220 to 950 pages each. They comprise the statutes and all the acts passed by the Assembly since the thirty-second year of Charles II. The whole of these records are well arranged, and possess copious indices.

I never heard a single Jamaican attribute the present condition of the island to emancipation; and I firmly believe that, supposing the restoration of slavery possible, the planters would oppose it from a conviction of its impolicy, as well as from a conscientious sense of its iniquity.

With regard to the change in protective duties in 1846, the case is certainly different; that measure could not but seriously affect the whole West India interest, as it is termed, though even the severest sufferers during the transition must admit, that since it had been decided (whether wisely, or unwisely, this is not the place to discuss) that the colonies generally were not to be connected in commercial relations with the mother country, by the admission of their goods in preference to those of foreign states, it would have been evidently unfair to the others to make exceptions in favour of any particular branch, where all had such strong claims.

One good effect the sharp spur of competition at least appears to have had, in rousing the colonists to a sense of the necessity of self dependence, and combined effort for the reformation of those internal evils whose ruinous tendencies no protective legislation on the part of the imperial government could ever neutralize.

In conclusion, I cannot but express somewhat of the deep solicitude inspired by an examination of the past and present state of the coloured population. During slavery, their gentle, forbearing, unrevengeful dispositions, and the grateful readiness with which they received the holy and consoling doctrines of Christianity, at once encouraged the abolitionists to persevere in the long and arduous struggle undertaken for their sakes, and furnished some of their most efficient weapons. The fiery ordeal of adversity has been triumphantly passed, but prosperity has many insidious and dangerous temptations, which can be guarded against only by an abiding and practical knowledge, that rights and privileges are invariably accompanied by proportionate responsibilities.

The duties of freemen, and they are great, are now expected from the peasantry; and the Christian world looks anxiously for the visible working of that faith to which even, as regards earthly things, they are so largely indebted, since it has indeed proved to them a very present help in time of trouble, not only in alleviating, but even in removing their heavy bondage; since, to the glory of God be it spoken, it was almost exclusively a religious movement which prompted the British public to cry with one voice, and in a spirit not merely of disinterestedness, but of self-sacrifice, "unloose the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free." Now may the Africans prove their gratitude to Him who can alone continue and increase their present blessings, by conscientiously fulfilling the duties of the station to which Divine Providence has raised them. Let them think of the thousands of their countrymen still yearly torn from their native land; of the millions of wretched captives whose bodies are still galled by iron chains, or lacerated by the whip, and whose minds are yet in the darkness of heathenism, and let them remember, that by showing themselves industrious, orderly, and self-denying Christians, they may largely contribute to prove to the world the capabilities of their race, and by offering indisputable evidence of the superiority of free over slave labour, may do more than any other community to serve the great cause of universal emancipation.

CHAPTER V.—BARBADOS.

The Caribbee Islands form a segment of a circle, to the eastward of the sea which bears their name. Barbados does not, properly speaking, belong to this group, which constitutes a pretty regular curve, but lies seventy-eight miles due east of St. Vincent (see Map), in 13° 19′ N. lat.; the North Point being 59° 37′ W. long. It is about twenty-one miles long by twelve miles broad; has a circumference of fifty-five English miles, and a superficial area of 106,470 acres, or about 166 square miles. In size, and, in some measure, in its irregular triangular outline, Barbados may be compared to the Isle of Wight.

To enter into much detail regarding the history of Barbados, and of the other British possessions in the West Indies, would be impracticable within the space allotted to this section of the colonies; it must, therefore, suffice to record the leading events in their respective progress, and offer some statistical illustration of their past and present condition.

Jamaica has been dwelt upon at more length, because it appeared necessary to exemplify the practical workings of slavery. The description there given will, with some minor differences, answer for all—cruelty, though not to the same outrageous excess, insurrections, and destruction of human life, constituting the prevailing features, while hurricanes, earthquakes, and pestilence, with various commercial fluctuations, fill up a picture which, but for the lesson it conveys, were better consigned to oblivion. The reader, desirous of fuller data, on the various points briefly sketched in the following pages, will find a large but undigested mass in the parliamentary records, and much informa-

tion in a more interesting form, in the voluminous but generally pro-slavery writings of Ligon, Oldmixon, Frere, Poyer, Smith, and the recent interesting and extensive work by Sir R. H. Schomburgk.*

HISTORY.—The exact date of the discovery of this island is not recorded, but it is supposed to have been known as early as 1518.†

The Portuguese, in their voyages to Brazil, are conjectured to have been the first Europeans who landed here; and to them is attributed the application of the name *Las Barbadas*, or *Barbudos*, signifying, in their language, one who has a long beard, in allusion to the abundance of a species of fig-tree (*Ficus laurifolia*), from whose branches masses of twisted, fibrous roots, hang down like luxuriant beards.

The Spaniards subsequently resorted to the island, and carried off the natives to work as slaves in the mines of Cuba, until not one was left; and nothing but a few Indian implements and utensils remained to bear witness to the white men who were to inherit this beautiful land of their ill-fated predecessors.

In 1605, the "Olive Blossom," an English vessel, fitten out by Sir Olive Leigh, "a worshipful knight of Kent," while on its way to Guiana with colonists and stores, accidentally touched at Barbados. A portion of the crew landed on the leeward shore, and finding no inhabitants, took possession, on behalf of their country, by erecting a cross in a conspicuous position, and inscribing on several trees a declaration of the sovereignty of "James, king of England, and of this island."‡

Eighteen or twenty years afterwards, some Dutch vessels, specially licensed by the court of Spain to trade to Brazil, landed for the purpose of procuring refreshments; and on their return to Zealand, gave a flattering account of the fertility and commodious situation of the island, which was communicated by a correspondent to Sir William Courteen, a wealthy London merchant, one of whose ships was, shortly after (in 1624), driven by stress of weather on the Barbadian coast. The crew were detained here for a time; their description fully coincided with that given by the Dutch navigators, and confirmed Courteen in his plan of establishing a settlement.

Lord Ley, afterwards Earl of Marlborough, and Lord High Treasurer, applied to and obtained from James the First a patent, granting the island to him and his heirs for ever. Under his protection, Courteen despatched two vessels laden with intending colonists, and with the necessary articles for their establishment. Of these ships, one only reached its destination, and on the 17th of February, 1625, landed forty English persons, with seven or eight negroes, who laid the foundation of James Town, on the spot occupied by the crew of the *Olive Blossom* twenty years before.

It would appear, however, that notwithstanding the patent conceded to Lord Ley, a grant or warrant of a grant, under the great seal, was subsequently made by the same monarch, whereby all the Caribbean Islands were erected into a province under the name of Carliola, on the model of the Palatinate of Durham, and the sole dominion thereof conferred upon the Earl of Carlisle. On learning the occupation of Barbados, his lordship, who had been almost simultaneously engaged in colonizing St. Christopher's, applied to Charles the First, who had recently ascended the throne to, confirm his former grant; but was opposed by the Earl of Marlborough, who pleaded piority of right in the case of Barbados. A tedious litigation ensued, which terminated in a compromise, Lord Carlisle agreeing to pay the lord high treasurer, and his heirs, an annuity of £300 in perpetuity for his claim; whereupon the patent, on the 2nd June, 1837, again passed the great seal, and his lordship was declared to be sole proprietor of the Caribbee Islands, comprising "St. Christopher, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Barbados, Martinique, Dominica, Mariegalante, Deseada, Todo Santos, Guadaloupe, Antigua, Montserrat, Redondo, Barbuda, Nevis, Eustatia, St. Bartholomew, St. Martin, Anguilla, Sombrero, and Anegada, and many other islands." The majority of the territories above enumerated, were still in the possession of their native proprietors, the Caribs, but neither the monarch nor his subjects ever stopped to consider their rights or interests. The noble patentee and his heirs, or representatives, were empowered in case of necessity to enact ordinances, under certain restrictions, without the express consent of all the people of the province, but the latter were nevertheless specially pronounced to be under the protection of the Crown, and entitled "freely, quietly, and peaceably to have and possess all the liberties, franchises, and privileges of this kingdom, and them to use and enjoy as liege people of England."§

Courteen naturally considered himself very ill-used, and during the absence of Lord Carlisle on a diplomatic mission, appealed to the king through the medium of the Earl of Pembroke, who succeeded in obtaining a grant of Barbados in trust for his protegé. Lord Carlisle, on his return to court, complained bitterly of advantage having been taken of his absence, and prevailed upon the unstable monarch to revoke the patent he had so lately granted, and reinstate him in the sole authority; upon which, fearful of the consequences of any delay, he immediately proceeded to offer the lands of Barbados for sale in such parcels as might suit the convenience of adventurers, stipulating that each person should pay him forty pounds of cotton annually. A society of London merchants obtained a grant or lease of 10,000 acres from the Earl, and despatched a party of sixty-four settlers, each of whom was authorised to take up 100 acres of land, under the direction of Charles Wolferstone, a native of Bermuda, who reached Barbados in July, 1628, and immediately issued a proclamation, declaring the settlers sent out by Courteen, who were now in a very flourishing condition, to be usurpers, and summoned them to meet him immediately. This they did, but with the exception of their leader or governor, named Deane,

* *History of Barbados*, large 8vo, with maps, views, &c., pp. 722; published by Longman & Co. † *Idem*, p. 6.

‡ The island was thickly overgrown with wood, and abounded with pigeons, parrots, and wild hogs, which latter have been the subject of some discussion; Ligon asserts them to have been the descendants of some left by the Portuguese for the purpose of breeding, so that in the event of their being driven on the coast they might ensure a supply of fresh meat.—(Ligon's *History*, p. 23.) Schomburgk considers that the hogs alluded to were of the indigenous breed, the *Peccary* or *Dyeotelcs labiatus*, and *D. tarquatus*, of which specimens are still met with in Trinidad and some of the larger islands.—(p. 259.)

§ *Vide* Bryan Edwards' *West Indies*, vol. i., pp. 320, 321, where the most interesting clauses of this singular grant are given at length.

who, recognising a countryman in Wolferstone, tendered his adherence, they resolutely refused to acknowledge the authority of Lord Carlisle, and returned at night to their homes, using "torches of wild canes"* to light the way. A series of disputes, only prevented by the zealous interposition of a clergyman named Kentlane from proceeding to a regular engagement, ensued between the "Windward" and "Leeward" men, as they were respectively termed, from the relative positions occupied by them on the island. In January, 1629, a colonist named Powell was appointed governor by the Earl of Pembroke, (acting on behalf of Courteen,) who succeeded in surprising Wolferstone and Deane, and sending them back to England in irons. A few months later he was himself entrapped on board a vessel despatched by the Earl of Carlisle, and sent home as a prisoner. The Leeward-men thereupon attacked the Carlisle settlement, but were compelled to retreat; the defendants were subsequently rewarded for their brave conduct, by the grant of a free storage of their goods for a term of seven years. Meanwhile the rival claimants to the exclusive dominion of Barbados employed all their interest in favour of their respective grants. The influence of Lord Carlisle at length prevailed; and as in the existing state of the case, the Earl of Pembroke's title rested upon some informalities in the last charter in favour of his opponent, another patent was issued, confirming in the most explicit manner Lord Carlisle's rights as sole proprietor of the much coveted island.† Sir William Tufton was appointed governor, and proceeded thither in December 1629,‡ accompanied by 200 intending settlers, and various requisites for colonization. The inhabitants were then estimated at between 1,500 and 1,600.

Lord Carlisle, at the period of his death, being deeply in debt, his son and heir, about the year 1647, entered into arrangements with Lord Willoughby, of Parham, for the purpose of liquidating these liabilities, by which the latter nobleman was promised a commission as governor of Barbados, and the rest of the Caribbee Islands enumerated in the late earl's charter, and a moiety of all the profits which should arise therefrom for the term of twenty-one years. The king, who was then in the hands of the army, gave his consent. Lord Willoughby had previously been connected with the parliamentary party, but about this period becoming suspected of a share in the plans of the Royalists, was impeached for high treason, and his estates were confiscated. Having escaped to Holland, he openly espoused the cause of the Prince of Wales, who, after the execution of Charles the First, 1649, despatched him secretly to Barbados, where he arrived in 1650,§ and availing himself of the loyal spirit which was in the ascendant, put down a rising roundhead party, fortified the place, raised a considerable force for its defence, equipped several vessels, and compelled the other islands under his jurisdiction to acknowledge the royal authority.

The Protector, on learning the encouragement and support received by the colonists from the Dutch, and the extensive illicit trade carried on by the latter, issued a rigorous prohibition against all foreign ships trading with English colonies, and despatched a hostile squadron under Admiral Ayscue, for the reduction of Barbados. The fleet, with 2,000 troops on board, appeared off Bridge Town, on the 10th of October, 1651, captured all the vessels in Carlisle Bay, but did not succeed in effecting a landing until the night of the 17th of December, at Speight's Bay. The Barbadians opposed them with nine companies of foot, and three of horse, and killed the leader of the attack, Colonel Alleyne, and sixty of his men, losing on their own side 50 killed and 100 taken prisoners, besides which all their pieces of ordnance were dismounted, and many of their houses destroyed. The place being untenable, the parliamentary forces returned on board the fleet. Some of the leading settlers advocated submission, and Colonel Modyford induced his regiment, of more than 1,000 men, to declare for the Parliament. Lord Willoughby had still 3,000 troops at his command, but he could not trust them, and was compelled to capitulate, and embark for England. His property on the island was however secured to him, and the other inhabitants, with the exception of a few obnoxious individuals, who were banished for a limited period, were not interfered with. After the Restoration, Lord Willoughby applied to Charles the Second for a renewal of his commission, as eight or nine years of the lease granted to him were still unexpired. This was granted, and the king, to reward the fidelity of such of the chief inhabitants as had remained faithful to him, conferred upon seven gentlemen the honour of baronetage, and on six others that of knighthood. Notwithstanding this mark of royal favour, the planters were subjected to great anxiety by the claims upon the soil of the island, which made them feel that they held their estates on a precarious tenure, even though their rights had been recognised in two legislative acts, one passed in the Governor Bill, the other five years after, under Lord Willoughby. The matter was further involved by the death of the second Earl of Carlisle, who bequeathed his title to the Earl of Kinnoul; the creditors of the first Lord Carlisle asserted claims on the revenue of the island to the extent of £80,000, and the heirs of the Duke of Marlborough demanded the arrears of the annuity of £300, no portion of which had yet been paid. The planters petitioned the king to de-

* Schomburgk's *History of Barbados*, p. 263.

† The interest of Sir William Courteen in the island ceased entirely, which cannot but excite regret, since to him belongs the honour (unspotted by the blood or violated rights of native owners) of having first settled Barbados, and secured it to the English Crown; for, but for his enterprise, it is very probable that Lord Carlisle, who took great interest in St. Christopher's, would never have turned his attention to Barbados, which might therefore have easily fallen under the dominion of a foreign power.

‡ He was superseded, and shot in 1631, through the intrigues of an island faction.

§ At this time about 100 sail of ships visited the island yearly; they brought servants and slaves, both men and women, horses, cattle, donkeys, camels (which unfortunately did not thrive, owing, it was supposed, to improper diet), utensils for boiling sugar, tradesmen's tools, clothing, and victuals of various kinds. The exports were indigo, cotton, wool, tobacco, sugar, ginger, and fustic wood. Tamarinds and palms, the latter imported from the East Indies, were now first planted.—(*Vide* Ligon's *Barbados*, vol. ii.). The servants, referred to in the preceding paragraph, were persons from the United Kingdom, who, for the sake of a certain bounty, and a free passage to the colony, sold their servitude for a term of years. They are described by contemporary writers as having been worked to excess, badly fed, and treated even worse than the slaves. The cruelty shown to these latter is one of the causes assigned for the formation of a conspiracy so early as 1649, to massacre all the English, who were saved by the plot being voluntarily discovered by a slave to his master. Eighteen of the ringleaders were put to death.

clare the original grant or patent void; a committee of lords was appointed, before which the contending parties, as well as the merchants and planters interested in the question, and then resident in England, were examined; and a Mr. Kendall, in the hope of inducing H.M. to take the sovereignty of the island into his own hands, offered, in the name of the planters, to consent to a tax on all the produce of the island, which he confidently thought would amount to £3,000 per annum at least, out of which a governor might be supported, and the remainder be disposed of as the king should see fit.*

The proposition was very tempting; the legal advisers of the Crown declared the patent void, and arrangements were made to adjust and gradually pay off the claims in their respective proportions. Lord Willoughby proceeded to Barbados, and after some strenuous opposition on the part of the planters (who denied having authorized Mr. Kendall to make any such offer in their name, and pleaded the inability of the plantation to bear so heavy an impost), the question was at length finally settled. In 1663, the proprietory government was dissolved, the planters legally established in their possessions, and a tax of 4½ per cent. in specie placed upon all native produce exported from the island. This heavy duty was exacted for 175 years, having been repealed only in the present reign.

Lord Willoughby's administration was mild and equitable, but it had a melancholy termination. In July, 1666, he quitted Barbados with seventeen sail, and nearly two thousand troops, for the purpose of revenging the incursions of the French and Dutch on the British Caribbee Islands, and perished off Guadaloupe in a tremendous hurricane; of his whole fleet only two vessels were ever heard of afterwards.

In 1673, the Windward and Leeward Caribbee Islands were separated into distinct governments. Barbados had then greatly increased in population and commerce; but in August, 1675, its prosperity received a severe check, the island, especially on the leeward side, being laid waste by the most destructive hurricane which had occurred since the formation of the colony. The shock of this calamity had scarcely passed before a slave insurrection threatened to produce new scenes of terror and disaster. The conspiracy was planned by the Coromantine negroes, and had been in agitation for nearly three years; it was discovered by means of a conversation overheard by a house-servant, named Anna, whose fidelity to her master caused its suppression. Of the alleged ringleaders, six were burnt alive, eleven beheaded, and five who were impeached, hanged themselves before their trial came on. A similar plot, encouraged it was thought by French emissaries from Martinique, was discovered in 1692, by two of the chief conspirators being overheard talking of their design. After hanging in chains four days without food or water, they discovered all they knew; many of their accomplices were tortured, and others executed. These were barbarous and horrible punishments, calculated certainly to deteriorate the character of those who inflicted, quite as much as those who suffered them. But in the Draconian code of that era, death, unaccompanied by torture, would have been no object of dread to the miserable wretches whose lives and limbs were in hourly jeopardy. So late as 1717, the severity of the slave laws of Barbados (upon which those of Jamaica were in great measure founded) was increased by an enactment decreeing, as a punishment to a fugitive slave, for an absence of thirty days, that he was to have one of his feet cut off.

The administration of Lord Howe, which commenced in 1733, was very popular and beneficial; it was brought to a termination by his death, in 1735. His malady was an attack of fever, produced by excessive fatigue in reviewing the different regiments of militia. Under his auspices the freedom of the press was established, and the factious party spirit which had gradually been gaining ground in the colony, was greatly mitigated. The Council and Assembly, to manifest their grateful respect for his memory, voted a donation of £2,500 currency to his widow. Extreme liberality on this and other occasions marks the character of the colony; between 1687 and 1743, £96,000 sterling were bestowed in presents to governors and presidents.

The salaries by them apportioned to their rulers were in some cases extravagantly high. Sir Jonathan Atkins, in 1674, during a time of high prosperity, received from the crown, out of the 4½ per cent. duty, only £800 per annum; in 1703, Queen Anne augmented the governor's salary to £2,000 sterling, payable out of the aforesaid fund, and strictly prohibited any gift or present being made by the local authorities, which prohibition did not prevent the Assembly from granting, or Sir Beville Granville from accepting an additional sum of £500 per annum, and an elegant abode, on a small eminence called Pilgrim Hill, which continues to be the governor's residence to the present day. Notwithstanding the promise given by Queen Anne for the due appropriation of the per centage paid by the planters; the island in 1722, was again called upon to pay (or at least permitted largely to increase) the salary of its newly appointed ruler, Colonel Worsley, who by the part he took in the discussions then pending respecting the President of the Council (Cox) is alleged to have gained the good-will of both parties; for each considering him their friend, united in confirming to him an income of £6,000 sterling per annum, to be defrayed by a capitation-tax of 2*s.* 6*d.* upon each negro. This point being settled, and not till then, Governor Worsley showed himself empowered to inquire into, and punish, if necessary, the conduct of the president, which he did by removing him for ever from the council. This decision created considerable dissatisfaction,† and strenuous endeavours were made by the Barbadians to get rid of the heavy tax with which they had burdened themselves for his benefit; at length, in 1731, Colonel Worsley resigned his position, and returned to England. For the support of Lord Howe, £4,000 per annum were nevertheless freely voted, "a liberality which," says Schomburgk, "at a time when their sugar sold for only ten or twelve shillings the hundred-weight, was rather surprising."

In 1780 an awful hurricane occurred, in which the violence of the elements surpassed all conception. Admiral Rodney stated, that the heavy cannon were carried upwards of a hundred feet from the forts; and Governor Cunninghame assured the Secretary of State, that a twelve-pounder had been carried by the winds and waves from the south to the north battery, a distance of 140 yards. The loss of life was estimated at 4,326 souls, that of property at £1,320,564 sterling.‡ Not a single house or building, however strong or sheltered, escaped uninjured; most of the live-stock and horned cattled perished;

* Schomburgk, p. 288. † *Idem*, p. 318. ‡ *Annual Register*, for 1781.

the canes, corn, and ground-provisions were totally destroyed. Parliament voted £80,000 for the relief of the colonists, although the nation was then involved in a costly war, and numerous public and private subscriptions were set on foot; among others the generosity of the citizens of Dublin stands conspicuous, the sum of £20,000 having been quickly raised by them. This timely aid was most gratefully received by the afflicted people; and when after the lapse of more than half a century, famine scourged Ireland, Barbados was the first among British colonies to come forward for her relief with a public vote of £2,000 sterling, besides large contributions from private individuals.

The beginning of the nineteenth century was, unhappily, characterized here as in Jamaica, by a strong endeavour on the part of the white inhabitants to retain the coloured ones in slavery; or, where that was not possible, in the lowest position. In 1801, the tax on manumission was fixed at £200 a-head for males, and £300 for females; and in 1811, the free people vainly petitioned to be placed on the same footing as those of Jamaica and other islands. The missionaries were viewed as the friends of the negroes, and consequently as the enemies of the planters. So early as 1676, the Quakers were forbidden, under heavy penalties, to instruct the slaves, or pray with them. So late as 1825, a Wesleyan chapel was destroyed; and it was asserted, that the authorities had not power to protect missionaries from the effect of popular fury. And in 1827, a clergyman of the Established Church, the Rev. Mr. Harte, having rendered himself obnoxious to his parishioners by his zeal for the spiritual instruction of the negroes—"although," writes Sir George Murray, then Secretary of State, "distinguished by personal and professional merits," and pronounced by the Bishop of Barbados entirely free of the charges brought against him—was, nevertheless, brought before the Court of Quarter Sessions, and sentenced to pay a fine of one shilling for the misdemeanor of having, in the words of his accusers, by an "offensive sermon," and disgraceful conduct, while administering the Holy Sacrament, endeavoured to alienate the slaves from a sense of their duty, and inculcate doctrines of equality inconsistent with their obedience to their masters and the policy of the island.

Up to 1805, the fine for murdering a slave was fixed at £15 currency (£11 sterling); it was then made punishable with death; but the act was so vaguely worded as to render conviction a matter of the greatest difficulty; moreover, the perpetrator could in any case only be condemned upon the evidence of one or more white persons.

In December, 1826, John Archer, a white man of property, was indicted for the murder of his slave; with difficulty a verdict of manslaughter was recorded against him, and he was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. The last slave insurrection broke out on Easter Sunday in this year, but was suppressed in a few hours.

* The produce of this tax, declared by Lord Brougham, to be "the most injurious to the subject, in proportion to the benefit it produces to the government of any recorded in the history of taxation," was greater than could easily be credited, a sum exceeding £6,000,000 (being three times more than the fee-simple value of the lands) having been thereby raised from the chartered islands. In 1825 a government document showed the salaries, pensions, &c., paid from this fund, to amount to £48,105. The salaries of governors of islands, which did not contribute one iota, amounted to more than £6,000 sterling; and among the pensioners, were the Duchess of Gloucester (£3,000), the Princess of Homberg, the Earl of Chatham (£3,000), Edmund Burke (£2,500), and many others who had not the slightest claim on the West Indies. The aggregate amount of pensions was nearly £30,500 sterling.

In August, 1831, another hurricane occurred, in which 1,591 persons, and property to the value of £1,602,800, was destroyed. A sum of £100,000 was voted by parliament for the relief of the sufferers in Barbados, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia, of which amount the first-named island received one-half.

In 1834, the apprenticeship system commenced; it worked unsatisfactorily to all parties, and was terminated by the vote of the Assembly, whose members, on the 15th of May, 1838, with a single exception, declared themselves in favour of complete emancipation, on the 1st of August, 1838. The bill passed through the House in one day, met with similar despatch in the Council, and received the assent of the Governor on the following morning.

Towards the close of August, 1838, a most welcome concession was made to the people of Barbados, Antigua, St. Christopher, Nevis, Montserrat, and the Virgin Islands, by the total abolition of the 4½ per cent. duties,* by act of parliament. The patriotic William the Fourth had declared, in 1830, his abandonment of all claim upon this fund; but the complete relief of the colonists from this heavy burden was reserved for the auspicious reign of our present queen. Since then, this valuable colony has progressed steadily, both morally and materially, notwithstanding the trial it has experienced in common with the other West Indian islands, by the change in the sugar duties of 1846, and has attained a position, from its commerce and population, quite marvellous, when considered with regard to its very limited area.

Physical Aspect.—On a diminutive scale, there are the various denominations of hill and valley, table-land and low-land, cliffs, gorges, and ravines; the low-lands are of limited extent, and are restricted to the north, south, and south-east parts of the island; Mount Hillaby, the highest elevation, is 1,147 feet above the sea. A narrow strip of land runs from Bridge Town parallel to the west coast, from north to south, and ends in a bold bluff point, from whence the shores assume a rugged cliffy outline. From the west, or leeward coast, the ground rises in successive terraces, interrupted by gullies, to a central ridge. Looking eastward from Mount Hillaby, the aspect is that of a mountainous country in miniature; hills of a conical form radiate from the central ridge towards the sea-shore; their sides worn into channels by the heavy rains, and their colour a dark reddish brown, overspread here and there with a whitish marl. To this district the name of Scotland has been affixed. A deep valley, passing nearly due west, divides the island into two unequal parts; and the rise of the sea fifty or sixty feet above its present level,† would separate Barbados into two islands. The northern section is the larger and more elevated.

The *coast line* affords no harbours; it is almost encircled by coral reefs, which occasionally extend for nearly three miles to seaward, and prove dangerous to navigation. The shore rises boldly to a

† See Sir Andrew Halliday's Geological Map, and interesting account of this island, in his work on the West Indies, published in 1837. Through this vale a rail or tram-way might be advantageously constructed.

height of from thirty to fifty feet on the northern point, and on the south-eastern part of the parish of St. Philip's, but elsewhere long lines of sandy beaches are observable, protected against the encroachments of the sea by coral reefs.

STREAMS AND SPRINGS.—There are several streams, but none deserving the name of rivers. During the rainy season, some of the streamlets become impassable torrents, although, at other periods of the year, their bed is dry. They are more numerous in the Scotland district, where the soil is argillaceous, than in the other and far larger part of the island, where it is calcareous. *Scotland River*, as the largest is termed, receives several of the surface springs from the hills, and being barred at its exit on the sea-coast, its waters expand into a basin, termed the *Long Pond*. Water is obtained from numerous hollows in the rocks and by sinking wells, some of which are 180 to 270 feet deep. The total number of wells is 481, and the number of feet excavated amounts to 41,263. There are several very pure springs, and also some of a chalybeate nature, containing chiefly iron, carbonic acid, and fixed alkali, in different proportions. The "boiling spring," one of the great natural curiosities of Barbados, consists of an inflammable gas (carburetted hydrogen), which issues from a spot about two feet in diameter, near the side of a watercourse in Turners' Hall Wood, in St. Andrew's parish; a small remnant of the primitive forests that covered the island when first visited by Europeans. On the application of flame, the gas burns with a pure whitish light.

DIVISIONS AND TOPOGRAPHY. — The island was divided, in 1629, into six parishes, to which five more were added in 1645. Their names, area, and population, are shown in a subsequent section. That of St. Michael contains *Bridgetown*,* the capital of the island, which was erected into a city in 1842, and lies round Carlisle Bay, is nearly two miles in length, and about half a mile in breadth. The situation, though convenient for landing and shipping produce, is insalubrious, from its contiguity to a large swamp, to drain which endeavours are now being made by means of convict labour. The city, viewed from the bay, has a pleasing appearance; the south-eastern limit comprises Needham's Point and the garrison of St. Anne's, with its fine range of buildings, forming an irregular square, encompassing the finest parade ground in the West Indies, abounding in spacious galleries, and terminating, to seaward, in a castle, whose large batteries extend to the water's edge. The north-western extremity is characterized by the villas of the little suburb of Fontabelle, with Rickett's battery in front; the intermediate space is filled up with houses embowered in foliage, and surmounted by the tufted heads of clustering palm-trees. Hills of moderate height rise in the back ground, and more distant ridges of higher land close the prospect. The commercial part of the town has some handsome and commodious buildings, but the streets are, with one exception (Broad Street) very irregular; and the stores, from the want of shop windows, look heavy and unattractive. A bronze statue of Lord Nelson, erected in 1813, stands in the centre of an open spot, formerly called "The Green," but now dignified with the name of Trafalgar Square.

The chief buildings are, the Queen's house, occupied by the commander of the forces, the central and free schools, the cathedral, and other places of public worship belonging to the Established Church, Wesleyan and Moravian chapels, and a very handsome Jewish synagogue. The public offices are scattered throughout the town, and for the most part contracted and insufficient. There is a commercial hall, a market place, six hotels, besides several private boarding-houses, and an ice establishment, where that useful article is cheaply and abundantly attainable.

Freemasonry has always had a strong hold in Barbados: there are at present three lodges and two arch-chapters. *Carlisle Bay* is merely an open roadstead, which has been materially improved by the erection of an excellent lighthouse, on a rocky cliff, fifty-five feet above the sea level. The tower is itself above eighty-two feet high; and has a revolving light of the first magnitude, visible from a ship's deck nearly eighteen nautical miles. The cost of the work (£6,000 sterling) has been half defrayed by the Imperial Parliament and half by a small extra tonnage duty, already repealed. Pilgrim, the governor's residence, occupies an eminence about half a mile to the east of the town, and is surrounded by extensive grounds. Bishop's Court, the diocesan residence, is placed on another eminence called Gibraltar, and commands one of the finest views of Bridgetown. The suburb of Hastings, which has received its name from the number of establishments for sea-bathing, abuts on the St. Anne's garrison; and about a mile further south, built on a coral cliff, is Worthing, also a favourite watering place.†

There are three other towns in the island: *James*, or *Hole Town*, in the parish of St. James, so called from the bay on which it was built, has now only a few houses, though, according to Oldmixon and

* The town obtained its name from a rude bridge constructed by the aborigines, over the narrowest part of the creek, which receives the surface water from the adjacent heights. It was at first styled the "Indian Bridge," but received its present designation on the substitution of a more solid structure. In 1656, it contained, according to Du Tertre, upwards of one hundred well-furnished taverns, but was unfortunately constructed of wood; ten years afterwards it was rebuilt chiefly with brick and stone. Père Labat, in 1700, described it as being handsome and large, with straight and long clean streets; houses built in the English taste, with many glazed windows, and magnificently furnished,—the town-hall very handsome and well ornamented, the shops and merchants' stores filled with all that could be desired, from every part of the world. There were also numerous goldsmiths, jewellers, and other artisans, who appeared to find abundant and remunerative employment.—(*Nouveaux Voyage aux îles de l'Amerique*, vol. i. pp. 188, 191). Oldmixon confirms this and other particulars of the flourishing condition of the place, and says it contained 1,200 high stone houses, the rents of which were as dear as in Cheapside, London. The church dedicated to St. Michael, was as large as many English cathedrals, and possessed a fine organ, clock, and good peal of bells.—(*History of America*, vol. i. Various other authorities have attested the opulence and splendour of the city; but like Port Royal, Jamaica, it has been repeatedly devastated, probably for a like cause. In 1756, 160 houses were destroyed by fire; in 1758, 120 more houses were burned. One hundred years after the first calamity, viz., 13th May, 1766, a fire broke out, which lasted from half-past eleven A.M. until nine o'clock the next morning. Four hundred and forty houses, including the custom-house, and other public buildings, were destroyed; the damage was estimated at £300,000 sterling. In the following December the greater number of the dwellings which had been spared in May, were consumed by a fresh conflagration. On several subsequent occasions minor fires have caused great loss of property.

† Sir R. H. Schomburgk's *Barbados*, pp. 242 to 251.

Père Labat, it had, in 1700, about 100 houses, and was defended by two batteries. *Speight's*, or *Spike's Town*, has two principal and a few minor streets, comprising about 150 houses, many of which are now falling to decay. The roadstead here is equally exposed as at Carlisle Bay; it was formerly much frequented, a great deal of sugar being exported direct to Europe, but produce is now sent by droghers and small sailing vessels to Bridgetown. Many of the inhabitants earn their livelihood by fishing, and the flying fish, while in season, form their chief food. The third town, named *Oistin*, after an early settler of profligate character, now contains only a few dilapidated houses.

Geology.—The coral insect raised the foundation of this island from the bed of the ocean, but the substratum appears to have received six gradual and successive elevatory movements; hence its step-formed terraces, which are rarely seen among coral islands. The structure exhibits two distinct features; 1st, coralline limestone, with beds of calcareous marl, containing recent shells; and, 2nd, strata of siliceous sandstone, intermixed with ferruginous matter, calcareous sandstones, siliceous limestone, different kinds of clay, selenite, earthy marls, frequently containing minute fragments of pumice, selenite, strata of volcanic ashes, seams of bitumen, and springs of petreoleum (Barbados tar). The coralline rocks occupy six-sevenths of the whole area, rise in terraces, sometimes to the height of above 100 feet, and are occasionally precipitous as a wall. They are traversed to the west, north, and south, by deep fissures. Not unfrequently these rocks appear like compact limestone, with a conchoidal fracture and translucent edges. Scotland district contains various modifications of tertiary rocks, but with an original uniformity. The stratification is sometimes wavy, at others greatly contorted. The earthy marl—indurated argillæ—or, as the colonists call it, *chalk*, occurs in masses, from a few inches in thickness, to a depth of several hundred feet. The summit of Mount Hillaby consists of this substance. Thin seams of bituminous coal and wood have been observed. A hill near Conset's Bay is reported to have been set on fire by a slave, and to have continued burning for five years; and slags found on the slope and foot of the hill, show distinct marks of fire, and confirm the popular tradition.*

The *fossil remains* of the most minute forms of organic life alone, and chiefly analogous to those of the present day, have as yet been discovered.

Soil, is varied; in some places light, sandy, and spongy; in others, a rich black earth, or a red clay of considerable depth. Dr. Davy (the brother of Sir Humphrey Davy), through the medium of the *Barbados Agricultural Reporter*, has forcibly represented the benefit derivable from the application of some of the marls in the Scotland district, to the improvement of such soils as are deficient in carbonate of lime, and asserts the superiority of the chalk and soft calcareous marl of this island, over that procurable in England.

Climate.—Salubrious, with an even dry temperature, though yellow fever occasionally attacks this as it does other West Indian islands. The north-east is the prevailing wind. The range of the barometer, during 1844, was from 28.82 to 30.10; of the thermometer 76.86 to 83.58 Fahrenheit; the fall of rain, 72 inches.

The clearing of forests and brushwood in Barbados has had its invariable effect in diminishing aqueous precipitation; and even within the last fifty years the decrease is very perceptible. The fearful hurricanes by which this island has been visited have been elsewhere adverted to, shocks of earthquake are occasionally felt, and thunder storms are frequent and severe. Waterspouts often occur in this latitude† at some distance from the shore, and have been known to pass over the land, uprooting trees, unroofing buildings, and sucking up the water from the reservoirs on their way.

Population.—Probably no colony, in proportion to its size, ever offered a more striking example of rapid numerical increase than Barbados. Two years after its first settlement in 1625, the nucleus formed by the handful of original settlers, had multiplied into 1,858 men, women, and children, including Indian slaves. The disturbed state of the British isles, induced considerable emigration to the West Indies, and royalists of rank and note took refuge in Barbados, as many republicans were afterwards glad to do in Jamaica. Others were forcibly transported thither by Cromwell, and thus a class of citizens were introduced, who gave to the colony its peculiar tone and character. In 1650, according to Ligon, the inhabitants were able to muster 10,000 foot, and 1,000 horsemen; and Oldmixon, in 1676, stated them at 150,000, of whom 70,000 were of European descent, and 80,000 negroes. These assertions are, however, considered by Schomburgk as gross exaggerations, as Governor Searle, in 1656, returned the total number of troops at only 5,300, which enormous diminution would hardly be accounted for, even by the fearful ravages made by yellow fever throughout the West Indies about this period; and Governor Sir Jonathan Atkins, in 1676, reported the population at only 21,725 whites, and 32,475 negroes.

In 1683 a very complete account of the population was given by Governor Sir Richard Dutton, who stated the whole at 66,170 individuals, viz., families and householders, 4,156; free persons 17,187; unfree persons and servants, 2,381, slaves; men able to bear arms, 6,761. There were then 358 sugar works in operation, and 90,517 acres of land "possessed, and useful.". The freeholders of this period were those who formerly held their lands from the Earl of

* There are some curious caverns along the coast; one of these in the parish of St. Lucy's is much visited by strangers on account of a species of zoophyte (*actinia*), from which it has gained the name of the Animal-flower Cave. In an excavation or basin filled with sea-water, there is an oblong rock clothed with variegated sea-moss, from among which issue small stems or tubes, from whose summit, petals like those of the single marigold suddenly expand; but as soon as a hand approaches to pluck the seeming flower, the petal-like organs retract, and the stem disappears in the crevice whence it issued.

† As an illustration of that difficult subject, the Atlantic currents and their set towards the West Indies, the following fact may be mentioned, which was related to me by Lieutenant-general Wood, the commander-in-chief of the Windward Islands. When the *Kent* Indiaman was on fire in the Bay of Biscay some years since, Captain M'Gregor, of H.M. 31st regiment, threw overboard a bottle, containing a letter for his father, with a label attached to the neck to attract attention. A vessel hove in sight, and took the sufferers off the wreck. Captain M'Gregor returned to England, was promoted to a majority in the 93rd, and proceeded to Barbados. One day while at mess, the bottle which he had thrown overboard in the Bay of Biscay, was brought to him by a negro, who had picked it up on the beach.

Carlisle, under an acknowledgment of forty pounds of cotton, together with other merchants and tradesmen. The freemen had mostly arrived under indentures, or else under sentence of transportation,* and become free by serving out the stipulated time; many of these eventually became landholders. The "unfree" persons, probably, referred to the transports, or indentured labourers; and the Christian servants, as they were called for distinction, were persons from England, Ireland, and Scotland, who, for the sake of a certain bounty and a free passage, sold their services for a term of years, and, as stated in a previous page, were too generally treated with extreme cruelty, to which indeed the great mortality among them is chiefly attributable. So rapid was this decrease, that the number of white men was reduced from 7,235 in 1683, to 2,330 in 1698. This kind of importation was followed to a greater extent in Barbados than in any other colony; at a later period, when the law of the land obliged every estate to maintain a certain proportion of white servants, the proprietors, in many instances, granted small lots to poor men and former servants, from whence arose the appellation of "ten acre men." These formed the majority of the militia. In a free country they might have been valuable colonists; but in a slave-state, a middle class cannot exist; exulting in their European descent, they became idle and dissipated, looked upon field labour as a degradation, and at the utmost planted a few acres of land as a garden or provision-ground. Some who were more prudent and energetic, cultivated ginger, aloes, arrow-root, and such minor articles as did not require any great outlay, and demanded merely manual labour for their production. Others were placed in situations of authority over the unhappy negroes, for which their previous training had grievously unfitted them; since unhappily no man is more likely to become a tyrant than he who has been himself oppressed. The slaves appear to have been chiefly brought from the coast of Guinea, but there were also Indians procured, according to Oldmixon, from the continent, or the neighbouring islands, "by stealth or violence, and always with dishonour."†

The total number of slaves imported is nowhere stated. Between the years 1680 and 1688, the annual supply required for Barbados alone was computed at 4,000, besides those surrepetitiously introduced. From June 1698, to December 1707, 34,583 were imported; and at the latter period Governor Crowe computed that it annually required 3,640, or about seven per cent., to keep up the stock. That is to say, there was then, by the governor's admission, a yearly sacrifice of human life of seven per cent. beyond the natural increase by births. In the following years the importations increased very rapidly, until in 1753, the number of negroes amounted to 69,870.

The relative progress of the whites, free coloured people, and slaves, has been as follows:—

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Slaves.	Total.
1773	18,532	—	68,548	87,080
1786	16,167	833	62,118	79,115
1787	16,127	2,229	64,405	82,761
1805	15,000	2,130	60,000	77,130
1812	13,749	2,613	69,132	85,494
1829	14,959	5,146	82,902	103,007
1834	12,797	6,584	82,850	102,231
1844	—	—		122,198
1851	15,824	120,115		135,939

In the census for 1844, the inhabitants are not classified with respect to descent; but it is certain that the coloured population has been steadily augmenting ever since the final extinction of slavery; and the annexed census of June, 1851, shows a general increase, since 1844, of 13,741 persons, or at a rate of nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum.‡

Parish.	Area in square miles.	Inhabitants.	Mouths to each sq. mile.	Local taxation.
Bridge Town	—	20,026	249	£7,255
St. Michael	15	17,440	249	
Christ Church	$22\frac{3}{10}$	15,775	707	660
St. Philip	$23\frac{1}{2}$	13,898	591	525
St. George	$16\frac{9}{10}$	11,260	666	752
St. John	$13\frac{1}{2}$	8,895	658	830
St. Thomas	$13\frac{3}{10}$	9,810	737	405
St. Peter	13	9,806	754	531
St. Joseph	$9\frac{3}{10}$	7,008	745	354
St. Lucy	$13\frac{6}{10}$	8,420	619	510
St. James	$12\frac{1}{10}$	6,884	568	309
St. Andrew	$13\frac{3}{10}$	6,717	490	730
Total	$166\frac{3}{10}$	135,939	817	12,866

Note.—Males, 62,272; females, 73,677.

DESCENT.—Creole (born in the island), 134,820;

* The island appears to have been viewed very much as a penal establishment, both for political and social offenders. In 1651, 7,000 or 8,000 Scots, taken prisoners at the battle of Worcester, are asserted to have been "sold as slaves to the plantations of the American isles." In 1656, about seventy persons implicated in the Salisbury plot were sold to Barbados for 1,500 lbs. of sugar each, more or less, according to their working faculties. Among them were divines, officers, and gentlemen, who were "bought and sold from one planter to another, or attached like horses or beasts for the debt of their masters, being whipped at the whipping-post as rogues, and sleeping in styes worse than hogs in England."—*Barbados Merchandize; a Petition to Parliament, printed in the eleventh year of England's liberty*, 1659." In 1665, Chalmers relates that four young men were whipped through the streets of Edinburgh by the common hangman, and transported to Barbados for interrupting and abusing a minister when preaching. In 1685, between 800 and 900 persons accused of participation in the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, were transported to the Leeward islands, condemned to ten years' servitude, and treated with great inhumanity.—*Vide* Schomburgk, *Barbados*, pp. 299, 305.

† *British Empire in America*, vol. ii., p. 14. Captain Powell, who carried out the first settlers, in 1625, is said to have proceeded immediately to the Main, and thence procured thirty Indians, men, women, and children, of the Arawaco tribe.—*Southey*, vol. i., p. 254.

‡ At the period of emancipation (1834), the number of slaves was 82,850; of these 47,876 were prædial attached, for whom the compensation awarded amounted to £1,219,065 sterling; prædial non-attached, 4,317; compensation, £106,911: non-prædial, 14,445; compensation, £333,337. The children under six years of age numbered 14,732, compensation, £57,209; the aged, diseased, or otherwise non-effective, 1,780; compensation, £3,456. Of the prædial attached, 27,693 were rated as field labourers, and their value fixed at £806,671; and 15,615 inferior class labourers were valued at £242,585.

European, 589; foreign, 530: of these, there were, white, 15,824; coloured, 50,059; black, 90,056.

Age.	Males.	Females.	Total.
5 years and under .	13,092	13,484	26,576
15 „ and over 5	17,824	18,433	36,257
30 „ „ 15	13,978	18,804	22,782
60 „ „ 30	15,398	19,247	34,645
80 „ „ 60	1,811	3,180	4,991
Over 80 years . . .	169	519	688

It is evident from the above that the climate is propitious to advanced life, and especially as regards females, those above eighty years of age being in the proportion of more than three females to one male.

Occupation. — Public officers and professional men, 691; engaged in commerce, 2,823; tradesmen and mechanics, 7,339; employed in agriculture—under fifteen years of age, 4,541 — over fifteen, 32,112; in domestic service—under fifteen years of age, 1,641 — over fifteen, 13,694; sick or infirm, 3,559; no fixed employment, 73,098. This last division is well explained by a gentleman of intelligence and experience, Mr. Milner, of the Colonial Bank, thus: children not over five years of age, 26,576; half of those from five to fifteen (36,257), 18,128; two-thirds of persons above sixty (5,679), 3,786; half of sick and infirm (3,559), 1,779: total, 50,269; leaving 22,829, as above classified. This still large number, however, is mainly owing to defective classification, and the circumstance that many have no "fixed" employment. On the whole population, the proportion of males is 45.81 to 54.19 per cent. of females.

The condition of the mass of the coloured population is creditable to their industry; but that of a large number of the white inhabitants is very distressing. They are the principal burthen on the parochial taxation of the island, and receive largely out-door relief. The acting governor, in the annual report for 1851, thus describes their state:—

"It is painful to witness the indigence and indolence of these wretched people, whose position is the result of a system which to uphold it was considered to require the support of a law for compelling the maintenance on every estate of a certain number of white men. Accustomed in times of slavery to an enervating inactive existence, broken only by an occasional militia parade, it is no wonder that they were ill-prepared for the consequences of the great social change of 1833, which rendered their dronish presence on estates no longer necessary, and drove them to seek for a livelihood by some personal exertion beyond the periodical shouldering of a musket. The majority of them, however, have been unable to conquer the habits of their early life. Most of them reside on the windward coast of the island. A few contrive to gain a livelihood by fishing, and by the cultivation of small provision grounds; and there are some who, still more industrious, raise and prepare for market a considerable quantity of arrowroot and cotton. But the greater number lead an abandoned existence, many with large families, who are being brought up amid idleness and vice of the very worst description, and whose occupation, if they have any at all, is confined to the breeding of pigs and poultry. I am assured that not only are they insensible to, but that they positively resist, the efforts that are made to reclaim them."

The consumption of ardent spirits is very large: in 1851 "it was computed," says the acting governor, "that 6,500 puncheons of rum were distilled and consumed in the island," which would give 5¼ gallons (old wine measure for each head of the population, or 9¾ gallons to each person above fifteen years of age: the governor adds—"and yet drunkenness is far from being a prevailing vice."

Government— A council, acting in a legislative and an executive capacity, nominated by the governor as representative of the Crown; and a house of assembly, consisting of twenty-four members, elected by freeholders of all colours and creeds. The governor of Barbados is governor-in-chief of the *Windward Isles* of the Caribbean group; namely, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, and Tobago.

Militia.—Formerly this domestic force was very imposing: Barbados had its "life-guards," artillery, and other corps. With the abolition of slavery the necessity for this organization ceased. The pertinent remarks of Acting-governor Hamilton, made in April, 1852, are equally applicable to the present state of the militia in other British West India islands.

"The absence of the old prevailing fear of revolt, the great change which has taken place within the last twenty years in the habits and tastes of the middle classes, and which induces them to revert with little pleasure to the festivities that were then a chief attraction of militia musters; the unreasonable number on the personal staff of the governor, who is still supposed to have twelve or fourteen aides-de-camp, and the extent to which general staff appointments were carried, it would seem, only to purchase exemptions from other liabilities; the increasing disregard of the duty of enrolment, prescribed by the existing law; the exemption from militia drill, now periodically sanctioned by the governor; and, above all, the very serious cost of re-establishing a militia force, be it on however moderate a scale—are all reasons which have led the people to view the remains of their militia system with indifference or contempt; and, added to the undisturbed notions of security engendered by a long peace, have lulled the chivalrous spirit for which they were so distinguished during the war, and which had so often the effect of diverting the battle-ground from Europe to these seas."

The Barbados militia now consists of five regiments, represented by only 233 rank and file.

Religion.—There is a very liberal provision for the Established Church, which is under the supervision of a diocesan. By letters patent, dated July, 1824, Barbados, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Tobago, Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, Antigua, Montserrat, St. Christopher, Nevis, and the Virgin Islands, were formed into a diocese, under the denomination of the "Bishopric of Barbados and the Leeward Islands;" and the sum of £4,200 per annum was placed at the disposal of the bishop for the appointment of ministers, catechists, and schoolmasters. The state of the ecclesiastical establishment, for several years, is thus shown:—

Year.	Number of clergy.	Churches and chapels.	Number of sittings.
1825	15	14	5,030
1834	29	23	7,750
1841	31	35	22,502
1851	34	42	24,967

Since 1851, considerable additions have been made to the several churches and chapels, and new buildings are in course of erection. Eleven rectors have each a stipend of £320 per annum, also a glebe and parsonage, with compensation in lieu of marriage and burial fees, amounting to, for the eleven, £743. There are eighteen curates, at £150 each, and two legislative chaplains. The bishop receives from the

British treasury £2,500 per annum. The governor, in his annual report for 1851, says—"there is probably less dissent in Barbados than in any other British colony; the Wesleyans and Moravians are the only missionaries in the island; and both ministries deserve the highest praise for their energetic pursuit of their calling, and their prudent abstinence from all interference in public matters." There is a small Roman Catholic chapel. None but the Episcopalians receive any pecuniary support from the local revenues.

EDUCATION.—About 5,000 children, exclusive of 1,500 Sunday scholars, are taught in the Established Church schools, in several of which the children are both clothed and fed. There are a few endowed free schools and eighteen "Dame" schools. *Codrington College* was founded by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, by means of the munificent bequest of Colonel Codrington, in 1810, of two Barbadian plantations, yielding a clear annual income of £2,000 per annum. It is situated in St. John's parish,* on a table-land about 200 feet above the sea-level, is surrounded by hills on every side, refreshed by the breezes of the Atlantic, and abundantly watered by a clear stream flowing from a spring, which issues from the foot of a neighbouring cliff. The edifice is plain and massive. The students pay a very moderate annual sum for their board and education; and if intended for the church, are examined and ordained by the bishop. At the central school, children are educated precisely upon the plan of the national schools in England; all are fed during the day; and the majority clothed likewise. An educational committee for the whole island is formed from the members of the assembly, by which body a sum of £3,000 was, in 1850, placed at the disposal of the committee. There is a government inspector of schools.

PRESS.—Printing was introduced into the island about 1730. The first newspaper, entitled *The Barbados Gazette*, was issued in 1731; it came out twice a week, and was the earliest regularly published in the Caribbee Islands. There are now five bi-weekly papers.

CRIME.—The philanthropic exertions of the present governor, Sir William Colebrooke, have been judiciously directed to the introduction of an improved system of penal discipline. The total number of commitments during 1851 was 2,174, of whom 123 were whites, and 1,439 coloured. Three police magistrates sit in Bridge Town, and eleven are located in the rural districts. There is an efficient police system, with an inspector-general, at a salary of £750.

FINANCE.—In 1821, the revenue was £13,127; in 1830, £16,349 sterling; in 1833, £20,915; in 1838 (after the abolition of slavery, and at the termination of the apprenticeship), £33,972; in 1851, £55,724; of this, the import duties yielded £29,652; surplus tonnage and Crown duties, £4,404; licences, £3,815; under a militia impost (viz. 8s. on each acre of land, and 2*d.* on each pound of the annual rent of houses), £2,885. The acting-governor, in reporting on the subject for the last year, says—"the colonial treasury is in a most flourishing condition: the revenue has exceeded the expenditure by about £5,000; and at the end of the year there was a balance in the public chest of nearly £17,000 sterling: this prosperous state of things, be it observed, arises from no increase of taxes; on the contrary, the export duties were abolished." The civil establishment, to the amount of £8,350 (including £4,000 a-year to the governor) is paid by England; as are also the sums of £3,500 of the ecclesiastical, and £1,350 of the judicial expenses. From the colonial revenue is defrayed: police, £15,646; gaols and prisons, £2,176; lunatic asylum, £1,526; Established Church, £25,925; the chief justice, £2,000; attorney-general, £500; police magistrates and clerks, £3,237; colonial secretary and clerks, £1,160; education of the people, £1,260; central schools, £512. During 1851, £1,000 was voted in aid of the Jamaica sufferers by cholera. The military expenditure defrayed from the British commissariat chest in 1851, was £105,942.

MONETARY SYSTEM—a branch of the *London Colonial Bank:* the notes in circulation are equal in value to about 150,000 dollars. The coin in the island is estimated at £31,000. There are no savings banks. The legal denomination of account is that of England; but mercantile dealings are generally transacted in dollars (at 50*d.* each) and cents. Weights and measures used are English.

COMMERCE.—Since the abolition of slavery both the trade and productions of the island have largely increased; thus,—

Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Tonnage inwards.
1832	£481,610	£408,363	79,005
1851	787,977	887,627	96,381
Increase	305,367	479,264	17,276

The Barbados, like the Jamaica Blue Books, afford no consecutive or satisfactory returns, prior to 1834, at which time a large proportion of imported goods was re-exported. In 1832 the values are given in currency (in which £135 were equal to £100 sterling. The trade of the present period is therefore more largely augmented than would at first sight appear.

About half a million of the imports for 1851, consisted of British goods: the chief part of the remainder was brought from the United States, and comprised fish, to the value of £34,612; flour, £32,092; meal, £27,606; meat, £10,015; wine, £7,582; wood and lumber, £33,352; manure, £13,109.

The number of hogsheads of sugar (irrespective of tierces or barrels) shipped at different periods since 1815, has been:—

Year.	Hogsheads.	Year	Hogsheads.	Year.	Hogsheads.
1815	11,600	1830	25,111	1845	24,777
1820	12,013	1835	24,189	1850	35,302
1825	22,553	1840	13,319	1851	38,730

"In 1851 [says the acting-governor], more sugar was made and shipped from this island than in any other year since it has been peopled; this year (1852), if no unforeseen event occurs, the crop will be still larger, close on 45,000 hogsheads; and it is a remarkable fact that there will be more labourers' sugar made this year than formerly; so far, therefore, the success of cultivation by free labour in Barbados is unquestionable. The balance of trade is in

* In a neighbouring plantation is a large pond which still bears the name of Yarico, and recals to mind the heroine of one of the most pathetic pieces in the *Spectator*, founded on the real woes of a victim of European treachery, who, in the words of Ligon, "for her love lost her liberty."—Ligon's *History of Barbados*, p. 35.

favour of the island, and still affords something of a margin for interest to mortgagees, and income to absent proprietors."—*Blue Book for* 1851.

Among the exports in 1851 are—sugar, in value £654,351; molasses, £54,730; rum, £106; cocoa, £1,727; aloes, £1,640; cotton, £1,436; coffee, £419; arrow-root, £606. Cotton was at one period largely exported; in 1805, to the amount of 9,395 bales; but in 1832, this item had disappeared; the culture is however being revived.

Landed property is now of higher value in this colony than it has been known to have attained at any former period. It is estimated that there are about 100,000 acres in cultivation, of which 25,000 are annually planted with sugar canes; the remainder is occupied by provision-grounds, or in grass for cattle. The planters (as stated in official communications) decline giving statistical details on this subject. There are nearly 500 sugar works with mills, and a large sugar-refining manufactory at Bridge Town.

Prices in 1851:—Wheat, £1 : 7*s.* per bushel; wheaten bread, 3½*d.* per lb.; horned cattle, £10; horses, £27; sheep, £1 : 5*s.*; swine, £1 : 10*s.*; goats, 16*s.* 8*d.* each; milk, 3*d.* per quart; butter, 1*s.* per lb.; cheese, 1*s.* 6*d.*; beef, 7½*d.*; mutton, 10*d.*; pork, 5*d.* *Wages*—Domestic, males, £1 : 5*s.* per month; females, 16*s.* 8*d.*; agricultural, 10*d.* per day; trades, 1*s.* 8*d.*

Summary.—The foregoing details attest the satisfactory condition of one of the earliest and (notwithstanding its very limited extent) most valuable of our West Indian possessions. It has always been a "popular" colony, and has well deserved to be so, since loyalty to the crown, patriotism for Old England, and sympathy with their fellow-subjects, have ever been marked characteristics of every "true Barbadian born."

CHAPTER VI.—ST. LUCIA.

This island is situated about seventy miles to the north-north-west of Barbados, in 13° 50′ N. lat.; 60° 58′ W. long. Its extent and area have been very differently stated. Lieutenant-governor Torrens, in January, 1846, declared that, according "to a topographical map, prepared by the surveyor-general from a recent and actual survey undertaken under his direction," St. Lucia was "40 miles in length, 20 at her greatest breadth, and 150 miles in circumference."* Lieutenant-governor Darling, in April, 1850, says—"from a map recently constructed from actual measurement, it would appear that the greatest length is 27 miles, its greatest breadth 13⅓, and its area 178¾ square miles = 114,400 acres."† Again, in a return transmitted in the following year, by the same authority, the area is given at "259 square miles" = 165,760 acres.‡ Mr. Breen, in his useful work on St. Lucia, states the superficies at 158,620 acres. These contradictory statements seem quite inexplicable.

History.—The date of the discovery of this island is quite unknown; there is a tradition that some French navigators gave it the name of *Sante Alousia*, from having seen it on the anniversary of the death of a virgin martyr of that name. In 1635, the king of France made M.M. Lotine and Duplessis a grant of all the unoccupied lands in America, i.e. all the territory not yet usurped by white men; but these persons settled at Martinique, and the Caribs remained in undisputed possession of their native island until the arrival of some English settlers in 1639, who established themselves, and remained peaceably for eighteen months, until an English ship, becalmed off Dominica, attempted to kidnap a party of Caribs who had come on board with fruit, and succeeded in retaining four, who were subsequently sold as slaves. The rest jumped overboard, swam to shore, and having informed their countrymen at Martinique and St. Vincent of the treachery which they had experienced, a combined attack was made upon St. Lucia, the settlement devastated, and the majority of the colonists massacred, a few only succeeding in making their escape to Montserrat. In 1650, about forty French adventurers, under the command of one Rousselan or Chousselan, a man of great personal bravery, who married a Carib woman, and obtained extraordinary influence over that people, succeeded in establishing themselves in St. Lucia; but he died in 1655, and the colonists were kept in constant alarm by the incursions of the neighbouring islanders, by whom three governors were killed in as many years.

In 1664, an armament, under Lord Willoughby, (*vide History of Barbados*) attacked the place, defeated the French troops, and obtained from the natives, who were collected together to the amount of about 600, the actual surrender of the island,§ which, however, from a variety of causes, was voluntarily evacuated by the English in 1667. On their departure, the French settlers, who had taken refuge in the mountains, returned to their former abodes; but the rival claims of England, and the dread of renewed hostilities, damped their energies, and prevented them from making any sensible progress in cultivation.

At the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, St. Lucia appears to have been viewed as a neutral island in the possession of its rightful proprietors, the Caribs; but in 1718, a number of deserters, sailors as well as soldiers, having taken refuge there, Marshal D'Estrées was induced to apply to the Regent of France for a grant of the island, which being conceded, he proceeded to send out troops, stores, and settlers; in 1722, George the First of England made a similar disposal of a country, not his to give, by bestowing it upon the Duke of Montague, who expended £40,000 in fitting out an expedition for its colonization.

The rival commanders met in January, 1723, and wisely avoided the effusion of blood by agreeing that their respective forces should evacuate the island, which should remain neutral and open to both nations until the home governments should decide to which, if either, it should eventually belong.

In 1744, when war broke out between England and France, the latter power again attempted to gain possession of St. Lucia; but by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, the neutrality of this island, and also of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, were formally recognised, and the remnant of the unhappy

* Report accompanying *Blue Book for* 1845, pp. 84-86.
† *Idem*, 1849, p. 35. ‡ *Idem*, 1850, p. 98.
§ Coke's *West Indies*, vol. ii., p. 293.

Caribs left for a brief period in quiet occupation of their own lands.

On the renewal of hostilities in 1756, St. Lucia was fortified by France, but surrendered to a detachment of Admiral Rodney's squadron in 1762. In the following year, by the terms of the treaty of Paris, the claims of the native proprietors were finally set aside, St. Lucia was made over to France, and the other three islands above named assigned to England.

The permission of French dominion in St. Lucia was deemed by many experienced authorities very unwise; Admiral Rodney especially dwelt on the security, defensibility, and commodiousness of its fine harbours. France seemed fully aware of its value, and formed an expensive establishment there; immigrants flocked in from various quarters; the few remaining Caribs retired to an unappropriated tract in St. Vincent's; slaves were largely introduced; cultivation rapidly extended; and in 1772, the total population amounted to 15,476 souls.

In 1778, European strife again found a battle-field in the West Indian islands; and a small English fleet, under Admiral Barrington, succeeded in entering the Bay of Grand Cul-de-Sac, and gaining possession of the adjacent heights and batteries. The last French flag in sight had hardly been struck, before the Count d'Estaing, with his own squadron of twelve heavy line-of-battle ships, and a numerous fleet of frigates, privateers, and transports, with 9,000 troops on board, was seen approaching the shore. D'Estaing having been gallantly repulsed from the Cul-de-Sac and Carénage harbours, anchored in Grosilet Bay, and disembarked the troops, about 5,000 of whom advanced in three columns to storm the lines thrown up to cover the position of the Vigie, an outpost commanding the Carénage. The assailants dashed forward with impetuous bravery; the British awaited them without firing a shot, until they reached the foot of the entrenchments; then poured one deadly volley, and received them at the point of the bayonet. The struggle was fierce and terrible, but short; twice repulsed with heavy loss, the French charged a third time, but not with their original ardour, and were repulsed and scattered in complete and irretrievable disorder, leaving their dead and wounded in the hands of the victors. General Meadows, the British commander, suffered Count D'Estaing to bury the slain, and carry away the wounded, on condition that the latter should be considered prisoners of war. Of the French, 400 were killed, 500 desperately and 600 slightly wounded—a number considerably superior to the conquering force, whose total loss was proportionately small, having 10 killed and 130 wounded. This blow seems to have paralyzed the energies of M. D'Estaing, who, though still far superior both in naval and military resources, did not attempt another engagement; but after lingering ten days on the island, embarked the troops and took his departure; whereupon the inhabitants, under the Chevalier de Micoud, sued for peace, and were generously allowed to capitulate on very favourable terms. After this, St. Lucia became the rendezvous of the British squadron; the French anxiously desired to regain it, and during the temporary absence of Admiral Rodney, while endeavouring to form a junction with Sir Samuel Hood, the Comte de Grasse invested St. Lucia, and succeeded in disembarking, but was compelled to make a hurried retreat.*

In 1783 a general peace was signed, by one of the articles of which St. Lucia was ceded to France, though not until after much negotiation.

Grenada, which had been captured from England, was restored to that power, and its French governor, the Baron de Laborie, transferred to St. Lucia, where he arrested the incursions of the Maroon negroes, encouraged agriculture and commerce, and formed an excellent road, which still bears his name.

The revolution of 1792 produced fearful scenes in the French Antilles; slavery under any circumstances is a precarious and dangerous system, but once let the firebrand of sedition and red republicanism be applied to it, and the result is almost as certain as the effect of a lighted torch on a mass of gunpowder. The slaves hearing their masters discuss the grievances inflicted by their rulers, and the rights of man, were in turn led to think how constantly and cruelly their own had been crushed under foot; the work of the estates was discontinued, the plantations abandoned, and a struggle ensued in which one-half of the inhabitants were destroyed.† This internal strife paved the way for the easy triumph of an external foe. Admiral Sir John Jervis (afterwards Earl St. Vincent) attacked the island, and on the 4th of April, 1794, H.R.H. Edward Duke of Kent, after a fatiguing march of fourteen hours from the landing-place, hoisted the British colours on its chief fortress, *Morne Fortuné*. The island, though reduced, was far from tranquil; the insurgent slaves had retired into the woods, where they were joined by a number of French soldiers, and being instigated by a few democrats, they carried on a harassing warfare against the British garrison, which, originally inadequate to the maintenance of its difficult position, was reduced nearly one-half by sickness and fatigue. Such was the condition of affairs, when "citoyen Victor Hugues," associate and protégé of Robespierre, arrived in the West Indies; the disaffected of every class and colour hastened to swell the ranks of the republicans, who, early in 1795, were strengthened by supplies and reinforcements from France; and in June, the British, after repeated contests, bravely waged against a daily increasing force, were compelled to abandon the island so hastily that some of the women and children were left behind, who were chivalrously sent over by the conquerors to Martinique, under the protection of a flag of truce.‡ In 1796, a fleet and land-force, under Admiral Christian and General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, besieged Morne Fortuné, and captured it after a fatiguing and disastrous siege. General Moore (the well known hero of Corunna) was left as governor to maintain, as he best could, a continued bush-fighting with the republicans and negroes who held possession of the interior fastnesses. Towards the end of 1797 the whole of the *armée Française dans les bois* surrendered at discretion, the negroes stipulating only that they should not be again reduced to slavery. They were accordingly formed into a regiment, and despatched to the coast of Africa. By the peace of Amiens in 1802, St. Lucia was for the last time given back to France; eighteen months after the war was renewed, and the island once more captured, after much bloodshed, by a British force under Commodore (afterwards Lord) Hood and General Grinfield. Thus ended this long contest for dominion, during which vast sacrifices of blood and treasure were made by

* Southey, vol. ii., p. 437.

† Parl. Papers, published July, 1846, p. 85.

‡ Continuation of Bryan Edwards' *West Indies*, p. 85.

both nations; France especially placed a high value on its possession, alike in a commercial and military point of view, and intended "to have made it the capital of the Antilles, the general market of the Windward Islands, and the Gibraltar of the Gulf of Mexico."*

PHYSICAL FEATURES.—St. Lucia, even amid the beautiful Caribbean group, is remarkable for wild and romantic scenery. A chain of mountains runs north and south through the island, dividing it into eastern or windward, and western or leeward districts; the mountains rise in the most fantastic shapes, and are densely clothed with forest trees; their highest elevations are distinguished by the names of *Sorcière* (2,136 feet high), *Paix Bouche*, and *Barabera*. From either side of this ridge, spurs of lesser altitude strike out towards the sea, forming plains, valleys, and ravines of varying size. The *Pitons*, or *Sugar-loaves*, two singular, and, from their perpendicular formation, probably inaccessible, pyramids of solid rock, respectively estimated at 2,710 and 2,680 feet above the level of the sea, mark the south side of the entrance to the beautiful bay of Soufrière. They are evidently of volcanic origin, appear wholly unconnected with the other mountains, are "feathered from the clouds to the waves with evergreen foliage,"† and, excepting on their sea-front, are bordered with verdure and cane-fields in the highest state of cultivation. The *Piton des Canaries*, an isolated eminence, about 2,585 feet in height,‡ rises further inland, and is encompassed with dense forests and ravines. The *Soufrière*, or sulphureous mountain, about two miles to the east of the *Pitons*, is a volcano in active and uninterrupted operation. The crater occupies a space of three acres, and is crusted over with sulphur, alum, cinders, and other volcanic substances; in the midst of which are several cauldrons, more or less numerous, according to the intensity of the subterranean heat; in some of the larger, the water is quite black, and boils up to the height of two or three feet, constantly emitting dense and almost suffocating vapours. The water is celebrated for its medicinal properties;§ it is supposed to flow through an underground channel from the *Etangs* or lakes, about half a mile distant, whose contents are observed to be visibly decreasing.

PLAINS AND VALLEYS.—There are two beautiful plains, one situated in the northern, the other in the southern extremity of the island, each comprising a swamp of some extent, overgrown with aquatic plants. The principal valleys are those of *Mabouya*, on the windward, and *Roseau* on the leeward side, both of which are equally remarkable, says Mr. Breen, "for their extent, fertility, and insalubrity."‖

RIVERS (so called) in abundance descend from the mountains,¶ sometimes meandering gently through the lowlands, but, after heavy rains, rushing impetuously down the steep slopes, forcing their way through gullies and rocks, and sweeping before them every species of vegetable production. The principal are named *Castries*, *Grand-cul-de-Sac*, *Dorée*, *Roseau*, &c.; none of them are navigable (though some might be easily rendered available for small craft), and their mouths are all dammed up by mounds of sand and gravel, forming basins of stagnant water, called lagoons.

COAST-LINE.—The north-western extremity is styled *the Cape*; the south-eastern, formed by a small mountainous promontory, is called *Pointe Moule-à-Chique*. The shores are indented with innumerable inlets, of different forms and sizes, several of which afford anchorage for ships of every description. Those on the windward are somewhat dangerous and difficult of access, owing to numerous shoals, and the boisterous breezes from the Atlantic; the most remarkable are named *Marquis*, *Grand Anse*, *Louvet*, *Dennery*, *Praslin*, *Micoud*, *Troumassé*, *Volet*, *Canelle*, and *Savannes*; the chief bays to leeward, are those of *Gros-îlet*, *Choc*, *Castries*, *Grand-cul-de-Sac Marigot*, (whose double basin is formed like two rings of a chain), *Roseau*, *Anse Laraye*, *Soufrière*, and *Vieux Fort*. The chief shipping station is the noble *Port de Castries*, described by Admiral Rodney under the name of the *Carénage of St. Lucia*, as one of the most accessible, commodious, and easily defended harbours in the Antilles. From the constant direction of the trade wind, only one vessel can enter at a time, whilst the largest fleet may safely ride at anchor within the spacious basin, and stand out to sea at an hour's notice. The entrance between the fortified headlands of the *Tapion* and *Vigie* is about one-third of a mile wide, and it stretches a mile and-a-half inland. There is an excellent quay, and a sufficient depth of water to allow ships of any burden to lie alongside the wharf.

DIVISIONS AND TOPOGRAPHY.—The island is divided** into eleven *quartiers* or parishes, each of which contains a town or village situated at the extremity of its principal bay, the same appellation being given to all three. The villages are described as being inhabited chiefly by fishermen, and by the poor and infirm, and remarkable for nothing save their lonely little churches and deserted streets.

Castries, the principal town and the seat of government, is situated at the head of the bay whose name it bears, on a plain in some places below the level of the sea, consisting chiefly of alluvial formations, and what is termed "made land."†† It is built in the form of a quadrangle, and has wide and well laid out streets, most of which are paved, and some provided with foot-paths, but all unhappily badly kept. The river Castries traverses the south side of the town, and empties itself into the bay. The upper part, or *Chaussée* division, is chiefly occu-

* *Vide* Report of Governor Noguès to First Consul Buonaparte, quoted in Breen's interesting volume on St. Lucia, published by Longman in 1844. Introduction, p. vii.

† Coleridge's *Six Months in the West Indies*, p. 112.

‡ The heights of the mountains are given on the authority of a map executed by order of Governor Reid, in 1847.

§ Louis XVI., under Governor de Laborie, granted a sum of money for the construction of baths for the troops, which were established in 1785, but gradually fell into disuse. In 1836 an attempt was made to restore them to the public, but defeated by the proprietor who had become possessed of the property.—Breen's *St. Lucia*, p. 9.

‖ Breen's *St. Lucia*, p. 6.

¶ In the French Antilles, low ridges are called *mornes*, a name which they still retain in St. Lucia.

** It is also divided into five districts under the jurisdiction of as many special magistrates.

†† In former days a practice was adopted by the local executive of granting certain portions of the *land under water*, on condition that the lots should be filled up and enclosed. Stimulated by this judicious incentive, the colonists have wrested from the sea a considerable portion of the space now forming the western extremity of the town; but those who obtained concessions in the northern division have been less zealous, and swamps still exist there, covered with mangrove bushes, and occasionally inundated, which engender a pestilential miasm.

pied by the humbler orders, and the houses are built of wood, and covered with shingles. The lower, or *Bord-de-mer* division, is inhabited by the wealthier classes, whose houses, constructed of stone, brick, or wood, mark the taste of their owners, or the prevailing anxiety to guard against the ravages of fire, hurricane, or earthquake.

Among the public structures may be noticed the *Place d'Armes*, or square, planted with ornamental trees; a substantial stone-built Catholic church in the *Place d'Armes;* an English church erected in the centre of a swamp, in the north-east corner of the town, "as if for the express purpose of checking the growth of Protestantism in St. Lucia;" an asylum for the destitute poor, and a large well-constructed, stone gaol.

The *Government House*, commonly called the *Pavilion*, is a spacious and commodious wooden structure, fitted up with considerable elegance, and situated at the western extremity of Morne Fortuné, on a terrace almost at the edge of a cliff. The prospect from it is very striking; below lies the wide-spreading town, heading the long and deep bay, the quay skirted with vessels of every size, and the broken peninsula of the Vigie; Pigeon Island is seen in the distance, and straight across the channel, as far as the eye can reach, rise the gray cliffs and woody mountains of Martinique; inland also the view is bounded by heights and forests.

The ridge of Morne Fortuné, which is about 800 feet in elevation, is studded with military buildings of every description; the men's barracks, a cluster of brick buildings of one story, are situated within Fort Charlotte. The officers', or "iron barracks," finished in 1833, are two stories high, and built of stone held together by iron bars, with an iron gallery to each story, and an exterior iron staircase from the ground to the roof. They are considered hurricane-proof; but earthquakes are also of common occurrence, and they did not escape damage in that of 1839.

Pigeon Island lies 700 yards off the north-western extremity of the island, at a distance of seven miles from the Tapion, and is about three-quarters of a mile long. It is considered very salubrious, and is used as a military station. Telegraphic communication is kept up between Fort Rodney (which is situated on the southern eminence, and commands the opposite bay and town of Gros-îlet, on the opposite shore); and no vessel can pass the channel between St. Lucia and Martinique without being distinctly descried from thence. In the distance stands the Diamond Rock,* celebrated in the naval history of these seas.

The town of *Soufrière*, second in importance to Castries, though little more than a village, is built on the slope of a hill; its pretty villas and negro cottages stand in the midst of fruit and flower-gardens, overtopped by cocoa-nut and palm trees; and on the other side of the bay, the *Pitons Tower*, in lonely and imposing grandeur. There is a pretty church here, whose steeple of cut stone, erected at the expense of the labourers of the district, was thrown down by the earthquake of January, 1829. Between Castries and Soufrière constant intercourse is held by means of pirogues, or five-oared boats, which are much used on the leeward side of the island, but the more dangerous windward coast is only communicated with by means of droghers.

Geology and Mineralogy.—The structure of the island is volcanic. Sulphur is obtainable in abundance, and is now being exported. "Tufa, magnesia, lime, alum, quartz, are found in certain localities.† Copper and iron ores have been observed; and gold is alleged (March, 1853) to have been discovered on the windward coast.

Soil.—In the valleys and alluvial plains, a deep vegetable mould, mixed with clay, prevails; and a red earth in the more elevated positions. The substratum is a mixture of sand and gravel. On the ordinary soils of St. Lucia the productive duration of the cane, by rattooning only, averages six years, and in some localities is said to have been propagated, by this process only, for thirty years.

Climate.—The vicissitudes of the year are distinguished under two heads—the dry season—called *Carême* by the French, which includes the months of February, March, and April; and *Hivernage*, which embraces the hurricane months of July, August, September, and October; and is ushered in by the humidity and heat of May and June, as the Carême is by the light day breezes, and dry invigorating air of November, December, and January. Drought and rain are, however, not confined to any period; exposure to a vertical sun, and a mountainous formation, combined with extensive forests,‡ naturally produce heavy and frequent rains, which in turn encourage baneful swamps and dense vegetation. Throughout the year, according to Mr. Breen, who wrote in 1844, the thermometer ranges between 75° and 90° in the shade; but according to the register kept by staff-surgeon Connell, in 1851 (in what locality is not stated), it ranged only between 71° and 83°; and the annual quantity of rain amounted to eighty-four inches.

Disease.—St. Lucia has long had an unenviable reputation for insalubrity, especially the town of

* This memorable crag of grey limestone, "shaped like a nine-pin, with the point a little broken at the summit," was fortified by Sir Samuel Hood, in 1803, and put upon the establishment of a sloop of war, with almost a frigate's complement of seamen and marines, being allowed as many as 150 men and boys, supplied with ammunition, stores, and provisions from Antigua or Barbados for six months. A thirty-two pounder was hoisted from the top-sail yard-arm of a man-of-war, about half-way up the rock, and at least 360 feet above the water-line, and the summit and other parts being defended with cannon, this natural fortress proved of great service to the squadron. A few bullocks and sheep were kept there, and a cave on the east side formed a good and airy hospital. This non-descriptive man-of-war did good service for two years and-a-half; the height of its guns enabled it to command the passage between it and Martinique so effectually, as almost to exclude vessels from entering Fort Royal. The French in vain attempted to storm this formidable station; the whole fleet fired at it as they might have done at the rock of Gibraltar; at length they turned the siege into a blockade, and Captain Maurice and his brave band, after a gallant defence, rendered difficult by a great want of ammunition and water, after nineteen nights under arms, "three days and two nights in constant battle, and suffering meanwhile from agonizing thirst, capitulated on very honourable terms, losing three killed and wounded, while the enemy lost fifty."—*Vide* Captain Maurice's *Letter to Lord Nelson*, and other details given by Southey, vol. iii., pp. 328, 332.

† Dr. Levacher's *Guide Medicale des Antilles.*

‡ St. Lucia has several dangerous serpents, the bite of one genus peculiar to this island and Martinique, from six to eight feet long, called the yellow serpent, or *fer de lance* (trigonocephalus), is generally fatal. In 1849, nineteen persons were killed in one parish by the venom of this reptile.

Castries,* and some of the most fertile valleys, the characteristic maladies being fevers, and complaints of the stomach and bowels.† Of late years, the swamps have been partially filled, and the valleys somewhat better drained; the trade winds have been more regular, the temperature lower, and the people have enjoyed better health. The neighbourhood of the Soufrière has always proved favourable in this respect; the sulphureous vapours appearing to purify instead of taint the atmosphere; and both in the town and neighbouring estates the inhabitants attain considerable longevity, especially the females. The reports from the military stations are also improving. At Morne Fortuné and Pigeon Island, in 1845-'46, out of an average strength of 277, the daily average number in hospital was 15½, and the deaths during the year from sickness 10. In 1851, out of 205 cases in hospital (white soldiers), only five terminated fatally, and four of these were attributable to excesses. The use of what is called "white rum," fresh from the still, is most injurious to the troops and settlers; generally unpalatable at first, the relish and craving for it is soon acquired, and the baneful canteen system here, as in the other West Indian isles, facilitates instead of discouraging drunkenness. Mr. Breen, from the experience acquired during a residence of thirteen years, attests the fatal effects of intemperance in a remarkable manner, by stating, that out of 142 European adult males (62 British, and 80 French) in the island in July, 1831, 68 (37 British, and 31 French) persons, generally addicted to the use of ardent spirits, were prematurely cut off, very few attaining the age of thirty-five; while the remaining 74, persons of temperate habits, were living, and in good health, in July, 1842.

POPULATION.—The relative proportion of the population has been as follows:—

Year.	Whites.	Coloured.	Blacks.[1]	Total.
1772	2,018	663	12,795	15,476
1777	2,397	1,050	10,752	14,199
1789	2,198	1,588	17,992	21,778
1810	1,210	1,878	14,397	17,485
1825	1,194	3,871	13,530	18,595
1834	2,310	2,657	13,248	18,215
1843	1,039	5,287	14,368	20,694
1851	984	5,689	17,512	24,185

Note.—According to the census of 1851, of the Europeans 468 were males and 521 females; of the coloured, 2,518 males and 3,171 females; and of the blacks, 8,731 males and 8,781 females. [1] Slaves up to 1834.

It will be observed that the number of females is in excess of the males, which indicates an increasing population. The number under fifteen years of age is 8,469, of whom 4,051 are males, and 4,418 females; number of families, 5,706; of married, 3,208; number of persons speaking English, 1,315; of those who can read, 2,636; and write, 1,879.

Castries, the chief town, is a corporate city; it contains 3,102 inhabitants, of whom 355 are Europeans, and 1,349 of mixed race.

Soufrière has 1,588; Vieux Fort, 617; Laborie, 224; Gros-îlet, 560; Anse Laraye, 247; Choiseul, 89; Micoud, 196; Dennery, 255. The population of St. Lucia comprised under the three heads, white, coloured, and black, presents many minor diversities. The first denomination includes creoles born in this or the neighbouring islands, several of whom are the descendants of old and distinguished French families; and Europeans, from Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Savoy. The few British settlers are nearly all Scotch.

The coloured class is rapidly progressing in numbers, wealth, and intelligence. The blacks are chiefly natives of the island, with a sprinkling of Africans and refugees from Martinique.‡ During slavery their numbers required constant recruiting by fresh importations; after the abolition of the trade they regularly decreased; but since emancipation have been augmenting by the constant preponderance of births over deaths, though not to the extent that might be expected if a stricter observance of the marriage tie prevailed among them. They have "vastly improved in physical appearance,"§ and their moral characteristics are thus satisfactorily described by the lieutenant-governor, Arthur W. Torrens, in his report on the *Blue Book*, dated 4th January, 1846.

"The enfranchised population is in a high degree grateful to the British government, and by their contentment and orderly conduct they vindicate both the policy and the justice of emancipation. Their disposition to labour improves, and is great considering their few wants in a climate and on a soil requiring so little artificial means to promote comfort, and to create plenty. The influence of the clergy is apparent in the diminution of libertinism, and the greater frequency of marriages. A desire for the education of their children exists to a certain extent. * * * The rise of a class of small proprietors and farmers is apparent among the emancipated population. This class of negroes, the most industrious, has established settlements in many parts of the country hitherto covered with forests. These lots, whether bought or hired, are usually within reach of the neighbouring sugar establishments, permitting the negro to resort at crop time to the cane-fields. Canes are grown on some of these settlements, the grower transporting them to the nearest mill, and receiving in return from the planter a portion of the sugar they produce."

The *métairie* system, adopted in 1840, is on the increase.

GOVERNMENT.—St. Lucia is what is termed a crown colony, ruled by a legislative council, composed of several official and five unofficial persons

* The position of the Pavilion (government-house) has been regarded as very unhealthy. In a period of little more than four years (November, 1829, to January, 1834), no less than four governors died in it, but since that time no peculiar mortality or even sickness has been observed.

† *Vide* Captain Tulloch's Statistical Report of Troops in the West Indies in 1838.

‡ The flight from Martinique took place chiefly after the insurrection of 1831 was put down. Sturge, in 1836, states that there were 600 of these fugitives in the island who were "on the whole a peaceable and industrious set of labourers."—*West Indies in* 1837, pp. 107, 113. They obtained the soubriquet of *Passparterres*, probably in consequence of the astonishment excited in St. Lucia at their having made their escape from the vigilance of the planters and "*guarda costas*," and successfully encountered the dangers of the passage between the two islands, frequently in an open boat or canoe, the distance from the place of embarkation having been in some instances upwards of forty miles. Breen, writing in 1844, says it was no unusual occurrence to see twelve or fifteen men and women land from a canoe in which five persons could not sit at ease; adding that numbers perished in the attempt, either by rough weather or the wretched condition of the boats, while many, upon being closely pursued, plunged into the deep, preferring death to a life of bondage. No less than 4,000 escaped from Martinique, but of these a fearful proportion must have perished on the passage to St. Lucia or Dominica.—(pp. 169, 178.)

§ Breen's *St. Lucia*, p. 167.

appointed by the sovereign. There is an executive council of three to aid the lieutenant-governor. There is no militia. Two companies of a European regiment are stationed in the island fortresses.

RELIGION.—The majority of the people are of the Roman Catholic persuasion. There are ten Roman Catholic, and three Protestant churches.*

EDUCATION.—Is carried on by several private and public schools—the latter contain 644 male, and 260 female scholars. Instruction is communicated chiefly in the French language, of which a wretched patois prevails among the lower orders.†

Press.—There is a well-conducted newspaper, and a useful almanac with statistical and general information.

CRIME.—Aggravated offences are rare; petty thefts and assaults are diminishing.

FINANCE.—The revenue in 1834 amounted to £9,246; in 1838 to £10,743; in 1851 to £13,872: of this import duties yielded £5,147, and rum duties £2,207.

The civil expenditure defrayed by Great Britain, in aid of the local revenue, was, in 1851, £1,816. The disbursements from the British commissariat chest for the same year amounted to £13,317. There is no island bank; the notes of the *London Colonial Bank* branch in circulation are estimated at £5,000.

COMMERCE.—The value of imports was, in—

Imports.				Exports.			
Year.	Currency.	Year.	Sterling.	Year.	Currency.	Year.	Sterling.
1833	£47,271	1850	£68,881	1833	£72,144	1850	£49,127
1834	58,602	1851	60,538	1834	87,136	1851	54,815
Total	105,873	—	129,419	Total	159,280	—	103,942

Note.—£100 sterling = £175 currency. Of the imports in 1851, £22,179 were from Great Britain.

The sugar exported in 1851 was valued at £43,090 sterling. In 1852 all the crops had increased considerably.

Principal exports at three periods, viz., last year of slavery, last of apprenticeship, and last official return—

Articles.	1833.	1838.	1851.
Sugar . . lbs.	4,890,040	5,533,320	7,560,000
Molasses . gals.	142,320	110,002	121,578
Rum . . „	12,130	6,930	958
Coffee . . lbs.	235,164	135,008	22,327
Cocoa . . „	91,048	38,590	105,877
Logwood . tons	784	109	144

Note.—The number of acres under cultivation in 1851 was 4,077, of which 3,015 were in sugar-cane

GENERAL REMARKS.—Up to the middle of the 17th century, little attempt appears to have been made at cultivation on an extended scale, the settlers eking out their subsistence from the fish which the coast (in spite of the depredations of the voracious sharks) and the rivers plentifully supplied, or resorting to the woods to shoot the wild ox, hog, iguana, or agouti; or the edible varieties of the feathered tribe that visit the island from August to the end of November. As the population increased, the growth of tobacco, ginger, and cotton was commenced, and these products continued to be staple exports for about forty years, being gradually displaced by the more lucrative commodities of coffee and cocoa. The tenure of land was very precarious until 1745, when Governor de Longueville apportioned large tracts among the more influential settlers. In 1763 several respectable French families emigrated from Grenada and St. Vincent, bringing with them capital and slaves; and the culture of cotton, till then insignificant, spread rapidly over various parts of the island. The first sugar estate was established in the Vieux Fort quartier or parish in 1765, and soon became the all-absorbing employment. Slave-labour here as elsewhere was viewed as the only lever of colonial enterprise and prosperity, and it was attended with its usual unfailing accompaniments of waste of life and treasure, varnished over by a brief show of prosperity, covering increasing mortgages and involvements of all kinds. In the absence of any law to authorize the seizure of real property, or any office for the registration of mortgages or other claims, a system was carried on between the planter-debtor, and the merchant-creditor in France or England, in which the latter strove by usurious charges and profits, to counterpoise the manœuvres and double-dealing practised by the former. Lawyers were called in to settle the numerous disputes which were perpetually arising; and their interference, profitable only to themselves, increased the burdens of the contending parties, and frequently completed the ruin of both. In 1829, through the judicious exertions of Mr. Jeremie, president of the Court of Appeal, an office for the registration of mortgages was established, and it was enacted that those only which should be enrolled in the succeeding eighteen months should retain their priority. Before the expiration of the prescribed time, 1,918 mortgages were entered, exhibiting the debts and liabilities of the proprietary body at the enormous sum of £1,199,000 sterling. Their total sugar crop for the year 1830 was about 90,000 cwts., on which a net profit of 5*s.* per cwt. (without deducting anything for the support of the planters), could have furnished only £22,500 towards the payment of interest, which at five per cent. (a low colonial rate) must alone have required about £60,000 per annum. When this disastrous condition of affairs was ascertained, a measure was passed, known as the *Saisie Réelle*, which had a somewhat similar effect to the Encumbered Estate Act for Ireland, in compelling the sale of bankrupt properties. These proceedings greatly facilitated the proportionment of the St. Lucia share (£335,625 sterling) of the twenty millions granted by the British Parliament on the extinction of slavery; but this sum could not suffice to remove the millstone which the planters had for years been fixing more and more firmly round their own necks, though it doubtless greatly benefited the few who were *bonâ fide* proprietors, employing their own capital. The judicial sale of estates commenced in 1833, and continued year after year until in 1843, no less than sixty-nine out of eighty-one sugar estates

* In most of the new villages and hamlets which have been formed since emancipation, or recovered from the ruin and pillage caused during the French revolution, churches have been built or enlarged at the sole expense of the enfranchised blacks; and whereas during the existence of slavery, there was but one priest in the island, there are now nine parish churches, and as many curés, whose influence, with very few exceptions, is beneficial in its effects on the conduct and disposition of their flocks.—(Report of Lieut.-governor Torrens, 4th January, 1846.)

† It is much to be desired that efforts should be made for the diffusion of the English language.

had changed owners. In 1850, there were only twelve whose titles bore a date antecedent to emancipation; out of about eighty-three existing in this year, forty-three, including some of the finest in the island, were still mortgaged to the amount of £200,000, the annual interest being £12,000. Their yield was about 2,000 tons, and assuming the net profit at £8 per ton = £16,000, only £4,000 remained for the support of the proprietors and their families, without sinking one fraction in paying off the capital of the debt, or in the improvement of the property.

The system of cultivation and manufacture adopted in St. Lucia is "comparatively rude and defective;" yet Lieutenant-governor Darling, speaking from the experience he acquired as the resident proprietor of a Jamaica sugar estate, shows the profits to be very large; and states that "an average sugar estate in this island, well found with machinery in order, and water power, may, with ordinary seasons, easily be made to produce 100 hhds of sugar, say 1,400 cwt. each, at a total expenditure, excluding the salary of an attorney, of about £600. Assuming the produce to realize 39*s.*, and deducting 18*s.* for duty and charges, a net produce of 21*s.* a cwt. remains."* Recent sales prove the increasing value of estates in St. Lucia, and confirm the opinion entertained by the above authority respecting the improving condition of the colony.

CHAPTER VII.—ST. VINCENT.

Position and History.—This picturesque Caribbee island, 22 miles south of St. Lucia and 80 north of Grenada, in 13° 10′ N. lat., and 61° 5′ W. long., is about 18½ miles long, 11 broad, and contains an area of about 84,000 acres. It is said to have been discovered, and thus named, by Columbus in 1498; but it does not appear that any attempt was made to take possession of it by the Spaniards, or any other European nation, until the 17th century;† its numerous and warlike inhabitants, and the natural capabilities of defence afforded by its dense forests, river courses, and ravines, together with a coast-line difficult of access, probably insuring it this long immunity from foreign encroachment. In 1627‡ St. Vincent was included in the charter granted by Charles the First to Lord Carlisle; but no attempt at taking possession was made until Mr. Stede, then Lieutenant-governor of Barbados, St. Lucia, Dominica, and St. Vincent, sent Captain Temple to the last named island to prevent the French from wooding and watering without leave. His proceedings were discouraged by the home authorities, and both nations continued to touch at the island without making any endeavour at permanent settlement until 1719, when some French settlers came in an armed body from Martinique, burned the native huts, destroyed the gardens, and attempted to take forcible possession. At this time two races existed in the island, viz. the red or yellow, and the black Caribs. The former term designates the native Indians, or properly speaking, Americans. The origin of the latter people cannot be explained with certainty, but it is generally ascribed to the shipwreck of a large cargo of Guinea slaves in 1675, who being kindly received by the aborigines, settled among, and, to some extent, intermarried with them. Their numbers were gradually increased by fugitives from Barbados, and disputes arose between the two people, of which the French took advantage, and made peace with the Indians, but finding the Africans still too strong for them, and many lives being sacrificed in their night sallies, they, by persuasions and presents, at length conciliated them also. The planters brought slaves with them, and the Africans, fearful that their colour might eventually become the means of betraying their children into the same hateful thraldom, adopted the Carib practice of flattening the foreheads of their infants, in token of their being free-born. The internal strife between the Indians and Africans terminated in favour of the latter, who became so powerful as to compel the French to repurchase from them the land which, in some instances, they are alleged to have already bought from its rightful proprietors. The planters were further kept in a state of constant anxiety, from the fear of external enemies; in fact their tenure was throughout very uncertain. In 1723 an unsuccessful attempt was made to capture the island on the authority of George the First's grant to the Duke of Montague; in 1748 its neutrality was acknowledged by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; but war breaking out again, native rights, recognised only as a matter of convenience, were once more set aside. The island was captured by England in 1762; and in the following year confirmed to that power by the peace of Paris. There were then 800 whites possessing 3,000 slaves, and engaged in a European export trade of £63,000 per annum in value. The lands were directed to be sold to defray the expenses of the war, and 28,538 acres produced £162,854 sterling. Of the red or native Caribs only about 100 families remained, of the black about 2,000 persons.§ The tracts actually occupied by the Caribs were to be held inviolable, according to the royal instructions. These being, as they always are in these cases, disregarded by the settlers, a Carib war arose in April 1772, which threatened to be tedious and bloody, but after much parliamentary discussion it was declared that the war was "founded in injustice, and reflected dishonour on the national character;"‖ negotiations for peace were forthwith instituted, and the most fertile and beautiful part of the country formally ceded to the Caribs. In 1776 St. Vincent was formed into a distinct government, but in 1779 the unfortunate dissensions existing between the governor and the inhabitants, coupled with the treachery of the Caribs, enabled the French to take possession without a blow being struck; in 1783 the island was restored to the English, and then contained sixty-one sugar estates, 500 acres in cotton, 500 in tobacco, 400 in cotton, 200 in cacao, and 200 in indigo. Although no stipulation was made in favour

* Report, dated October, 1850, accompanying the St. Lucia *Blue Book* for 1849.

† Shephard's *Historical Account of St. Vincent*, p. 2.

‡ In the *History of Barbados*, p. 112, 2nd column, a typographical error occurs, the date being given as 1837 instead of 1627.

§ Bryan Edwards, vol. i., p. 420.

‖ Coke's *West Indies*, vol. ii., p. 187.

of the offending natives, they were generously treated as ignorant and deluded people, and allowed to return unpunished to their lands and occupations. In 1794 the revolutionary doctrines, which were desolating France, were introduced into the West Indies, and sedulously circulated there by Victor Hugues and his associates. The French planters incited the Caribs to rebellion, and many fierce contests ensued; but after a decisive struggle at a spot called Dorsetshire Hill in which the chief leader, a huge Carib named Chatoyer* fell in single combat with Major Leith of the militia, the Caribs were deserted by their French allies, and at length compelled to surrender. In 1796, above 5,000 of them were transported to the island of Rattan in the Bay of Honduras, and the fine tract appropriated to them "in perpetuity," added to the crown lands. The expenses incurred in consequence of the insurrection were estimated at more than £900,000 sterling.† The few Caribs who remained in St. Lucia were pardoned by an act passed in 1805, and about 230 acres of land granted for their subsistence, which they were prohibited from alienating "or cultivating in sugar." The latter stipulation betrays the jealousy with which native industry was regarded, and together with the decided aversion manifested towards any secular or religious instruction being imparted to the Caribs, and the desire evinced for the fertile lands allotted them, affords some insight into the errors of the system which, instead of converting them into a tractable peasantry, compelled their banishment from the island. The terrible eruption of Mount Souffrière in 1812, and slave emancipation in 1834, are the only events which have since occurred requiring comment, and both will be noticed in the following sections.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.—A connected chain of bold, sharp, and high mountains, run north and south · from thence smaller ridges diverge on either side, forming ravines which, as they approach the shore, widen into valleys, whose fertile soil, consisting chiefly of a mixture of sand and clay, well adapted for the growth of the sugar-cane, is irrigated by the abundant rains that the high lands of the interior, densely clothed with fine timber, frequently attract. The streams are numerous, and water-power is the usual agent employed to work the mills. The Souffrière, a volcanic mountain, about 3,000 feet high, with a crater half-a-mile in diameter, forms one of the most remarkable natural characteristics of the island. According to Humboldt it threw out flames in 1711. In 1812, a tremendous eruption took place, in which some lives and much property were destroyed,‡ but happily nothing of the kind has since occurred. There are several mineral springs, of which the principal are the Belleair, and the Murriaqua spa; the former, situated about two or three miles from Kingstown, is saline; the latter, which has recently been inclosed, and is in much repute for its chalybeate properties, lies further inland, in a pleasant valley of the same name.

TOPOGRAPHY.—St. Vincent is divided into five parishes; *Kingstown*, the capital, stands in that of St. George, near the south-western extremity of the island, and extends in a narrow line along the shores of a beautiful but exposed bay, about a mile wide, defended by Cane Garden Point battery on the south, and on the north-west by Fort Charlotte, which is placed on Berkshire Hill, a rocky promontory, overhanging the sea, and nearly inaccessible on three sides. The town, behind which the mountains gradually rise in a semicircle, attaining their greatest height in Mount St. Andrew, consists of three parallel streets, intersected by six others, and contains about 300 houses. The church, courthouse, gaol, market-house, and depôt for arms, are substantial buildings, without any pretensions to elegance. There is a Wesleyan and a Roman Catholic place of worship. The government-house has been suffered to go to decay, the residence of the lieutenant-governor of late years, having been at "the cottage" in the once famous botanic garden, which formerly comprised within a carefully tended space of thirty acres, many valuable exotics from the East Indies and South America, as well as indigenous plants of great beauty. The nutmeg, clove, and cinnamon, flourished here, as did also some of the bread-fruit plants, imported by Captain Bligh; but an ill-judged economy induced the withholding of the allowance necessary for its maintenance. A small part has been appropriated for an official residence, and the remainder has become a wilderness. Many cuttings from the nutmeg trees had previously been distributed, and these promise to present excellent and abundant fruit, as do also the clove plants. *Calliaqua*, a small town or village, three miles south-east of Kingstown, is chiefly remarkable for its commodious harbour for shipping produce. Some distance above it lies the Vigie (look-out) a commanding three-topped elevation, where the Caribs formerly fixed their camp, from which various ridges diverge. Eastward lies the extensive vale of Maniaqua, with its almost perpendicular sides, and single cleft or opening, through which the Jambou flows to the sea. Bucament valley, in St. Andrew's parish, is one of the largest and most

* He had on him at the time a silver gorget, presented by H.R.H. Prince William, afterwards King William the Fourth, while visiting St. Vincent. *Vide* Dr. Coke's interesting account of this war, vol. ii., chap. xxii.

† Shephard's *St. Vincent*, p. 174.

‡ At noon, on the 27th of April, thirty days after the destruction of the Caraccas, a severe concussion of the earth took place, and a black column of smoke burst from the crater, followed by volumes of favillæ (ash-coloured dust), which continued pouring forth for three days. On the evening of the 30th the flames burst forth, the rolling of the thunder became almost deafening, sand and stones were ejected, earthquakes were felt, streams of lava poured down on either side, the neighbouring estates were covered with scoria, the channels of the Wallibou and Rabacca Rivers blocked up, and some negroes killed. The waters of the Wallibou accumulated in a ravine, and formed a large lake, which some time afterwards found a way through the sandy barrier to its original bed, and carried away several houses, with their inhabitants, into the sea. The eruption terminated on the 1st of May. The aspect of the mountain was greatly changed, the vegetation having been totally destroyed, the height diminished, old ravines closed up, a new crater found near the old one, and both filled to a considerable depth with yellow-coloured water. Parliament voted £25,000 for the relief of the sufferers by this disastrous and appalling occurrence. Some effects of the eruption were experienced at a great distance. Captain G. P. Hawkins, a cousin of mine, then stationed with his regiment at Barbados, full sixty miles from St. Vincent, says, that for four hours that island was shrouded in nearly total darkness, and the surface covered, to the depth of several inches, with the favillæ discharged from the crater, which proved a fertilizing agent of great power. Many ships at sea had their decks covered with ashes. The noise of the eruption heard at Barbados and several other islands, was taken for the engagment of hostile fleets, and the troops were placed under arms.

fertile in the island. St. Patrick's parish, on the western coast, contains the small towns of *Layou* and *Barrowallie* or *Princes Town;* the land here is rugged and less productive. *Chateaubelair* or *Richmond Town,* is built on a bay of the name in St. David's parish, near which there are some fine specimens of basalt. The facilities of shipping produce in this vicinity, compared with the bold eastern coast, are very great. Within the last few years, a place called *George Town* has been erected in the beautiful Carib country comprised in Charlotte parish, which though comparatively recently settled, is perhaps the best cultivated in the island.

Dependencies.—To the south of St. Vincent, and included in its government, lie the Grenadine islands, viz., *Bequia,* comprising 3,700 acres, with a fine harbour called Admiralty Bay; *Union,* 2,150 acres; *Mustique,* 1,203 acres; and *Canouan,* 1,779 acres. There are also the lesser isles of *Balliceaux* and *Battawia, Myera, Petit St. Vincent,* and *Islet à Quatre.* The air is salubrious, and the waters around abound with fish. There are altogether about 2,000 inhabitants, five villages, twenty arrowroot and six sugar estates.

Geology.—The character of the island is decidedly volcanic; traces of strata, which have undergone the action of fire, are visible everywhere, and huge masses of rock displaced from their original position, indicate the powerful upheavings which effected the change. Branches of trees and other substances have been discovered in rocks at considerable depth, which must, at one time, have been in a state of fusion. No minerals have yet been observed. The *St. Vincent Gazette* recently announced that gold dust of pure quality has been found at the head of Buccament River.

Soil.—In the valleys a rich tenacious loam, and occasionally a fine black mould; on the higher regions it is more sandy, and less fertile. The lands adjoining the Souffrière are clay, covered with sand ejected by the volcanic eruption of 1812.

Climate.—At Kingstown the average temperature for the year is, lowest 75°, highest 87°, mean. 81° Fahrenheit. Quantity of rain in 1849, 76 inches; the number of inches in each month, beginning with January, is about 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 5, 6, 9, 14, 5, 8; the hottest months from May to November. On the highlands in the interior the air is much cooler. Hurricanes have been severely felt, and that of 1831 was especially destructive. Nineteen vessels were driven on shore in Kingstown Bay alone. The total loss occasioned to the island was estimated at £163,420 sterling; the sum of £20,000 was appropriated by Parliament for its relief.

Population.—The returns are vague and scanty. The following table can only distantly approximate to correctness; but it will give some idea of the relative progress, and illustrate the fact of the invariable decrease of slaves, whenever their numbers were not kept up or increased by new importatiens.

Year.	Whites.	Free coloured.	Blacks, slaves to 1834.	Total.
1764	2,104	—	7,414	9,518
1787	1,450	300	11,853	13,703
1805	1,600	450	16,500	18,550
1812	1,053	1,482	24,920	27,455
1825	1,301	2,824	23,780	27,905
1831	—	—	22,997	—
1834	—	—	22,266	—
1844	1,268	4,469	21,511	27,248
1851	—	—	—	30,128

The census of 1851 is "so incomplete and deficient in all respects as to be almost worthless;" the population was then really "little if at all short of 32,000." In the returns the males are stated at 13,957; females, 16,171; and creoles, 12,820, including 167 Caribs.—(*Blue Book* for 1851.) Between 1844 and June 1851, 2,874 Madeirese and African immigrants were registered.

"Since the memorable 1st August, 1838, 'the condition of the labouring population has greatly improved: schools and places of worship have increased, and large tracts of land have been purchased or leased, upon which villages and hamlets have been erected; and the cultivation of arrowroot is carried on to a great extent, in addition to the usual articles of ground provisions. In cases where the lands have been sold, high prices have been obtained (frequently from £25 to £30 per acre); and some of the labourers located in the villages are now employed, during a considerable portion of their time, on the adjacent estates, at wages of about four dollars per month—that is, for twenty days' labour in the cultivation of sugar, &c."—(*St. Vincent Almanack* for 1851; p. 86.)

In 1846 the number of the new or free villages was eighteen, with populations varying from 50 to upwards of 300. Messrs. Candler and Alexander, who visited the colony in 1850, speak highly of these locations, "which are numerous, and planted in very lovely spots." At one, termed *Victoria,* containing 800 inhabitants, the people came out to meet the "Friends," and greeted them with hearty cheers; and a school of fifty children sang their favourite hymn. "Many of the houses are very good; the alleys or paths between them neat and clean; and the gardens fruitful: the men, women, and children were well dressed, and seemed as happy as they are free. All were teetotallers; no spirit store was suffered to exist in the place."—*Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

Government.—An elective assembly of twelve representatives, a legislative council appointed by the Crown, and a lieutenant-governor.

Religion. — Various Christian denominations. Church of England, four rectors and four curates; Church of Scotland, one minister, and Church of Rome, one; the Wesleyans, who were formerly persecuted here, have now seven ministers. Number of churches and chapels in 1830, eight; worshippers, 400: in 1844, twenty-seven; worshippers, 10,115: in 1851, churches and chapels, 102.

Education. — Church of England, seventeen schools, with 422 males, and 378 females; Wesleyan, thirteen, with 809 male, and 596 female pupils. There is also a Presbyterian grammar school, and a Roman Catholic seminary. Scholars in 1830, 209; in 1851, 2,205.

Crime.—Offences in 1835, 1,248; in 1850, 208.

Press.—Two newspapers, and a good almanack.

Finance. — The island revenue was, in 1834, £10,142; in 1851, £15,827; of this, £9,129 was derived from import, and £1,662 from tonnage duties. The civil expenditure defrayed by England in 1851, amounted to £3,150, and the disbursements from the commissariat chest, were £5,483.

Commerce.	1834.	1851.
Imports . . .	£156,433	£198,679
Exports . . .	424,350	218,521

The price of sugar gave an apparent increase of value to the exports in former years; thus, in 1832, the crop of 21,917,056 lbs. of sugar was valued at

£200,454; while that of 1851, 37,684,868 lbs. was valued at only £218,521.

Products.	1834.	1851.
Sugar . . . lbs.	24,661,168	37,684,868
Molasses . . gals.	382,880	339,871
Rum . . . „	278,785	82,459
Arrowroot . . lbs.	62,160	887,569
Cocoa . . . „	5,460	1,050
Cotton . . „	102,000	12,000

In 1851, there was more sugar made in St. Vincent than in any previous year during the present century. In 1852 the crop was still increasing. The values of the chief articles of produce were, in 1851—sugar, £163,707; molasses, £13,013; rum, £5,667; arrowroot, £22,007. The shipping inwards was, in 1834, 29,494 tons; in 1851, 29,246 tons. In 1852, the shipments to November, amounted to upwards of 11,000 hogsheads of sugar, and a large proportion of rum and molasses. Among other articles, there were 195 bales of cotton, 44,324 cocoa-nuts, and 453 tons of puzzuolano, a new manure abounding in the island, said to be also a valuable cement.

The lieutenant-governor, in his annual report on the *Blue Book for* 1849, adverts to the decreasing concubinage, the diminution of drunkenness, and the independent condition of the lower and middle classes —meaning by the latter, those who had formerly been slaves, but have now established themselves in villages on purchased or rented land: "among these are to be found not a few individuals possessing no small intelligence, and whose position as to worldly means and consequent comfort, is equal, if not superior, to that of a similar class in any other part of the globe." It is only the aged and infirm, who have formerly been slaves, that require charitable aid, which is supplied from private sources.

The same authority, when reporting officially in 1852, says:—

"With regard to the great body of the population, it is beyond all dispute that it has been the subject of progressive melioration, both moral and physical. In treating of the negro people as here existing, it must never be forgotten that seventeen years only have now run their course since they were emancipated from a state absolutely opposed to all improvement; and with this in view, I record not only my satisfaction, but a feeling of joyful surprise, at the advances made by them during the six years to which my observation and experience have extended. As a general rule, they possess, beyond all reasonable question, most of the essential elements of progress; and, in a pre-eminent degree, natural intelligence and quickness of perception, sharpened by a praiseworthy desire to better their condition."—(*Blue Book* for 1851, p. 104.)

CHAPTER VIII.—GRENADA.

This island, the most southerly, and according to general opinion the most beautiful of the Caribbean group, is situate in 12° 10′ N. lat., and 61° 25′ W. long. Its greatest length, north and south, is about twenty-four miles; its greatest breadth, twelve; and its area (according to the latest authorities), 76,538 acres.

History.—Grenada was discovered and thus named by Columbus in 1498. Its native inhabitants occupied it, unmolested by European invasion, until 1650, when its fertile soil, fine harbours, and salubrious climate, attracted the attention of Du Parquet, the French governor of Martinique, who having resolved to take forcible possession, collected a body of about two hundred followers for that purpose; but being received by the natives with friendly cordiality, he changed his policy, and using treachery instead of open violence, or probably as an excuse for resorting to such measures, he pretended to open a treaty with the chief of the Caribs for the purchase of the country, which, according to Du Tertre, he obtained for "some knives and hatchets, and a large quantity of glass beads, besides two bottles of brandy for the chief himself."

Du Parquet then established a colony in Grenada, built a fort for its protection, and left the government of the island to a kinsman, named Le Compte. Within eight months after this period we find a war of extermination carried on by the French against the Caribs. Du Parquet sent a reinforcement of 300 men from Martinique, with orders to extirpate the natives altogether; but Le Compte had not waited these instructions, having already proceeded to murder, without mercy, every Carib who fell into his hands—not sparing even the women and children!

Père du Tertre, the historian, and too often the extenuator of the abominable transactions of his countrymen, and indeed of civilized nations in general in the West Indies at this period, gives an account of one expedition which will sufficiently explain the speedy and complete extinction of the native population. Forty of the Caribs, he says, were massacred on the spot. About forty others, who had escaped the sword, ran to a precipice, and being pursued, cast themselves headlong into the sea. A beautiful girl, of twelve or thirteen years of age, who was taken alive, became the object of dispute between two officers, each claiming her as his prize; a third coming up, put an end to the contest, by shooting the girl through the head. The place whence these unfortunates flung themselves was named by the French, in cruel mockery, le Morne des Sauteurs, Leapers' Hill. The French lost but one man in the expedition, and having set fire to the huts, rooted up the provisions, and destroyed or taken away everything belonging to "the savages," returned "bien joyeux."* The inhuman conquerors soon quarrelled over their ill-gotten gains, and conflicts ensued in which many lives were lost. The original invader, Du Parquet, prevailed in this instance, as before, by the right of the stronger, but being nearly ruined by the expense he had incurred in his unjust proceedings, was obliged to sell his authority in Grenada, for a small sum, to the Count de Cerillac, a French nobleman, who sent out a governor armed with despotic power, which was most mercilessly used for the purpose of extorting money. The chief settlers abandoned the plantations they had scrupled at no bloodshed in acquiring, and no labour or expense in improving; the poorer inhabitants remained exposed to daily cruelty and oppression, which ended in a general insurrection, and the execution of the obnoxious governor, after a form of

* Du Tertre, tome i., pp. 427, 430, 446.

public trial. The parties chiefly concerned, alarmed at the probable consequences of their conduct, quitted the island; the Count de Cerillac finding his acquisition as unprofitable as his predecessor had done, disposed of it to the French West Indian Company, which being dissolved in 1674, the sovereignty of the island was thenceforward vested in the crown of France.*

The colony remained in a depressed and almost ruined condition for some years; and, according to the Abbé Raynal, whose testimony however is far from unexceptionable, contained, so late as 1700, no more than 251 whites, and 525 blacks, employed in cultivating three sugar and fifty-two indigo estates. Chiefly, it is alleged, by a smuggling intercourse with the Dutch, the condition of the colony improved, and the population largely increased; and when, in 1762, the English became masters of all the French Caribbean islands, Grenada and the Grenadines were said to yield annually in clayed and muscovado sugar a quantity equal to about 11,000 hogsheads of muscovado, of 15 cwt. each, and about 27,000 lbs. of indigo.

On the close of the war, Grenada being confirmed to England by the Peace of Paris, it was asserted on behalf of the Crown that the inhabitants were subject to the 4½ per cent. duties imposed upon Barbados, and the islands included in the Carlisle Charter. The case was elaborately argued in Westminster-hall four several times; and in 1774, Lord Chief Justice Mansfield pronounced judgment *against the Crown*. The duty in question was consequently abolished in Grenada, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

In 1779 a French armament invaded the island, whose whole force then consisted only of 90 troops, 300 militia, and 150 merchant-sailors; the fortifications were equally insignificant. The governor (Lord Macartney) nevertheless made a determined though unsuccessful defence, and Count d'Estaing, who had landed at the head of 3,000 men, lost 300 in storming an entrenchment hastily thrown up on the summit of the Hospital-hill.

In 1783 Grenada was restored to Great Britain. Although during the former period of dominion, in 1768, the fullest toleration had been, and was afresh, accorded to the Roman Catholics by the British government, yet, owing to local intrigues, in which the governor is alleged to have played a very unworthy part, this boon was withheld, and disputes arose between the French catholics and British protestants, which not only embittered the general state of society, and greatly retarded the progress of the colony, but paved the way for the introduction of the seditious republican doctrines of the day. In the insurrection which broke out in May, 1795, the negroes of course took part, many dreadful outrages were committed by the insurgents (such as the cold-blooded slaughter of prisoners of war); and when the government, reinforced by troops from England, at length triumphed, scarcely less sanguinary feeling was manifested under the plea of needful severity. The island long felt the consequences of the devastation committed at this time—happily it has since escaped the horrors of external or internal strife. It has shared with the neighbouring colonies, the visitations of fire,† hurricane, earthquake, and pestilence,‡ though none of these agents, powerful as they have proved, have equalled in destructiveness of property, the myriads of sugar-ants§ which made their appearance in 1770, and were at length checked by the effects of the hurricane of 1780.

Since the abolition of slavery, the trade of the island has been placed on a sounder basis, for although the treatment of the slaves was on the whole unusually mild, and the free coloured people were early placed on a legal footing with their white fellow-subjects, yet the system, in a commercial point of view, proved as ruinously expensive here as in Jamaica and other islands. In the midst of much seeming prosperity, the planters were becoming deeply indebted; thus, in 1773, their lands were mortgaged to the value of a million and-a-half, and severe depression could not fail to follow.

Physical Features and Topography.—This island has an air of Italian softness quite distinct from the usual character of intertropical regions. The country, though mountainous, is nowhere inaccessible, abounds with springs and rivulets, and still justifies the description of John Davies in its "abundance of fair trees, some excellent for their fruit, others for their fitness for building."‖ There are two or three craters on the crest of the ridge which runs north and south through the middle of this, as of other Caribbee islands, attaining occasionally a height of 3,000 feet, and at the north end is *Lake Antoine*, supposed to be the crater of an extinct volcano, now filled up with water, about sixty acres in extent, fifty feet deep, and eighteen feet above the sea level. In the centre of Grenada is the far-famed *Grand Etang*, with its cloud-capt mountains and picturesque scenery, its sylvan nymphs and Caribbean traditions, another crater

* According to Dr. Coke (vol. ii., p. 53), these events occurred nearly half a century later, but the dates above given, on the authority of Bryan Edwards (vol. i., p. 358), and Père Labat (tome v., p. 240), seem better grounded.

† In 1771 George Town was consumed by a fire, which occasioned a loss estimated at £200,000 sterling; it was rebuilt, and again ravaged in 1775, to the extent of £500,000 damage, and property to the amount of about £100,000 was destroyed in the same town by fire in 1792.

‡ In 1794 yellow fever broke out, and for four years continued to desolate the colony.

§ The *formica omnivora*, a description of ant of red colour, and common size, remarkable for an excessively acid taste when applied to the tongue, and a strong vitriolic smell, suddenly and unaccountably appeared on a sugar plantation at a bay called Petit Havre, and continued to increase for several years, destroying in succession every sugar plantation between St. George's and St. John's, a space of about twelve miles. Colonies of them were also observed in different parts of the island, the roads would be coloured with their red bodies for miles together, and so thickly in many places, that the print of a horse's feet, in riding through them, would appear for a moment or two until filled up by the surrounding multitude. They were decidedly carnivorous, would devour every kind of cold victuals, and destroyed all vermin, especially rats. The Assembly, fearing that the culture of the sugar-cane would be seriously injured, offered a reward of £20,000 for their destruction. Poison and fire were unsuccessfully tried; multitudes were killed, but they still continued to increase, and make more nests among the roots of the sugar-cane, especially of the ratoons, and of the lime-lemon, orange, and some other trees, which, though they did not eat any part of, they rendered sickly and unproductive. At length came the dreadful hurricane of 1780, which indicated and partially effected a remedy, for by the rooting-up of many canes and trees, and the general disturbance of the earth, by far the greater part of the nests and young ones were destroyed through exposure to heavy rain.

‖ *History of the Caribby Islands, rendered into English*, by John Davies of Kidwelly. London: 1666.

turned into an inland lake, about 1,500 feet in altitude, and covering thirty acres of ground. The island is formed into six parishes, bearing the names of *Sts. George*, *David*, *Andrew*, *Patrick*, *Mark*, and *John*, the calendar of saints having been the vocabulary chiefly resorted to for the designation of local divisions throughout the West Indies. The parishes of Sts. Patrick, Andrew, and St. John, are the least mountainous, and those of Sts. John and Mark the most so. The capital, *St. George*, called *Fort Royal* in the time of French dominion, is situated in the parish of the same name, on a peninsula which projects into a spacious bay on the west or lee side of the island, not far from the south end. It is built chiefly of brick and stone, and is divided by a ridge, on one side of which lies the open bay; on the other is the harbour, which still retains its old name of *Carénage*, is almost completely land-locked, and encircled by hills that would give it the appearance of some peaceful lake, but for the shipping, and wharves, where steamers of 1,800 tons burthen can lie alongside. The French, in 1779, intended to have formed a royal dock-yard here. The bay-town has a handsome square and market-place. Fort George, an old and substantial edifice, constructed of freestone, stands on the point or bluff-head of the separating ridge, and a spired church on the isthmus; the chief mercantile houses are situated in the Carénage-town, beyond which are seen some beautiful creeks indenting the cane-fields, an aqueduct at which the boats water, a long line of mangroves bordering the sea, a large lagoon, and Point Salines shooting out in a long jagged tongue to the south-west. Over all, and commanding everything in the vicinity, tower the *Richmond Heights*, crested with extensive fortifications, from whence the Bocas of Trinidad (ninety miles distant) have been seen on a clear afternoon.* The rest of the prospect is very charming, the eye wandering in every direction over richly cultivated valleys, with streams of water running through them, orchards of shaddocks and oranges, and cottages embowered in plantain groves and variegated foliage. "The view from government house," says Coleridge, "situated on a ridge of Hospital Hill, is the Bay of Naples, on one side, and a poet's Arcadia on the other." The colonists, naturally proud of the beauty of the scene, have given to the vale below the classic name of Tempe, and two neighbouring eminences are known as Corinth and Parnassus. The neighbourhood is famed for the excellent sugar and rum produced there. One disadvantage attendant on the picturesque character of the town is the extreme steepness of its streets, which are considered barely practicable with safety for any description of wheeled carriages. The ascent of Constitution Hill, leading to the market-place, is at an angle not far removed from the perpendicular. The other towns in Grenada are nothing more than inconsiderable villages or hamlets, situated at the chief shipping places. The principal of these are *Charlotte Town*, in St. John's parish, and a village at *Grenville Bay*, on the east or windward side of the island, where there is a convenient harbour.

Dependencies.—The group of islands called the *Grenadines*,† which form a chain between Grenada and St. Vincent, are chiefly comprehended under the government of the former island, and have been already briefly mentioned. *Cariacou* and *Ronde* or *Redonda* are the principal of those belonging to Grenada. Cariacou is about nineteen miles in circumference, with an area of nearly 7,000 acres; it has been formed into a parish, and its town, *Hillsborough*, contains a church and rectory. It was first occupied by French fishermen, who came to catch turtles, and employed their leisure in clearing and planting the ground; cotton became the chief product, sugar having been less successful. Isle Ronde, midway between Grenada and Cariacou, contains an area of about 500 acres, wholly used for pasturage and the growth of cotton. The great defect of all the Grenadines is the absence of streams or springs, which of late years has been increasingly felt, from the diminished quantity of rain which has fallen since the injudicious destruction of the timber with which they formerly abounded.

Geology.—The island is evidently volcanic, and the prevailing formation seems to be of the tertiary period. Beds of coral, as well as mountain limestone, interspersed here and there with various grey argillaceous earths and ochres, are found in different places, principally on the western side. The coral is distributed on hills three or four hundred feet above the sea, as well as in the valleys, and contains fossil marine shells, plain and striated. The volcanic indications are for the most part confined to the central mountain range. In the parish of St. Mark, at the source of the river Soumache, is a very large and deep crater, in a partial state of activity, evolving sulphureous vapours; and at the bottom are found sulphate of alumina, and large boiling cauldrons of mud, sulphur, and bituminous matter, hot springs, lava, pumice-stone, &c. On the east side, dark red conglomerates, mixed with nodules of ironstone, prevail; on the south-east and south-west, dark and grey sandstones, gravel, sandstone grit, indurated tufa and schistose rocks; and on the west and north, darker conglomerates, shingly beaches of water-worn masses, ironstone, pyrites, basalt, and other trap rocks. Near Black Bay there are remains of regular basaltic columns rising out of the sea. The main ridge seems to have been raised by the agency of subterranean force subsequent to the madrepore depositions, but before the island had emerged from the sea.

Mineralogy.—Mr. Cockburn, an intelligent resident, has remarked strong indications of iron and copper; the natural magnet has been found, but none of the quartzose or metamorphic rocks peculiar to the paleozoic period in which gold has hitherto been discovered, are observable.

Soil.—In the lowlands chiefly a rich black mould, on a substratum of light-coloured clay; in high and central positions, it is of a dingy red or brick colour.

Climate.—The medium heat throughout the year, in the low country, is about 82° Fahrenheit; but at the Grand Etang the thermometer rises only to 76°, when it attains 86° at St George's. A large quantity of rain falls, particularly in May, June, July, and August, and in October and November: the number of inches for the year is about 107; the rain-guage for June marks fourteen to sixteen inches.

Population.—The following table, drawn from various sources, illustrates, to some extent, the progress of the population: the highest number of

* Coleridge's *Six months in the West Indies*, p. 95.

† Close to the sea-shore in many of the islands, the celebrated Manchenille, or Manchineel-tree, the upas of the West Indies, displays its luxuriant foliage and apple-like fruit. Its sap is a deadly poison; and if it touch the skin, will cause a grievous sore: even its shade is avoided by animals; and crabs, by eating its leaves, become poisonous. Du Tertre's *Histoire Générale des Antilles*.

slaves in the islands and its dependencies, at any one time, was in 1779, when, according to Dr. Coke, there were 35,000.

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Slaves or Blacks.	Total.
1700	251	53	525	729
1753	1,263	175	11,991	13,429
1771	1,661	415	26,211	28,287
1787	996	1,115	23,960	26,071
1793	1,000	—	24,000	—
1805	1,100	800	20,000	21,900
1817	—	—	28,029	—
1827	834	3,892	24,442	29,168
1834	661	3,687	21,074	25,422
1844	407	28,516		28,923
1851	410	32,261		32,671

Census of Grenada, October, 1851.

Districts.	Number of square miles.	Population.			Number to each sq. mile.
		Males.	Fem.	Total.	
St. George Town	0.16	1,843	2,724	4,567	—
„ Parish	26.00	2,759	2,654	5,413	208
St. David „	18.43	1,245	1,336	2,581	140
St. Andrew „	34.69	2,785	2,850	5,635	162
St. Patrick „	16.43	2,514	2,646	5,160	314
St. Mark „	9.07	873	865	1,738	192
St. John „	14.99	1,561	1,555	3,116	208
Cariacou Island .	13.23	2,133	2,328	4,461	338
Total . .	133.00	15,713	16,958	32,671	—

Descent.—Creoles, 28,082; other British West Indies, 1,168; British, 384; Maltese, 26; Africans, 2,425; Madeirese, 400; and a few from other countries. Nearly 86 per cent. are creoles.

Age.—Under 5 years, 4,824; in proportion to the whole population, 14·76 per cent.; 60 years old and upwards, 2,490; or 7·62 per cent. Nearly 20 per cent. of the male population (7,500) are aged from 15 to 50.

Religion.—Church of England, 10,025; Church of Scotland, 264; Wesleyans, 1,657; Moravians, 34; Church of Rome, 20,675. *Sanitary state.*—401 sick; 1·23 per cent.; 905 infirm, 2·77 per cent. *Houses and cottages*—Inhabited, 7,669; uninhabited, 134; building, 145. Baptisms in 1851, 1,216; deaths, 718.

Mr. S. Coekburn, the population commissioner of the colony, has appended some valuable remarks to this census, which, in detail and careful preparation, might serve as a model for other colonies. With regard to the condition of the colony, he points out the decay of the small householders in George Town, but says:—

"On the other hand, the few houses that are building are principally by the labourers and lately-imported Africans, who are rising fast in the scale of society, to fill the places, at no distant period, of their superiors of the middle classes, who are fast sinking into poverty and ruin. Even the proprietors of the freeholds feel the difference in the times, and those females who have no means of obtaining a livelihood, save from their rent-rolls, find it now to be a very precarious income to depend upon. In the country districts the picture is more cheering. The peasantry appear joyful and happy in their little homesteads, many of them possessing comfortable cottages on their patches of land, upon which they grow the sugar-cane, and grind it on the neighbouring estates for half the produce, by which they obtain a considerable sum, besides the provisions they send to market, and their daily money-earnings whenever they choose to work on the sugar plantations. Thus are they in comparatively easy circumstances, and are fast approaching an important position in the community."—(*Blue Book* for 1851.)

The governor-in-chief of the Windward Islands (Barbados, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, and Tobago), in forwarding to H.M. Secretary of State (27th August, 1851) some useful statements, showing the condition of these islands at different periods since 1830, adverts to the peaceable disposition of the inhabitants, and says:—

"A recollection of the injustice and capricious severity to which the labouring classes were at one time subject, and which, to their credit, has engendered in them no retaliatory spirit or revengeful feelings, has led them to look up with respect to the government, to whom they have attributed their rescue from servile degradation, and a disposition to second its efforts made for their improvement."—(*Blue Book* for 1850, p. 56.)

The ordinary language of the mass of the people is a barely intelligible French patois.

Government.—A lieutenant-governor, council, and house of assembly, representing the people. As in the other islands, the common statute law of England is the general rule of justice.

Religion.—In 1851, six clergymen of the Established Church, at salaries varying from £225 to £325 per annum. In 1830, there were 5 churches or chapels, with an average attendance of 720 persons: in 1850 these had increased to 14 churches or chapels, and an average attendance of 2,735—of which 9 were Church of England, 4 Wesleyan, and 1 Presbyterian edifice.

Education.—Church of England, 11 schools, with 530 male, and 326 female pupils; Wesleyan, 4; pupils, 786 male, and 423 female. Number of scholars in 1830, 356; in 1851, 1,209.

Crime.—Total number of offences in 1835, 199; in 1850, 197; centesimal proportion, with respect to the population, during the first and last periods ·8 and ·6, showing, as in the other islands, both less frequent and less aggravated offences.

Finance.—The revenue was, in 1834, £11,190; in 1851, £16,956. The expenditure from the British commissariat chest for 1851, was £11,336; and the civil disbursements paid by England, £4,350, including the salary of the lieutenant-governor, £1,300.

The *Coin* in circulation is estimated at £30,000 to £40,000. There is no statement furnished of the amount of the notes issued by the Branch Colonial Bank.

Commerce.—The chief products are sugar, cocoa, and cotton. The value of trade at two periods—

—	1833.	1851.
Imports	£73,846	£158,930
Exports	288,683	134,766

The above figures do not, however, convey a correct idea of the actual commerce of those years, because at the former period a custom prevailed, of placing a most exaggerated valuation on both imports and exports. In some years the exports have been quoted at £400,000 to £500,000, a sum manifestly inconsistent with the worth and quantity of their items of production.

While in the possession of France, and cultivated by a resident proprietory, the colony prospered; but long previous to the abolition of the slave-carrying trade in 1807, insolvency and distress were frequent; and Madden (vol. i. pp. 67, '8) in January 1834, made

some valuable remarks, which illustrate the fallacies of writers who, in the face of facts, persist in attributing the decline of the colony to emancipation.

Owing to the imperfect state of the early returns, it is not practicable to compare the sugar produce, during the last year of slavery, with that of 1851. The quantity made in 1830 is stated to have been 24,923,314 lbs.; in 1835, 20,467,700; the manufacture then annually decreased until 1845, when it amounted to only 8,447,831 lbs.: since that period it has yearly increased, and now has reached to between fifteen and sixteen million pounds. The tonnage inwards, in 1834 was 21,325; in 1851, it was 22,176 tons.

PRESENT STATE.—"That Grenada has considerably recovered, during the last few years, from her previously prostrate condition, there is no doubt; her revenue is, if anything, increasing; her imports and exports both shew a considerable addition; her population is, irrespective of immigration, adding to its numbers."—(Lieutenant-governor's Report, 18th May, 1852).

CHAPTER IX.—TOBAGO.

POSITION AND AREA.—Tobago lies sixty miles south-east of Grenada, and about eighteen miles north-east of Trinidad. The chief town (Scarborough) is in 11° 9′ N. lat., and 60° 12′ W. long. The length is about thirty-two miles, with a breadth of from six to nine miles; the superficies, about ninety-seven square miles.*

HISTORY.—The island seen by Columbus after discovering Trinidad, in 1498, and by him named Assumption, is supposed to be the same which subsequently acquired the name of Tobago, or Tobacco, from the use of that indigenous herb by the native Caribs when first visited by Europeans. These natives are said to have been driven off the island, and compelled to take refuge in St. Vincent, by reason of the incursions of a hostile tribe from the main land, called the Arrowauks, who, however, were only occasional visitors, often leaving the conquered territory in that desert condition, a description of which is alleged to have afforded De Foe the groundwork of *Robinson Crusoe*. All this rests upon very imperfect evidence, but it is certain that when, in consequence of British navigators having planted the national flag upon the island, in 1580, and the sovereignty having been claimed by James I., in 1608, an attempt was made, about 1625, by settlers from Barbados, to establish themselves in Tobago, and form a sugar plantation; they were opposed by an overpowering Carib force, by whom many of the adventurers were killed, and the rest being compelled to quit, afterwards settled on the island of Providence (St. Catherine's). From this time, up to the year 1684, when the neutral city of Tobago was recognised, attempts were made by private individuals, under the sanction of England, France, and Holland, for its colonization, and various bloody contests for supremacy took place. In violation of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the French again occupied the island, and the English, after vainly remonstrating against this breach of faith, themselves took forcible possession, in which they were confirmed by the treaty of Paris in the following year. In 1764, a lieutenant-governor was sent out, lands were sold and granted, and the first permanent settlement was made; no other inhabitants than Caribs being then found there.† In 1768, the Council and Assembly held their first session. The colonists introduced slaves, and had early experience of the anxieties connected with the system, for in 1770 an insurrection broke out in Queen's Bay, which lasted six weeks, and two others succeeded in 1771,‡ and necessitated the costly and harassing measure of forming an extensive and well-disciplined militia in an island where white men had all abundant occupation on the estates with which they were connected, and did not need the incitements to drunkenness and dissipation thus afforded. In 1775, a plague of ants destroyed the sugar-canes so extensively that the cultivation of cotton was generally adopted in the place of sugar. In 1781, the island, after a gallant defence, was captured by the French; in 1783, retaken by the English; surrendered to the French by the Treaty of Paris in 1802; regained by Commodore Hood in 1803; and, for the last time, formally ceded to Great Britain in 1814. Here, as generally in the British West Indies, slavery was superseded by the apprenticeship system, in 1834; unconditional freedom followed in August, 1838, and has been productive of decidedly beneficial results in the moral character and commerce of the colony; confirming the truth of the remark made by Sir Andrew Halliday, from personal observation in 1837, that "certainly here, as has been proved everywhere, free labour has been more productive than slavery could ever be made."§

In October, 1847, a fearful hurricane, in which many lives were lost, destroyed two-thirds of the buildings throughout the island, and greatly damaged the canes; with this melancholy exception, Tobago, though subject to occasional storms and shocks of earthquake, has suffered comparatively little injury from these visitations.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND TOPOGRAPHY.—Tobago has been termed the "Melancholy Isle," because when viewed from the north, it exhibits a mass of gloomy mountains, dense forests, and precipices descending abruptly to the sea; on a nearer approach the aspect is more pleasing, though still very irregular, the surface being extensively occupied by conical hills and spurs, all connected with the interior or dorsal ridge, 1,800 feet high, which stretches through the interior for twenty miles. Deep and

* *Vide* Gov. Sir W. Colebrooke's Report, *B. B.*, 1850.

† This fact is stated in the historical account contained in Mathieson's *Tobago Almanack* for 1849, which has evidently been compiled with great care and judgment; but, unfortunately, no authorities are given.

‡ The cruelties inflicted upon the slaves were horrible. Mr. Jefferys when examined before a parliamentary committee, stated that he had seen seven executed at one time in Tobago; their right arms were chopped off; they were then dragged to seven stakes and burnt to death. One named Sampson, being hung in chains, was seven days dying. Their crimes were murder and destroying property.—*Parl. Papers*, 1790.

§ Sir A. Halliday's *West Indies*, p. 274.

narrow ravines terminate in small alluvial plains: on the south-west there is some comparatively level land, broken by occasional isolated mounds, with but few swamps or marshes; the northern extremity is precipitous, with basaltic columns, and terminates in the dark island of Little Tobago, and the dangerous rocks of St. Giles. Numerous streams and rivulets rise in the interior, and flow to the sea. The coast-line abounds in bays; *King's Bay*, *Queen's Bay*, and *Barbados Bay*, on the windward or south-east side, and *Man-of-War*, *Courland*, and *Sandy Point*, on the leeward or north-west, are adapted to the largest sized ships. The island is divided into seven parishes: those of Sts. John, Paul, and Mary, lie to the eastward; Sts. David, George, Andrew, and Patrick, to the westward.

Scarborough is situated on the south-west coast, on the shores of a wide open inlet called *Rockley Bay*, which affords no good anchorage, until nearly in with the town. Although irregularly built, yet, from its position at the base of a conical hill, 422 feet in altitude, crowned by Fort King George, Scarborough has a pleasing appearance. The public buildings are a commodious court-house, English church, Presbyterian kirk, Wesleyan chapel, public gaol, and commissariat stores. Fort King George is the only fortification in the island in a state of repair; the barracks, hospital, and officers' quarters, substantial brick buildings, were for the most part razed to the ground in 1847, but are in course of restoration. The commerce of the island is conducted here, and the port being free, is the rendezvous for vessels engaged in the import trade. There is a light-house on *Bacolet Point*.

Plymouth, which lies nearly opposite Scarborough on the leeward shore, distant about six miles, is a village of increasing importance, being the landing-place of the Royal Mail Packet Company's steamers. *Milford*, on the south-west, is merely a small fishing-place. Two-thirds of the island are still covered with a primitive forest, comprising many varieties of hard wood and ornamental trees. Its shores swarm with fine fish.

Geology.—There is a general resemblance between the structure of Tobago and of Trinidad, except that there are not seen here the large blocks of hyaline quartz found in the contiguous island. The hill above Scarborough appears to be composed of basalt and schistose rock. The rounded form of the eminences generally, indicates the long continued action of water in rotatory currents.

Soil.—In the level lands of some districts, a stiff tenacious yellow clay upon an under-stratum of marl or rotten-rock; the former containing a large proportion of lime. Drainage is now being resorted to, and is much needed; bamboos, as thick as a man's arm, in sections of four feet long, fitted into each other, and with the compartments opened, are being employed for this purpose; and if cut at the proper time of the moon, when the sap is down, have been found to last under ground several years.

Climate.—Is salubrious, owing to the narrowness of the island, and the regularity of the sea and land breezes. Dr. Lloyd reported to Sir J. M'Gregor, in 1827, that "on some of the estates in the interior no European resident had been buried for upwards of ten years." Range of thermometer 75° to 90°; barometer 29° 68′ to 29° 85′; hygrometer from 0° to 10° damp, in the wet season, and from 0° to 13° dry, in crop time.

Population.—The following imperfect sketch partially illustrates the numerical and relative progress of the inhabitants:—

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Blacks.[1]	Total.
1727	2,300	—	10,000	12,300
1776	2,397	1,050	10,752	14,199
1787	1,397	1,050	10,539	12,986
1805	900	700	14,883	16,483
1830	450	1,163	12,556	14,169
1833	304	1,266	11,628	13,198
1844	—	—	—	13,208
1851	—	—	—	15,000

Note.—[1] The destruction of life in this colony during slavery must have been very great: between 1819 and 1832 the number decreased from 15,470 to 12,091, while the whole of the manumissions during the fourteen years, was only 192;—for example, the births in 1817 were 304, and the deaths 800. The total for the year 1851 is an estimate.

Tobago census in 1844.

Parish.	Area in acres.	Males.	Females.	Total.
St. John	10,520	485	474	959
St. Paul	7,558	443	478	921
St. Mary	10,447	299	412	711
St. George	11,192	785	818	1,603
St. Andrew	3,170	1,049	1,268	2,317
St. Patrick, St. David	5,801	899 / 1,409	935 / 1,580	1,834 / 2,989
Scarborough	437	605	869	1,474
Plymouth	128	178	222	400
Total	62,083[1]	6,152	7,056	13,208

Note.—[1] Including—Milford, 110 acres; new settlers' lots, 1,500; reserved lands, 2,500. 97 square miles = 62,083 acres. Births in 1851, 491; deaths, 261. No classification of the population of 1851 has been sent home.

"The conduct of the peasantry is very good: they are fast clearing the forest lands, establishing settlements along the sea-coast, and extending cultivation into the interior. By their sole industry [says Lieutenant-governor Græme,] the extensive forests and waste lands are rapidly giving way to the advances of civilization." He adds:—"It would be difficult, I imagine, to induce any considerable capitalist, at the present time, to clear land and establish a new set of sugar works in the West Indies; and unless the labour is to be performed by the small proprietors of three or four acres, I see no hope whatever of our forests yielding to improvements of any kind. In my evening rides beyond the confines of sugar cultivation, I observe with interest and much pleasure the erection of tenements surrounded by small clearings, and long after sunset I hear the sound of the axe resounding in the distance amongst the hills. It may not here be out of place to give a striking evidence of the economy, laying other considerations aside, of free over compulsory labour. The charge in slavery for preparing and opening an acre of land in this island, by the employment of a task-gang, was £8 sterling. The same amount of work was performed very recently for £1 : 19*s.* : 10*d.*, upon a Saturday, too, when the people, as stated above, demand the higher rate of wages. The gang consisted of twenty-six men and women, with four water-carriers: each person opened 100 four-feet cane holes, which very nearly cover the surface of an acre of ground."—(*Report*, dated March, 1847, accompanying *Blue Book* for 1846, pp. 30, 31.)

Government—As in Granada; a lieutenant-governor, council, and an assembly, elected by the people.

Religion.—There are three rectors of the Church of England, with stipends of £320 each; and several Wesleyan and Moravian ministers, supported, as in the other colonies, by voluntary contributions, and here, as well as elsewhere, doing much good. In 1835, there were 6 churches or chapels, with an average attendance of 1,000; in 1850, 13, viz., 6 Church of England, 5 Wesleyan, and 2 Moravian, with 6,780 worshippers.—(*Blue Book* for 1850, p. 61.)

Education, has been neglected by the Assembly on the plea of the inadequacy of the public income to meet the expenditure. The numbers attending the several schools in 1851, are stated as follows:—

Denomination.	Schools.	Scholars.		
		Male.	Female.	Total.
Church of England	11	328	257	585
Wesleyan . . .	7	305	182	487
Moravian . . .	3	304	316	620
Total . .	21	937	755	1,692

The method adopted in Tobago by a meritorious missionary body is thus described by Lieutenant-governor Græme, in an official report:—

"The Moravians commence by a system of discipline which, without fatiguing either the mind or the body, is well suited to children of the most tender age. The more advanced are (as a part of their education) required to sweep the school-rooms, trim the walks, and ornament the grounds within the confines of the mission establishment, plant and weed Guinea grass, raise Indian corn, bananas, and other fruits and vegetables. To the elder pupils are assigned small plots of land, for their own exclusive benefit; and I am informed that in many cases the boys are not unfrequently at work in their gardens early and late. By such means as these, industrial habits are implanted, and obedience and regularity inculcated imperceptibly on the minds of the rising generation—elements of instruction almost as necessary to the future comfort and happiness of the labouring classes as the intellectual acquirements of reading and writing."

Crime, inconsiderable in amount—chiefly minor offences: centesimal proportion to population in 1835, 1.9; in 1850, .9.

Press.—A weekly newspaper and a good almanack, with general information.

Finance.—Revenue in 1834, £4,242; in 1851, £7,792; of which £4,844 was derived from import duties. Payments from the commissariat chest in 1851, £5,641.

Commerce.—Value of imports in 1833, £75,427; in 1851, £63,884 sterling. Sugar exported in 1833, estimated at 6,378 hogsheads; in the year 1851-'52, the actual shipments were 4,315 hogsheads. In the former period there were 72 sugar estates; in 1851 there were 70, which have on them 26 steam engines, 33 water, 16 wind, and 5 cattle mills. Cocoa-nuts, to the number of 121,500, were exported in 1851; and other articles are now being added to the small list of staple products, whose only important item is sugar; although cotton, coffee, cocoa, and indigo all thrive here, and pimento, or allspice, grows wild, and the wood is even commonly used for building or burning into charcoal. *Wages* of labour, 6*d.* to 1*s.* per day; meat, 6*d.* to 10*d.* per pound.

Political dissensions and financial embarrassments have contributed to hinder the progress of Tobago; but these clouds are apparently fast passing away.

CHAPTER X.—TRINIDAD.

Position and Area.—This large and valuable island, the most southerly of the British West Indies, is separated from the province of Cumana, on the neighbouring continent, by the Gulf of Paria, which it bounds and shelters on the east. The average length is about 50 miles, the breadth from 30 to 35; and the area having never been positively ascertained, is vaguely stated in official returns at from 1,682 to 2,000 square miles. Its form has been compared to a stretched ox-bide; it is oblong, with promontories at three corners, two of which form the north and south-eastern limits of the Parian Gulf; and their extremities are respectively 13 and 9 miles distant from the main land, while the north-eastern and least extensive, terminating in Point Galera,* in 10° 50′ N. lat., 60° 30′ W. long., lies nearest to Tobago.

History.—Trinidad was discovered by Columbus in 1498. While in great distress from the leakage of his three vessels, and the want of water, he determined to give the first land he should meet with the name of the Trinity; and, by a remarkable coincidence, three mountain summits were seen from the mast-head, which on a nearer approach proved to be joined at the base. Columbus was delighted with the verdure and fertility of the country; its palm-groves and luxuriant forest sweeping down to the sea-side, its running streams, and soft pure climate. The interior was cultivated in many places, and enlivened by hamlets and scattered dwellings; but the shores were low and uninhabited. While sailing along the east coast, Columbus for the first time beheld the South American continent; but supposing himself in the seventh degree of latitude instead of the tenth, he had no idea of the greatness of his discovery; and looking upon the low tract of coast, intersected by the numerous branches of the Orinoco, considered it part of another island of limited extent. Entering the Gulf of Paria, by the strait which, from its dangerous and angry appearance, he called the Boca del Sierpe (the Mouth of the Serpent), he feared to attempt quitting it by the opposite pass, which looked yet more alarming, being beset with rocks, through which the strong easterly current forced its way with a violence which induced him to name it the Boca del Dragon. Not venturing to encounter its possible perils, Columbus turned back, and steered along the inner side of the long promontory of Paria, his wonder being highly excited by the various currents and eddies, the placidity of the gulf, which forms in truth one vast harbour, 100 miles in length, and the fresh taste of its waters, caused by the various rivers which empty themselves into its bosom being at that period of the year swollen by rains.

Respecting the native inhabitants of Trinidad,

* So called from an isolated rock, which resembles a galley under sail.

there are various and occasionally contradictory accounts. According to Las Casas, the majority of them were a part of the same people already described as the Leeward Islanders, and are supposed to have been descended from a colony of the Arrowauks of Guiana, a nation "to whose noble qualities," says Bryan Edwards, "the most honourable testimony is borne by every traveller that has visited them, and recorded his observations."* Humboldt is of opinion, that there was also a branch of the Caribs in this island, which, from other evidence, appears probable,† notwithstanding the general enmity that existed between these warlike barbarians, and their more peaceful and civilized neighbours.

Soon after its discovery, the Spaniards appear to have been in the habit of touching at Trinidad for wood and water, and only too often for the purpose of carrying off the inhabitants as slaves to Porto Rico, or Hispaniola, but no settlement was made until 1532, when, after a fierce struggle, they succeeded in establishing themselves, built a fort, and were sanctioned in their inhuman proceedings by the Spanish Council of the Indies, it being declared lawful to reduce the aborigines to slavery, and carry on rigorous war against them for the extension of the holy faith.‡ The colony made but slow progress during the next fifty years; in 1795, England being then at war with Spain, Sir Walter Raleigh arrived at Punto de Gallo, and burnt a small town styled the city of San Joseph, in revenge for the treacherous capture and execution of eight English sailors a short time before. He set at liberty many captive natives; among them five caciques, whom he found linked together in one chain, almost starved, and having endured grievous torments.§

In 1676, the Marquis de Maintenon in the *Sorcière* frigate, aided by some buccaneers from Tortuga, ravaged Trinidad, and are stated by Charlevoix to have obtained booty to the amount of 100,000 "pieces of eight," which, considering the feeble garrison, and small European population, is barely credible. A last fierce struggle, in which the governor and many Spaniards were killed by the natives, is said to have occurred towards the close of the seventeenth, or the beginning of the eighteenth century; it was used as a pretext for making "terrible examples,"‖ according to the gentle phraseology of colonial writers when referring to the infliction of the most agonizing and prolonged sufferings on their darker-skinned fellow-beings. The Spanish monarch absolutely forbade the enslavement of the people, but a very heavy capitation tax was levied from them in maize, cassava, and other provisions, and this probably was used as a means of yet further oppression; they decreased rapidly, and their numbers were also diminished by the ravages of small pox, and other diseases of European origin. There were then but few negroes in the island, but several ship-loads were introduced soon after the signing of the treaty at Madrid between "his most Christian majesty of France," and his "most catholic majesty of Spain."

* Edwards' *West Indies*, vol. i., p. 72.

† Caribs from Trinidad molested the island of San Juan in 1547. Southey, vol. i., p. 187.

‡ Herrera, quoted by Southey, vol. i., p. 176.

§ *Vide* Account of Sir Walter's Expedition to Guiana, in the *World Displayed, or, A Curious Collection of Voyages and Travels.* Fourth edition; vol. iv., p. 59.

‖ *Vide* Mills' *Trinidad Almanack* for 1840, which contains interesting information, extracted from island documents and family papers, respecting the internal history of the colony.

by which the Royal French Guinea Company undertook to supply the Spanish colonies with 4,800 negroes per annum for the term of ten years. Cacao was the chief production; the sugar was inferior in quality, and small in quantity. A blight of the cacao crop in 1725, and a similar visitation in 1740, reduced the colony very low; still more injurious were the effects of an insurrection on a small scale, in which the Ayuntemiento, or Cabildo, a body corporate, combining the functions of a legislative, executive, and ecclesiastical council, a municipal corporation, and a parish vestry, having taken part with the people against the governor (de Linan), who rightfully presided over them, took upon themselves to supersede, chain, and imprison him for the space of six months, on the plea of his vexatious and oppressive conduct. A force sent by the viceroy of Grenada released him; some of the leaders of the revolt were banished for ten years, and a large proportion of the male population hastily quitted the colony, which in 1750 had sunk to its lowest ebb of poverty and apathy. In 1781, measures were taken by the king of Spain (in consequence of the representations of a M. St. Laurent, who had visited and been greatly struck with the capabilities of Trinidad), to induce immigration; many French, and a few Irish immigrants flocked in; and Trinidad, which a few years before appeared with difficulty to support two or three hundred inhabitants, abundantly supplied thrice as many thousands.

In 1783, the Spanish monarch issued a second ordinance, or cedula, which, by promising to each white person of either sex of the Roman catholic persuasion, a free grant of about thirty-two English acres, and half that quantity to the new settler for every slave he or she might possess, and to free blacks half the quantity of land granted to whites, induced a great influx of population from the French islands of St. Domingo, Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, and Cayenne, so much that the colony soon became French in everything but name. The premium upon the possession of every additional slave proved fatal to the liberty of many free blacks and people of colour, who were kidnapped from various parts of the West Indies;¶ and another clause in the cedula which insured to persons who had left other places in debt, immunity from the consequences of fraudulent bankruptcy, made Trinidad the resort of the worst class of characters. The aborigines were now fast verging on extinction, and their successors, the descendants of the old Spanish settlers, were themselves in great part superseded, and their large and ill-defined claims to land set aside in favour of the new comers. A strong government, greatly needed to control such an assembly of unruly spirits, was formed under Don Josef Chacon, a naval captain of great physical and mental energy, who, although a zealous catholic, set to work by expelling some of the dissolute monks, and banishing the last emissary of the hateful inquisition. In February, 1797, a British expedition** for the

¶ The Cabildo formally complained of the inferior class of slaves brought to Trinidad. The infirm, diseased, or refractory, for whom no market could be found elsewhere, were brought here; and out of every forty or fifty landed, only five or six remained alive after the first few days. Certain it is, that their treatment in the colony was excessively cruel; and the slave laws adopted at this period, notwithstanding the injunctions of the feeble Spanish government in 1789, were very similar to the horrible "code noir" of the French colonies.

** It consisted of about 20 vessels and 10,000 men.

reduction of Trinidad, sailed from Martinique, under Abercrombie and Harvey. The strong republican and party spirit fermenting among the inhabitants, prevented Governor Chacon from making efficient preparations for the defence of the colony. The seat of government removed, in 1783, from the inland position of San Joseph to Port of Spain, could only be defended by a strong fleet in the Gulf; the Spanish admiral, Apodaca, who had the reputation of a good and pious, but very unwarlike man, had four fine line-of-battle ships and a frigate, manned by about 1,600 men; by the advice of Chacon, the little island of Gaspar Grande was fortified at the entrance of the Boca Grande (the Dragon's mouth of Columbus). Apodaca did not, however, endeavour to defend the colony, but seeing the superiority of the British force, and the impossibility of escape, set fire to his superb ships, which were models of architecture, and took refuge in Port of Spain.* Chacon was of course compelled to capitulate.

Abercrombie made the best arrangements he could, and left his aid-de-camp, the afterwards famous Sir Thomas Picton, a brave and energetic, but stern and unscrupulous man, in the difficult position of governor. He ruled with a rod of iron, systematically violated an article in the capitulation insisted upon by Chacon to secure the rights of the coloured inhabitants; and in one celebrated case (that of Luisa Calderon) he ordered the application of torture (standing on a picket), on a mere accusation of having robbed the man with whom she was living; and adopted a most iniquitous measure for the suppression of obi, or obeah, by instituting an inquisitorial and very sanguinary tribunal, quite contrary to the spirit of British laws, by whose orders burning, hanging, whipping, and cutting off ears and noses, were frequent exhibitions. During the general but short-lived peace of 1802, Trinidad being confirmed to England, Picton, Fullarton, and Hood, were appointed joint-commissioners for the settlement of affairs; the arrangement proved, as might be expected, from the character of Picton, who was placed second to Colonel Fullarton, a very good and humane officer of the East India Company, a perfectly impracticable one; and was put an end to in 1803 by the arrival of Sir Thomas Hislop, a soldier of reputation, but quite unfit for the governorship of a crown colony in a state of almost complete anarchy. In 1805 great sensation was created by Nelson's fleet suddenly appearing off the northern coast, on which stood a single martello tower: the officer in command mistaking the squadron for that of France or Spain, flung his solitary gun over the hill, blew up his fort, and hastened to communicate the news of an approaching foe. Nelson himself, misled by previous reports, which this circumstance tended to confirm, concluded the island in possession of the French and Spanish, and hoping to find their squadron in the gulf, swept through the Bocas in splendid style. Being soon undeceived, and without staying to send even a note ashore, the Admiral sailed out of the gulf in pursuit of the combined fleets of France and Spain. The mistake created confusion; but one satisfactory result was obtained in proving the inhabitants, at the declaration of martial law, and the assemblage of the militia unanimous in their desire to maintain British rule. In this same year a negro insurrection is said to have been planned, and four of the alleged ringleaders were executed by orders of courts-martial, many horribly mutilated, and some flogged and banished. In 1808, Port of Spain, which had been regularly built, though chiefly of wood, in the South American style, with streets all of equal length and breadth intersecting each other at right angles, was visited with a terrible fire. Three-fourths of the town, including property to the amount of half a million sterling, were destroyed. Parliament voted £50,000 for the relief of the sufferers; and the neighbouring British colonies sent supplies of food, to prevent the famine which, from the mistaken policy of procuring stores from the United States, instead of growing them, threatened to overwhelm the people. In 1809 the condition of the law with regard to slaves was exemplified in the case of Le Bis, a surgeon and planter, who being tried before Judge Smith, on the accusation of having deliberately flogged his slave to death, was discharged after being fined fifty dollars for treating his victim unskilfully in his capacity of surgeon! This was actually the only plea on which he could be punished at all; at that time it being little better than an open question, whether Spanish, and if not, British laws were in force.†

Dr. Coke, on visiting Trinidad in 1810, found several colonists of the Methodist persuasion, and despatched thither a missionary (Rev. T. Talboys), who was very badly received by a factious party on his objecting to do militia duty, from which all clergymen were exempted; attempts were made to expel him; but protected by the governor he held his ground, and since that time the Methodists have met with no further opposition.

Captain Sir Ralph Woodford, R.N., was appointed governor in 1813, and by the zeal and discretion which he displayed in his administration, appears to have greatly improved the condition of the colony, whose capabilities became gradually better understood. He quitted the island, after fifteen years' administration, in April, 1828, and died on his passage to England. Sir Lewis Grant became governor in the following year; he was a kind and just man, though possessed of less administrative ability than his predecessor. He was succeeded by Sir G. F. Hill, as lieutenant-governor, in 1833, and in 1834 the great change from hereditary slavery to emancipation was made without any disturbance, and without the proclamation, according to the desire of the colonists, of martial-law. This favourite measure, employed in the British West Indies for so many purposes, whether to quell imaginary rebellions got up as a means of counter-irritation, whenever Parliament attempted to interfere on behalf of the slaves,—used to ship off an obnoxious "Saint," persecute a missionary, or keep down disturbance liable to be caused by an epidemic disease, a fire, or public rejoicings, has had its day, a long and a bloody one; but with slavery, the desire and excuse for such coercion have alike passed away; and the proclamation of martial-law would probably be deprecated by the colonists, with one voice, in any of

* It is said that Chacon, on learning from Apodaca what he had done, exclaimed—"Then all is lost; you have saved nothing?" "Si, Senor," replied the admiral, with Castilian enthusiasm, "I have saved Saint Jago de Compostella!" exhibiting an image of his patron saint. Both officials, on their return to Spain, were imprisoned, and underwent a long investigation as to their conduct; strange to say, Apodaca was acquitted and promoted, but Chacon, through the manœuvres of some of the disaffected Trinidad republicans, was disgraced; and only on his death-bed learned that through the exertions of an affectionate and generous-hearted youth, his nephew, his worth was known to and acknowledged by his sovereign.

† *Trinidad Almanack* for 1840, p. 238.

those islands, as earnestly as by the orderly and peace-loving inhabitants of an English town. The present governor, Lord Harris, appears to be labouring strenuously and successfully for the development of some of the numerous, and as yet but partially appreciated resources of the colony.

ASPECT.—The formation of Trinidad is directly opposite to that of the Caribbee group; the mountains have not the towering majesty which distinguishes some of those islands, neither do they run lengthways like a backbone, loftiest in the centre, but, on the contrary, the principal chain, from 2,000 to 3,000 feet in height, clothed from the summit to the base with stately forests, and fringed with mangroves overhanging and actually vegetating in the sea, extends in an east and west direction along the northern coast, commencing at *Point Galera*, and becoming submerged after forming *Point Mona*, the highest summits being still visible in three small isles, which extend across the northern entrance of the Gulf of Paria, leaving four Bocas,* or mouths, towards the Cumana Mountains, with which they were evidently at one time connected, having with them formed a spur of the great chain stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, known as the Andes. Whether Trinidad has been insulated by volcanic force, or continuous aqueous irruption, is an open question, but the latter seems very probable, on considering the power of the immense volumes of water poured into the gulf during the rainy seasons by the Guarapiche and branches of the Orinoco Rivers. About twenty miles to the southward of this chain, and eight from the western shore, the *Montserrat Hills* rise with a gentle slope; a few miles further south, near *Mariquire Bay*, is an eminence about 600 feet in altitude, called by the aborigines *Naparima*, or Single Mountain, at whose base stands the town of San Fernando; towards the centre of the island is a double-peaked mountain, called *Tamana*, with a spacious platform from whence the lovely and fertile valleys of *St. Joseph*, *Santa Cruz*, *Maraccas*, and *Las Cuevas*, extend themselves before the eye, and the ocean is visible both on the east and west; the rest of the area consists of plains and undulating lands, with some moderately high ridges, called *Mornes* by the French creoles.

COAST-LINE AND RIVERS.—The Gulf of Paria, as has been before remarked, forms one great harbour, in which ships may anchor in from three to six fathoms, on a gravel and mud bottom; the chief ports resorted to on the Trinidad side, are *Chaguaramas Bay*, where the extremity of the north-western peninsula, *Gaspar Grande*, and other small islets, form an immense natural dock, sheltered from all weathers and all winds, and *Port of Spain*, on whose shores stands the capital of the island. The three other sides of Trinidad are deficient in safe and accessible ports; *Guayaguare*, on the south-east, formed by the small promontory of *Point Galeota*, is one of the best for small vessels, but it is open to the south wind (which, however, rarely blows with violence), and has a pebbly bar across its entrance; on the east coast, *Mayero* is a good roadstead. *Balandra Bay*, or *Boat Island*, offers anchorage to droghers or coasting-vessels; *Rio Grande*, *Toca*, and *Cumana*, on the north-east, are tolerable roadsteads; and on the north are the bays of *Las Cuevas*, where *Fort Abercrombie* is situated, and *Maquaripe*.

Streams abound, several really deserve the name of rivers, and are navigable for vessels of a tolerable size for some distance. The *Caroni*, the chief of those which fall into the gulf, rises in the northern mountains, receives the *Aripo*, *Guanapa*, and several mountain streams, passes St. Joseph, is joined by the *Maraccas* or *St. Joseph's River* and *St. Juan's*,—flows through an extensive savanna, and disembogues a little to the southward of Port of Spain, being navigable for conveying produce about 18 miles in a direct line. The *Moruga* is the finest stream on the southern shore; the *Guartaro* or *Ortoir*, *Nariva*, *Branche*, and *Oropouche*, on the eastern; and the *Grande* and *Paria*, on the northern coast, which abounds in cascades and waterfalls. One of these, in the valley of Maraccas, down which the waters of St. Joseph's River are precipitated, is very remarkable.

TOPOGRAPHY.—In 1789, Trinidad was divided into numerous divisions, called "quarters," which upon the enactment of slave emancipation, were consolidated into eight districts, under the superintendence of special magistrates. No good survey has ever been made of the island; and the fertile savannas† of the interior, no longer penetrated by parties of militia in search of fugitive negroes, remain in their wild native beauty.

Port of Spain, the capital, is one of the finest towns in the British West Indies. After the calamitous fire of 1808, the inhabitants being forbidden to reconstruct their dwellings of wood, used the good stone which is plentiful in the neighbourhood. The long, wide, well paved and cleanly streets, shaded with trees, extend in parallel lines from the land to the sea, and are intersected with cross rows. The main (Brunswick) square is artistically laid out with straight and circular walks, and adorned with both indigenous and exotic trees. The Protestant and Roman Catholic cathedrals are magnificent buildings. The former is well situated, with a large inclosed lawn in front of it, bordered on two sides by handsome dwellings. There are no aisles, the roof sweeping in an elliptical arch from side to side, and the wainscoting of the various rich native woods tastefully arranged. There is a Scottish church and a Methodist chapel. The spacious market-place and market-house are kept with admirable neatness and order; the gay costumes and vivacious manners of the French and Spanish women, give a mirthful but foreign-looking character to the scene. The stores are crowded with rich European goods, some of which find their way to Columbia. The town is divided into barrios or districts, under the superintendence of alcaides or magistrates, who are responsible for the state of the streets and markets in their several divisions, and the system appears to answer admirably.

St. Ann's, the governor's plain but comfortable dwelling, stands upon a very gentle slope, about

* Boca Grande, or great channel; Boca de Navios, or ship's channel; Boca Nuevos, or Egg, or Umbrella channel; so called from the appearance of a remarkable tree, growing upon a rock on the lee side, much resembling an umbrella; and the Boca de Monas, or apes' channel. The currents here are dangerous, and the navigation very intricate.

† Savanna is an Indian word, signifying a plain covered with, what is here termed fox-tailed grass, and clumps of crooked dwarf-trees, called savanna wood, or wild cashew trees. In Trinidad, there are other tracts, forming lagoon or marshy savannas, such as the one at the Caroni River, which is inundated during a part of the wet season, and at other times covered with tall fox-tailed grass and "tusk" rushes which grow so high that a man on horseback, riding through them, is completely shut in by a green wall on either side.

half-a-mile from the town; the mountain forests rise almost immediately behind it, whilst the lawn and shrubbery would give the place something of an English air, but for the vegetation; the nutmeg-tree, the cinnamon and clove-bushes flourishing there, together with many less rare but most beautiful trees, including the magnificent Bois Immortel (*Erythrina umbrosa*), called by the Spaniards Madre de Cacao, and planted by them beside the alleys of the cacao walks, to shade the young plants from the too fervent rays of a tropical sun. Indeed, a cacao plantation is in itself a charming sight; the trees are placed from twelve to fifteen feet apart, and not suffered to grow above about fifteen feet in height; their broad rich foliage of hues varying from a light green to a dark red, and stems laden with the yellow and dark red pods, which contain the chocolate bean, are far overtopped by the Bois Immortel, which, like the bignonia, at certain seasons exchanges its leaves for a thick covering of brilliant red blossoms. Another striking feature in the scenery of Trinidad, is the abundance and variety of the humming-birds, which, according to Sir Walter Raleigh, obtained for the island the native name of *Ieri;* a third less pleasing characteristic is the number of great red monkeys whose wild yell greets the voyager on entering the Bocas, and ill accords with the extraordinary beauty of the panorama which unfolds itself as the vessel, after safely passing the Dragon's Mouth, sails along the eastern shore of the placid gulf, passing the deep and abrupt mountain clefts, amid which lie the valleys of *Ques*, *Diego Martin*, and *Carenage;* the strong, but now almost dismantled, *Fort George*, whose batteries rise in succession from the coast to the height of about a thousand feet; and the costly but insalubrious *Barracks of St. James*, about a mile from Port of Spain. The anchorage is a mile or two from the extensive and beautiful but low plain on which the town is built, and of its structures, only the cathedrals are seen to advantage from thence. But for the excellent drainage and effective police system enforced, the situation must have proved very unhealthy, the foundation being formed of mud deposits from the gulf and the detritus of the mountain ridges, which rise immediately behind and around it. The waters are still perceptibly retreating, and the sites of *Marine-square* and many fine houses in that neighbourhood, which, says Sir Andrew Halliday, writing in 1837, "were covered with mud not many years ago," are now left considerably inland.

Five miles from the capital is the pretty village of *San Juan*, nestled amid a wooded branch of the northern mountains; and three miles further, the ancient capital *San Josef de Oruna*, now called San Joseph. Though ill-suited for commercial purposes, the position is excellent in regard to health and beauty; a clear stream flows from a neighbouring valley, and passes beside the hill on which the town stands, and the view extends over the chief alluvial plains of the island, as well as Mount Tamana, the hills of Montserrat and Naparima.

Arima, a neat village, interesting because in and around it a remnant of the native Indians still lingered till very recently, is separated from San Joseph by an open plain about ten miles in length, upon which the plantations, though of some extent, are as mere patches compared with the vast virgin forests by which they are bordered. The villagers, whether white or coloured, are described as miserably indolent, and devoted to the luxury of swinging in their cotton hammocks. The town of *San Fernando*, thirty miles from Port of Spain, will probably become of importance from being in the neighbourhood of some of the best populated and cultivated land in the colony; at the back of it there is a gently sloping tract of great value.

The little village of *La Brea*, on the western coast, is visited by strangers on account of the natural phenomena for which its neighbourhood is distinguished. The most remarkable of these is the *pitch lake*, so called from an extensive collection of bituminous matter on the surface of a fresh-water lake, about three miles in circumference, eighty feet above the level of the sea, and surrounded, except to seaward, by dark woods. This exudation from the diluvial clay-hills is of the same nature, and is produced somewhat in the same way as the *green-tar* of Barbados. The surface of the lake is black, more or less intense, according to the season, and clumps of dwarf trees maintain a sort of floating vegetation amid the immense masses of asphaltum, the crevices between which are filled with water, wholesome, but somewhat bituminous in flavour, in which small fresh-water mullets and caymans (small alligators) are caught. Butterflies and humming birds of the most brilliant hues, paroquettes and beautiful "mangrove ramiers," hover round the vegetation which springs up in the dark and gloomy lagoon; but at one part, for about three acres and a half, near the source where the petroleum flows into the lake, no bird dares approach, for to breathe the dense sulphureous vapours would be certain suffocation. Could the asphaltum which nature has provided so abundantly, be made cheaply applicable to common uses, as pitch and tar, it would be a great boon to Trinidad. The traces of former volcanic action are elsewhere manifest; hot springs exist in several places, and not far from Cape Brea there is a submarine volcano, whose eruptions occasionally agitate the waves, and eject considerable quantities of petroleum; there is another crater of the same kind in Mayero bay, on the opposite side of the island, from whence, in the months of March and June each year, flames and smoke, attended with a loud noise, burst through the sea, and fragments of bitumen, black and shining as jet, float to the shore.

There are also several *mud volcanoes* in different parts of the island, which cast up quantities of mud, rounded pebbles, pyrites, bits of half-burned wood, and sometimes salt water, but always cold.

GEOLOGY—The absence of calcareous masses in Trinidad and Cumana affords a marked contrast to the mountains and hills of the Caribbean chain. The nucleus here is a dense argillaceous schistus, which becomes laminated and friable when exposed to the atmosphere. Masses of limestone, covered with a superficial soil, are found in most parts of the island; but especially along the northern range of mountains, where gneiss is frequently met with. No granite has been observed. Blocks of milky and finely crystallized quartz have been obtained in all the mountains, and gypsum among those near St. Joseph, and at the back of the south Naparima hills. On the east side of the island there are extensive strata of ferruginous sandstone. No vestiges of organic remains have been discovered. Marine and land shells are found in the alluvial plains. Madrepores are drifted on the coast; but no coral banks exist.

MINERALOGY.—Large pieces of iron ore have been obtained; sulphate of copper, and brilliant copper pyrites are found among the extinct volcanoes

of Erin. A white metal, specific gravity 10, has been noticed, which, when fused with gold, destroyed its malleability and ductility. M. Vanquelin thought it either a new metal, or composed of several others. Quicksilver, arsenic, and plumbago have been seen, but the mineralogy of the island is little known.

Soil.—Very various; in the *végas*, or hollows of the rivers, and in the valleys, there is generally a good soil, which is being continually fertilized by the torrents flowing from the mountains, strongly impregnated with calcareous carbonate; some of the soils have a dark reddish appearance, others are of a deep chocolate colour, intermingled with black, both very deep and productive, the latter in a high degree. A loose and deep sand, mixed with shells, with springs immediately beneath the surface, though seemingly very poor, yields fine sugar crops. A deep and fertile argillaceous vegetative earth, without a rock, or even a pebble, covers the surface of several extensive valleys and plains on the east and west coasts. The anonymous but evidently experienced author of an account of Trinidad, published in the Almanac for 1840, says, that canes will rattoon in new and very rich tracts of land for from twenty to thirty years: new lands of ordinary quality yield rattoons for ten years, old lands of good soil eight, and old and inferior soils five. The heavy and regular rains, and the marked alternations of season, doubtless contribute to promote the fertility of the earth. The pasturage generally is of inferior quality, from the exuberant richness of the soil.

Climate.—Not so dry as that of Cumana, and less moist than that of Guiana, with more constant winds, and a frequently renovated atmosphere. At Port of Spain the general range of the thermometer is usually from 70° to 85°; sometimes it rises to 90°; in the country districts it is 5°, and in the mountains 10° to 12° lower. The fall of rain, including the heavy dews, is about 75 inches. The rainy and dry seasons are more marked than in the Antilles; the latter commences with December, and ends in May, when the east-north-east and north winds become less cool; and in June the temperature is at its height. Part of June, July, August, September, October, and part of November, constitute the hot and wet months when earthquakes occur; hurricanes, however, are unknown, not reaching so far to the southward. On the north coast especially, the temperature is enjoyable, and the air for the greater part of the year fresh, pure, and very elastic, by reason of the rains and dews being evaporated by fresh breezes from the Atlantic. The southern side of the island is the warmest, and least humid. It seldom rains at night; but according to the old Spaniards this has only been the case since the English "heretics" took the country. Notwithstanding the implied malediction, the climate on the whole seems to have undergone a considerable change for the better, especially if the improved health of the population affords any criterion, the preponderance of births to deaths being as large as in Europe, longevity with sound mental and corporeal faculties, frequent among persons of temperate habits, and the Creoles healthy and more muscular than is usual among the natives of tropical regions.

Population.—According to a census taken in 1733, it appears that there were then only 162 adult males capable of being taxed for local purposes, and of these but 28 were white. The aboriginal Indians were not taken into the account. Since then, the population has increased, by means already stated; and though still but limited in number, considering the area of the island, is perhaps the very motliest in the British West Indies. The following table, like those given for other islands, must of course be only taken as approximative, and cannot be relied on; it is formed from many and varied sources.

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Indians.[1]	Slaves or Blacks.[2]	Total.
1783	126	295	2,032	310	2,763
1797	2,151	4,474	1,078	10,009	17,712
1800	2,359	4,408	1,071	15,012	22,850
1802	2,261	5,275	1,232	19,709	28,477
1808	2,470	6,478	1,635	21,895	32,478
1811	2,617	7,493	1,736	21,288	33,134
1813	2,896	8,102	1,265	25,717	37,980
1822	3,341	13,392	893	23,227	40,873[3]
1831	3,319	16,285	762	21,302	41,675[4]
1834	3,632	18,724	600	20,657	43,613
1844	—	—	—	—	60,319[5]
1851	1,494	—	—	—	68,600

Note.—[1] The varying and at times increasing numbers of the Indians, if correctly recorded, probably resulted from immigration. They are now so diminished in numbers, that they are not separately noticed in the official records. The early augmentation among the free coloured, was caused by immigration in great part. Many of the South American labourers, called *Peons*, a mixed race of African, Indian, and European blood, came over, allured by the promises held out in the Spanish cedula of 1783. [2] Before emancipation the decrease of the slave population by death, far beyond any augmentation, here, as in other colonies, necessitated constant fresh importation, not only to increase but even to keep up the numbers. Just before the trade was prohibited in 1807, large numbers were hurried into the country, and eagerly bought and sold on credit. In 1834 the total number emancipated in Trinidad was 20,657—of these, 2,246 were children under six years of age, and 872 aged, diseased, and otherwise ineffective. In 1851 there were 39,913 of the inhabitants who had been born in the island, and of these 16,403 were under ten years of age, showing a considerable increase among the former slave population. [3] Including 20 Chinese immigrants. [4] Including 7 Chinese. [5] Including 504 military, their wives and children. There are no classified returns for 1844 or 1851.

Census of July, 1851.

Parishes.	Males.	Females.	Total.
St. George	18,538	20,072	38,630
Victoria	8,899	7,041	15,940
St. Patrick	2,679	1,895	4,574
St. David	533	380	913
St. Andrew	145	112	257
Nariva	113	81	194
Mayero	537	448	985
Caroni	4,187	2,920	7,107
Total	35,631	32,969	68,600

Of the above, there were, married, 11,870; unmarried, 56,730.

Descent.—Natives of Great Britain and Ireland, 727; Trinidad, 39,913; British West India colonies, 10,800; East Indies (coolies), 3,933; Europe, 767; Foreign colonies, 2,735; Africa, 8,010; America, 1,395; Asia, and elsewhere, 260.

Age.—Under 10 years, 16,403; 10 to 20, 10,497; 20 to 30, 16,408; 30 to 40, 12,710; 40 to 50, 6,405; 50 to 60, 3,348; 60 to 70, 1,777; 70 to 80, 661; 80 to 90, 237; 90 to 100, 94.

Religion.—Church of England, 16,246; Rome,

43,605; Wesleyan, 2,508; Presbyterian, 1,017; Independent, 133; Baptist, 448; other Christian denominations, 98. Mahomedans, 1,016; Hindoo, 2,649; Heathen, 880. Of these, 8,710 can read and write; 5,019 can read only. Labourers, 32,884; no stated employment, 26,989; employed in agriculture, 34,885; commerce, 760.

Immigration, on an extensive and costly, but very injudicious system, has been carried on since 1839. In November, 1847, a return of the number of men, women, and children located on the estates, or then working, gave the following result:—Natives of Trinidad emancipated in 1838, 20,656; number of immigrants imported—old islanders, 11,339; Africans, 3,990; East India coolies, 4,359; Americans (free blacks), 1,301; Portuguese, 96; from Saba, 64 = 22,015. Grand total, 42,671. The treatment of the immigrants generally, and especially of the East India coolies, has been most discreditable. "The immigrant," says the governor, "is looked upon too much as a mere animal whose labour is valuable;" in 1847, numbers were found destitute, sick, and starving in the roads; their skeletons were seen in the woods and cane pieces; 250 died in the hospital between June 1847, and February 1848, and a great number in other places." "I believe," adds Lord Harris, "that in no country has greater suffering been undergone than by these unfortunate people in the shape of disease, starvation, and ultimate death, and to those who have had to witness it daily, it has been most distressing." The contracts which many of the planters entered into for the obtainment of these labourers were broken; bills were given on their agents for the £2 per head payable to government towards the expense of the introduction, most of which were dishonoured. As might be expected, the gaol was crowded, the hospital full, and lunatics and idiots wandered about the streets, to the annoyance and disgust of all. It is not surprising that the former slave population, witnessing the fate and treatment of these hordes of immigrants, should anxiously desire to be no longer dependent on the precarious wages which the sugar-planter could give, the more so as money was then (according to an official statement) being borrowed in Port of Spain, at 45 per cent. The governor, writing in February, 1849, says—"there is a marked inclination in the population to retire to any spot of land they can purchase, instead of continuing to work as hired labourers; and though it may be of minute proportions, yet it is considered at once as an independence, whether it be sufficient to support them and their families or not." Several free villages have thus been formed at Arima, Aronca, and other places. The character given of their inhabitants, and of the creole population generally, is highly satisfactory. Lord Harris says—

"I can bear witness to their good qualities, which have been particularly displayed during the present distress (1847-'48); the labourers on estates have worked as usual thereon, though there has been a want of money to pay them regularly; and up to the present time wages are due on some estates for three or four months. It is also very gratifying to see the emulation which has been called forth amongst the young by holding examinations, and by the distribution of a few prizes; and I feel certain that it only requires the means to diffuse instruction more extensively to cause a rapid and general improvement in the mental, and I hope also, in the moral state of the population; to what pitch of advancement they are capable of attaining still remains to be proved."—*Blue Book* for 1847, p. 177.)

The population is being yearly increased by immigrants from different countries; in the early part of 1853, Chinese, to the number of 400, arrived, and proved excellent husbandmen.

GOVERNMENT.—Trinidad is a crown colony, ruled by a governor, an executive council of three, and a legislative council of thirteen members, six of whom are unofficial; but all nominated by the sovereign. There is a town council of San Fernando, with an annual revenue of £2,000; and the island is divided into 40 wards, whose local revenues, in 1851, amounted to £17,906 sterling.

RELIGION.—Eleven ministers of the Church of England, and eighteen of the Church of Rome. The majority of the inhabitants are of the latter persuasion. There are also some ministers of the Wesleyan and other Protestant denominations.

EDUCATION.—One school in each ward; also four public seminaries in connection with the Church of England, and two with that of Rome. I have not the statistics of the missionary bodies.

Press.—Two or three newspapers and an almanac.

CRIME.—Owing to the large immigration since emancipation, and other circumstances, no comparison can be drawn; but in 1847, out of 990 persons convicted of crime, only 240 were creoles.

FINANCE.—Revenue in 1833, £35,120; in 1850, £88,660; in 1851, £95,733, of which custom duties yielded £70,797. The civil establishment (including £3,500 salary of governor) cost in 1851, £28,481, exclusive of £1,800 paid by England; judicial, £10,353; ecclesiastical, £11,129; pensions, £1,027; miscellaneous, £55,322; military expenditure paid from commissariat chest in 1851, £16,370.

Coin in circulation estimated at £40,000; bank notes at £50,000.

Weights and measures.—English.

COMMERCE AND PRODUCE.—Previous to 1783 the whole produce of the island consisted of a small quantity of cocoa, vanilla, indigo, annotto, cotton, and maize, not more than sufficient to employ a small schooner two or three times a-year for its conveyance to St. Eustatia. In 1787, the first sugar plantation was formed. Upon the final cession of the island to Great Britain, agriculture and commerce received a strong stimulus; the progress during the present century is thus shown:—

Year.	Sugar.	Molasses.	Rum.	Cocoa.	Coffee.
	lbs.	gals.	gals.	lbs.	lbs.
1800	9,895,634	128,507	194,488	284,170	449,614
1808	25,950,928	606,100	940,564	668,993	387,028
1833	37,681,572	1,065,649	231,125	2,400,196	151,727
1839	29,208,854	834,609	9,946	2,571,988	175,985
1849[1]	43,678,018	950,158	34,697	3,651,795	92,247
1851	44,575,146	915,193	42,120	5,552,437	898
1852	—	—	—	—	—

Note.—Cotton, in 1800, 317,395 lbs.; 1808, 139,200; 1833, 11,300; 1839, 121,042; 1849, 23,780. [1] Average of three years, 1847-'8-'9. Sugar crop of 1852, at least 50,000,000 lbs.

The *value* of the trade has, of necessity, fluctuated according to the quantity of the staple articles produced; and the market prices in different years—

—	1833.	1834.	1850.	1851.
Imports . .	£307,075	£308,178	£476,910	£548,471
Exports . .	341,571	394,541	319,394	390,909
Total . .	648,646	702,719	796,304	939,380

Note.—Shipping inwards, 1834, tons 41,149; 1851, 62,178.

Arrow-root, cocoa-nuts, and cocoa-nut oil, hides, and other articles, are now being added to the export list. The same impolitic system of importing articles which might be far more cheaply and remuneratively produced on the spot, is equally conspicuous in Trinidad as in Jamaica. Thus it appears that from America, bananas, plantains, yams, sweet potatoes, corn, meal, rice, tobacco, and spices, to the aggregate value of at least £30,000, are annually imported, although there is ample space, and even labour, with a favourable climate for the production of all these items. The ungranted land amounts, in round numbers, to 850,000 acres; that granted, to about 220,000, out of which 60,000, at the most, are cultivated in canes, cocoa, coffee, provision, or used for pasture. The labourers were stated in the last census at 32,884; of these, according to a statement recently made by Lord Harris at a public meeting, 15,000 were required for sugar, 2,000 for cocoa estates, and 6,000 were small proprietors, leaving 9,884 who might be profitably engaged in raising food.

The amount of sugar exported in 1849, viz. 49,000,000 lbs., was 9,000,000 lbs. above the average for the nine years previous, and only inferior to one of those years, viz. 1847. The average value of the previous nine years' imports was £500,000 per annum; the revenue had also increased. The governor, in stating these facts, remarked that they afforded "ground for hope that this island is able to struggle against the difficulties with which it has to contend, and that it may eventually overcome them."—(Report, dated 1850, accompanying *Blue Book* for 1849, p. 210). The crop of the 1852-'53 season was equal to about 56,000 hogsheads.* That of 1853-'54 is expected to be much greater. The crop of cocoa in 1851-'52 was the largest ever obtained in the island.

CHAPTER XI.—ANTIGUA, BARBUDA, DOMINICA, MONTSERRAT, NEVIS, ST. KITT'S, ANGUILLA, AND THE VIRGIN ISLANDS.

The above colonies comprise the British possessions in the *Leeward* portion of the Caribbee group, and extend through four degrees of latitude. The governor-in-chief resides at Antigua; under him there are lieutenant-governors (or other subordinate functionaries), who superintend the affairs of the respective islands, in the same manner as do the resident rulers of the *Windward* Caribbees (St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, and Tobago), under the governor-in-chief at Barbados.

ANTIGUA

Is situated between 17° 2′ and 17° 13′ N. lat., and between 61° 44′ and 61° 58′ W. long; forty miles north of Guadaloupe, and twenty-five north-east of Montserrat. It is twenty miles long and fifty-four in circumference, containing an area estimated at 110 square miles = 70,400 acres.

History.—Columbus sailed by this island in 1493, and named it in honour of a church in Seville, *Santa Maria la Antigua*. Whether it was then inhabited does not appear, but from its almost total lack of springs and rivers, it would probably be considered untenable by any people not acquainted with a method of preserving rain water in cisterns. In 1632, it was taken possession of by Sir Thomas Warner and a few English settlers who, in 1640, amounted to about thirty families. From this period the population increased, and Antigua promised to become a flourishing possession, but was desolated in 1666 by a French force from Martinique, by whom the tobacco plantations, which then afforded the sole export, were ruined, and all the negroes carried off. By the treaty of Breda, in 1666, the island was formally declared a British possession; in the following year it was visited by Lord (William) Willoughby, who re-established the colony, and bestowed large tracts of land on Colonel Byam and other royalist officers who accompanied him.

A great step in commerce was made by the enterprise of Colonel Codrington, who, believing its virgin soil admirably calculated for the growth of the sugar-cane, which he had already cultivated in Jamaica with extraordinary success, purchased a considerable quantity of land, came over with his family, rapidly amassed a large fortune,† and was appointed, in the phraseology of that day, captain-general of the British Leeward Caribbee Islands. In 1706, the progress of the colony received a severe check by the appointment, through the influence of the Duke of Marlborough, of a man named Park, of infamous and immoral character. His conduct, however, bad as it is represented to have been,‡ can but faintly palliate the disgraceful fury of the colonists. After repeated attempts on his life, in the last of which he was grievously, though not mortally wounded, they at length succeeded in obtaining his recal, which was hailed with an open triumph, which maddened the governor, and appears to have induced him (for the accounts of this wretched business are very confused) to attempt dissolving the Assembly, and continuing his administration by force. The inhabitants assembled, and on 7th December, 1710, about 500 appeared in arms at St. John's, and invested the government-house, where the few regular troops in the colony awaited them. Perceiving, when too late, the crisis he had provoked, the wretched man offered to dismiss his soldiers if six of the chief settlers would be hostages for his safety. The speaker of the Assembly, and one of the members of the Council, inclined towards a compromise, and offered themselves as two of the required sureties, but—the beginning of strife is as the letting out of water—they could not control the movements of an armed assem-

* The hogshead varies in size in different colonies.

† Schomburgk's *History of Barbados*, p. 295.

‡ The chief charge brought against him during his administration, was an unsuccessful attempt to obtain from a provost-marshal (a creature of his own, whom he had raised to that position from the rank of a common soldier), and a packed jury, sentence of death against a merchant and influential settler, named Chester, for having accidentally killed a man; the true cause of the persecution, being the governor's having seduced the wife of Chester, whose vengeance or interference he dreaded.—(Edwards, vol. i., p. 478.)

blage, whose excited passions reacted upon one another; a rush forward was made in two columns; the government-house was attacked; and being at length broken in, the governor met them, and shot dead the first man who approached him (Piggott, a member of the Assembly); falling wounded himself at the same moment. The assailants seized his prostrate body, and, while yet alive, tore him limb from limb, scattering abroad the bloody fragments in their mad and brutal rage. Thus ended perhaps the most disgraceful scene, always excepting the horrors attendant on slavery, that ever occurred in a British colony.

An ensign and thirteen privates were killed, and a lieutenant and twenty-four privates wounded in defending their miserable ruler; and thirty-two of the insurgents were killed or wounded. After some investigation, influenced, probably, by the great majority of the colonists concerned in this outrage, a general pardon was issued by the Crown to all concerned.

In 1723, the Antiguan legislature strove to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, who were then being rapidly imported, by enacting penalties of not less than £100 for wilfully killing one of them; and for dismemberment, of not less than £20 currency.*

In 1737, a plot was discovered on the part of the negroes to massacre all the white inhabitants; about 200 of the wretched conspirators were seized at various times, of whom 58 were chained to stakes and burnt, 5 broken on the wheel, and six hung in chains upon gibbets and starved to death, one of whom lived nine days and eight nights without sustenance.†

Soon after this, a change appears to have come over the minds of the colonists, the mild influences of religion mitigating the evils of slavery, though its precepts were too little understood entirely to banish the hateful system. The Moravian missionaries had, as early as 1732, been permitted to establish themselves in Antigua; they held their ground, and even continued gradually to gain it; and in 1787, had under their care 5,465 slaves.‡ The speaker of the House of Assembly, Mr. Gilbert, who settled in the island in 1760, set an excellent example, by his anxiety for the spiritual instruction of the negroes, manifested in the teeth of much scoffing and contumely. He appears to have been one of Wesley's early followers: after his death, his place was partially supplied from an humbler class of life, by a shipwright named Baxter, who, after his daily toil was concluded, devoted his evenings to the instruction of the slaves. Dr. Coke, when visiting the West Indies in 1789, was obliged, by what he afterwards termed "friendly adverse winds," to land at Antigua. Here he found a small Methodist body, presided over by Baxter, who was then under-storekeeper at English Harbour, with an income of £400 a-year. This, together with his improving prospects, he cheerfully resigned, and joined the mission then duly formed in the island. Religious teaching did more than the dread of torture, to prevent insurrection. The white inhabitants both acknowledged and shared its effects; and Antigua has the great honour of having been the British colony in which the slaves were first fully emancipated; the local legislature, either from policy or a more noble motive, and it was sound policy at any rate, rejecting the apprenticeship system, and giving the great boon of unqualified freedom on the 1st of August, 1834. The conduct of the slaves justified here, as elsewhere, the highest expectations formed concerning them. The momentous Thursday was awaited by nearly the whole adult negro population assembled at midnight in the Houses of Prayer. Friday, Saturday, and as a matter of course, Sunday, were also devoted mainly to religious exercises, and on Monday they went cheerfully to work. Nor was this a temporary impulse: the following Christmas was the first for thirty years that had been celebrated without the proclamation of martial law. The satisfactory manner in which this mighty change was effected in Antigua, was a great triumph to the anti-slavery party, and did much to remove the apprehensions of those who conscientiously feared the consequences of too sudden a transition; while the money received by the planters relieved many of them from the heavy embarrassments under which they had been sinking, though some were too deeply involved to receive any benefit, their estates being mortgaged far beyond their value.

Physical Features and Topography.—Antigua is in shape somewhat of an irregular oval; its shores are deeply indented with creeks, bays, and coves, some of them running into the centre of the plantations like canals; some swelling into estuaries, and others forming spacious harbours. Beyond these, numerous islets, rocks, and shoals, border the shore, and render the approach very dangerous on every side, except the south-west. There are no mountains, properly so called; the highest points not exceeding 1,000 feet; but magnificent cliffs form stately ramparts towards the sea, sloping gradually inwards, crowned with lofty trees, and often rise so abruptly as to wear an appearance of height which they do not really possess.§ The interior, with its green vales and gently rounded hills, much resembles some of the scenery of England; and though, on the whole, wanting in wood, would not inspire the traveller with an idea of the great deficiency of springs, which is the one drawback of the island, droughts of terrible severity being occasionally experienced. The rain-water preserved in cisterns is, fortunately, by no means unpalatable, and proves wholesome. The colony is divided into six parishes. *St. John's*, the chief town, is prettily situated on the top of a moderate eminence on the north-west side of the island, at the head of a sheltered and capacious bay, which is, however, unfortunately barred at the mouth, to the exclusion of large vessels. About midway up the harbour is an elevated rock called *Rat Island*, connected with the mainland by a causeway, which is dry at low water. The Royal Mail Steam Packets anchor at *English Harbour*, on the eastern coast, a secure and commodious port, twelve miles distant, on whose shores good docks and a busy thriving village

* In the preamble to this Act, it was formally stated that, "several cruel persons, to gratify their own humours, against the laws of God and humanity, frequently kill, destroy, or dismember their own and other persons' slaves, and have hitherto gone unpunished, because it is inconsistent with the constitution and government of this island, and would be too great a countenance and encouragement to slaves to resist white persons; to set slaves so far upon an equality with the free inhabitants as to try those that kill them for their lives; nor is it known or practised in any of the Caribbee islands, that any free person killing a slave is triable for his life."—(Southey, vol. ii., pp. 235, 236.)

† Southey, vol. ii., p. 264. ‡ Coke, vol. ii., p. 425.

§ By the neighbouring islanders there is said to be a metropolitan air about Antigua; the very hills lift up their heads, and try to look like mountains.—Baird's *West Indies and North America in* 1849, p. 48.

have been established. The terrible earthquake which desolated the Leeward Islands in 1843, committed sad havoc in various parts of Antigua (where about twenty lives were lost), especially in St. John's, and spaces between handsome dwellings now occupied by negro huts or temporary erections, tell of damages still unrepaired. A cathedral, placed on the brow of an acclivity, on which the town stands, was entirely destroyed; but has been replaced by another, built of a kind of marl-stone found in the island, at a cost of nearly £40,000 sterling. The prospect thence commands one of the many pleasing panoramic views in which Antigua abounds, and includes the town, the harbour, Fort James, the romantic hills of the Five Islands, with the ocean in the distance. The court-house is a good structure, and the prison which, in the time of Coleridge (1825) was described as being "like most others in the West Indies, that is to say, as bad every way as possible," is now a cleanly and well-arranged building. Government-house is built on a hill overlooking English Harbour, near a higher eminence called *Shirley Heights*. *Fig Tree Hill* is remarkable for the variety and luxuriance of the vegetation with which it is covered, and for a clear and transparent spring. The summits, called *Ridge* and *Monk's Hill*, which rise above *Falmouth Bay* on the south, and are crowned by massive fortifications, have a very imposing appearance. The so-called towns of *Falmouth*, *Parham*, *Willoughby*, *Bridge Town*, and *St. James*, are mere villages, not needing notice. The country mansions of the of the Antiguans are, many of them, very handsome, and well appointed; some are still possessed by the decendants of the Codringtons, Warners, Byams, and others, whose names are interwoven with the early history of these islands.

Geology.—Three distinct classifications of the tertiary formation have been noted; on a general view the island consists of a rocky conglomerate of the newest floetztrap, such as wacke, porphyry, trap, breccia, amygdaloid, and some spherical masses of basaitic greenstone; this occupies the hilly district in the south and west: tne north and east divisions exhibit calcareous marl and coarse sandstone, interspersed with blocks of tolerably compact limestone; the interior exhibits argillaceous strata of varied character, and extensive irregular beds of coarse chert or flint. No organic fossils, excepting immense shark's teeth and marine exuviæ, have been discovered. Petrified woods, with the distinctive and delicate fibres of palms and dycotyledonous trees, perfectly preserved, are found, associated with chert, or on the surface of the conglomerate and the marl, with agate, cornelion, and chalcedony. Nitrate of potass sometimes covers, like a hoar frost, the flat oozy shore on the north and east.

Soil.—In the highlands a red clay, argillaceous, with a substratum of marl; in the lowlands a rich dark mould, on clay.

Climate.—Owing to the absence of forests, the periodical rains are uncertain, the air dryer, and the temperature less subject to variations than in the neighbouring islands. The mercury seldom ranges more than 4° Fahrenheit in the twenty-four hours. The annual range is between 73° to 84°. Severe hurricanes have been experienced here in 1681, 1707, 1740, 1772, 1780, 1792, 1795, and 1804. Forty-nine of these tempests have been felt in the West Indies since their colonisation by Europeans; of these 8 occurred in July, 19 in August, 13 in September, and 9 in October; on these occasions the barometer fell from a half to an inch and-a-half below its ordinary height. An earthquake, in 1689, caused much destruction in Antigua, as did also that of 1843, From April to August the refreshing trade-wind blows steadily from the eastward; for the next three months the electric fluid is disturbed, the wind is variable in force and direction, and there are heavy rains; from December to April the wind is more northerly, and the thermometer occasionally as low as 66° Fahrenheit.

Population.—The statistics are imperfect. In 1673, there were 570 slaves in the island.

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Blacks, or Slaves.	Total.
1707	2,892	—	2,892	5,784
1724	5,200	—	19,800	25,000
1774	2,590	1,230	37,808	41,628
1805	3,000	1,300	36,000	40,300
1821	1,998	4,066	31,064	37,128
1834	1,900	3,895	29,121	34,916
1844	—	—	—	36,178
1851	—	—	—	37,163

Note.—In the years 1844 and 1851 there were no classified returns.

According to the census of 1851, there were, males, 17,616; females, 19,520 = 27,136, which, on an area of 110 square miles, would give 380 mouths to each square mile; the governor states, there are about as many persons as arable acres. In 1851 the births were 1,092, deaths, 902.

The condition of the people who had formerly been slaves, is thus described in a valuable official document drawn up by Governor Higginson:—

"Here, as in other islands, the material condition of the emancipated race is most satisfactory. They are abundantly supplied with all the necessaries, and many of the comforts of life. They are well fed, well housed, and well clothed; the passion for fine dress in both sexes continues unabated. Through the aid of friendly societies, which are in active and beneficial operation, the poorest can command good medical attendance, and other privileges seldom enjoyed by persons in a similar rank of life in other countries. The number of labourers withdrawing from estates and settling in detached villages, where they purchase or rent small independent holdings, continues to increase. As stated on a former occasion, by the latest returns made up to June of last year (1845), there appears to be seventy settlements formed, containing about 3,300 houses, and a population of about 9,300. These village communities are not peculiar to Antigua, but owing to the transition which took place here direct from slavery to freedom, without the intervention of apprenticeship, they have made greater progress in this island, and from them may spring the germ of a middle class, which must exercise considerable influence over the future destinies of the colony."—(*Blue Book* for 1846, p. 48.)

Governor Mackintosh, in April, 1852, confirmed the favourable report of his predecessor, and informed the Secretary of State that there was no "perceptible evidence of the retrogression of the well-ordered community over which it is my good fortune to preside."—(*Blue Book* for 1851, p. 123.)

Messrs. Candler and Alexander visited Antigua in 1850; they arrived on a Sunday morning at St. John's, and were gratified with observing that in a city of 9,000 inhabitants, "scarcely a single person was to be seen in the streets." The people filled the new and great cathedral, the kirk, the spacious Wes-

leyan chapel, the Moravian, and other places of worship. It was a gratifying sight when the services were over, to see people of every colour, black, white, and brown, hansomely attired, all slowly returning to their respective homes, and afforded a marked contrast to the riot, debauchery, and iniquity, which characterised the Sunday markets of slavery. The benevolent friends expected a greater advance in the condition of the people in Antigua than in the other West India colonies, and were not disappointed. "The people at once emancipated from bondage, have proved themselves good subjects, and they continue to exhibit the pleasing spectacle of an improved and improving community. Not wishing to remain in the cabins where they once lived as slaves, they soon bought land, and built houses of their own. The free villages are numerous, and scattered over hill and dale, or lying by the sea-side, animate the face of nature, and improve its scenery. One of these villages, consisting of a fair class of houses, with gardens attached, and close to the bay, forms a handsome suburb to the capital."*

GOVERNMENT.—The governor-in-chief resides here, and is assisted by an elective legislative assembly of fourteen members, and a legislative council, appointed by the crown.

RELIGION.—A Bishop of the Church of England (whose see was formed in 1842, and extends over the Leeward and Virgin Islands), resides at Antigua. Under him there are, an Archdeacon, six rectors, and three curates. There are six parish churches (including the cathedral), and as many chapels of ease. About 10,000 of the inhabitants belong to the establishment. The Moravians have nine chapels under the charge of ten ministers, and about 9,000 members; the Wesleyans have 7 chapels, besides preaching stations. Their chapel in St. John's holds 2,000 people, and is generally filled. The Scotch Presbyterians have a church in St. John's.

EDUCATION.—In 1851, 20 Church of England, 9 Moravian, 6 Wesleyan, and 4 Mico schools; the Moravians had then 610 male, and 490 female; Wesleyans, 251 male, and 187 female; and Mico, 193 male, and 76 female scholars = 1,817.

CRIME.—The governor, writing to the Secretary of State, 12th April, 1852, says, "there has been no increase in crime, if indeed such a term is applicable in definition of the petty offences arising out of the hasty, facile temperament of the negro, which form the bulk of the convictions." This remark is applicable to the other West Indian colonies.

FINANCE.—General revenue in 1834, £12,151; 1851, £21,888; of this sum £16,646 were furnished by custom, and £1,890 by tonnage duties. There is a *local* revenue raised for parochial purposes; it amounted in 1851 to £7,675 sterling. Disbursements from the British Exchequer in 1851, for civil establishment (including the salary of the governor-in-chief, £3,000), £3,980; ecclesiastical, £2,500; judicial, £450 = £6,936; and from the commissariat chest for military purposes, £11,521.—*Coin* in circulation, about £45,000. Notes of Branch Colonial Bank, about £5,000.

Wages in 1851, domestic, 6*s.* per week; agricultural, 6*d.* to 1*s.*; and trades, 1*s.* 4*d.* to 2*s.* per day.

Prices in 1851, sugar, 16*s.* to 18*s.* per 100 lbs.; rum, 1*s.* to 1*s.* 2*d.* per gallon; molasses 8*s.*; Maize, 4*s.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* per bushel.

COMMERCE.	1833.	1851.
Imports . . . value £ .	69,945	198,425
Exports . . . „	206,464	219,235
Ships Inwards . tons . .	22,790	34,439
Sugar Crop . hogsheads	12,189	14,739
Molasses[1] . . puncheons	7,177	8,701

Note.—[1] Average of five years, ending 1833.

By another statement it appears that the annual produce of sugar, on an average of three years, ending 1833 was 155,344 cwts.; and in 1851, 197,025 cwts.

The above brief enumeration of facts, comprises forcible arguments respecting the actual prosperity and satisfactory progress of this ancient colony.

BARBUDA

LIES thirty miles north of Antigua. It is about nineteen miles long by ten broad, and for the most part low and flat, but rises somewhat towards the eastward; the whole rests on a coral basis. The first European settlement was formed by a party of colonists from St. Christopher's under Sir Thomas Warner; but the incursions of the Caribs of Dominica compelled its abandonment. Their strength being ere long much diminished, the English returned and re-occupied the island without further molestation. The whole of Barbuda has been granted by the Crown, under successive leases, to the Codrington family, since 1684, and is held by their representative upon the service of presenting a fat sheep to the governor-in-chief of Antigua whenever he visits the island. This offering is generally commuted for a turtle or a buck; the former abounding on the shores, the latter have greatly diminished in number, but are still hunted in the dense forest, interspersed with patches of savanna, that covers the greatest part of the interior.† There is a roadstead, but no harbour; and the coast is very dangerous, being beset with reefs and shoals under water: many lamentable shipwrecks formerly occurred here. Like Antigua, this island is almost destitute of springs. A narrow neck of land extends along the western shore, forming a lagoon about seven miles in length, on the shores of which stands the village and a dilapidated structure styled the Castle, where the superintendent of the property resides.‡ The population of the island, in 1851, was 121 males, 206 females, 145 boys, and 157 girls, in all 629 souls. The negroes were fully emancipated in 1834, agricultural labour is confined to the cultivation of provision grounds, the chief sources of income are the raising of stock, and the produce of the turtle fishery. A church was erected by the present Sir William Codrington, about 1843, and he now supports a clergyman of the Established Church; there is a school and school-house. The necessary expenses of the establishment are heavy, and the returns comparatively small.

DOMINICA.

MIDWAY between the French colonies of Martinique and Guadaloupe, lies the lofty and densely wooded island to which Columbus gave the above name, in commemoration of its discovery on Sunday, November 3rd, 1493. Its length is twenty-eight miles, and

* *Vide Anti-slavery Reporter* for March, 1851.

† Coleridge's *Six Months in the West Indies.*

‡ *West India Sketch Book*, vol. ii., p. 47.

§ Parl. Papers, Commons, 1838. Latrobe's Report, pp. 128-'9.

its greatest breadth about fourteen, its area has been estimated at 275 square miles = 186,436 acres. The chief town (Roseau) is situated in 15° 18′ N. lat., 61° 24′ W. long.

History. — When first visited by Europeans, Dominica was thinly inhabited by Caribs, who, more fortunate in this than in other islands, were long suffered to remain undisturbed. At the commencement of the seventeenth century some French settlers established themselves on vacant parts of the sea-coast, having, it would appear, succeeded in obtaining the good will of the natives, with whom they lived on friendly terms. From a few families they augmented by natural increase and immigration, until in 1632 they numbered 349 whites, 23 free mulattoes, and 338 negro slaves, engaged in rearing poultry, and growing cotton, a little coffee, and ground provisions for sale in Martinique. The Caribs then numbered about 1,000. The growing prosperity of the little colony attracted the attention of the rival states of England, France, and Holland, and to prevent further contests, it was declared a neutral island, to which all European traders might freely resort. In this position it remained till the war broke out in the year 1759 between Great Britain and France, when the governor taking part with the latter power, Dominica was attacked and captured by England, and formally ceded to her by the treaty of Paris, in 1763.

The inhabitants being kindly and justly treated, intermixed peaceably with the new British settlers, to whom 96,000 acres of unoccupied land (about half the total area) were disposed of in lots of 50 to 100 acres, realizing £312,090 sterling. A small town, named Roseau, previously formed by the French, was made a free port, and the prosperity of the island, manifested by its exports of coffee, cotton, and sugar, and its increased imports of British manufactures was becoming yearly more evident, when the unhappy struggle between England and her North American colonies induced the interference and renewed hostility of France. Before the declaration of European war had been made known in the English islands, the chief fort of Dominica (Cashacrou) was stormed by the Marquis de Bouille, in September, 1778, and taken without a contest, through the treachery of some of the French inhabitants, who had contrived to intoxicate the soldiers on duty, and fill the touch-holes of the guns with sand. A brave, but unavailing, defence was nevertheless made by the troops and English colonists, who were ultimately compelled to capitulate. They succeeded in obtaining favourable terms, but a contribution of £4,400 currency was levied upon them a few days afterwards, and the new governor, the Marquis Duchilleau, broke through the articles agreed upon, and treated them so tyranically, that many of the English quitted the island.*

On Easter Sunday, 1781, the town was set on fire by the French soldiers, and from the governor's having frequently threatened to do so in the event of an attack upon the island, the incendiarism was supposed to have been committed by his private orders, the more so as he was himself present a great part of the time, and would not allow the troops to assist in extinguishing the flames, save only in the houses of the French inhabitants. Property to the value of £200,000 sterling was destroyed in a few hours. The colony became rapidly impoverished; indeed, it appears to have been the policy systematically pursued by the conquerors to reduce it, as far as possible, to insignificance, that they might at the close of the war, be suffered without difficulty to retain possession. The unworthy manœuvre failed; England insisted upon and obtained the restoration of the island in 1783, but the French manifested their ill-will to the last moment, by demolishing the fortifications they had built, destroying with gunpowder several which had been erected previously to their invasion, and doing serious damage to the remainder.

In 1795, Victor Hugues, relying upon the disaffection of many of the French inhabitants, and aware that there was only a single company of regular troops in the island, dispatched a republican force of about 600 men, who landed in two parties, at different spots, and were joined by some of their countrymen. The determined conduct of the militia, and the bravery of the negroes, preserved Dominica to England, and the coast was thenceforth carefully guarded by armed vessels.

On the 9th of April, 1802, the whole of the 8th West India regiment (blacks), stationed at Prince Rupert's, irritated by having been mulcted of their pay and other grievances, but in particular by a wicked report that they were to be sold as slaves, mutinied, and murdered the whole of their officers, with two exceptions. The tidings of this catastrophe were not known at Roseau until the following day. The governor (Cochrane Johnstone) collected militia and regulars, dispatched them by sea to the scene of action, and proceeded thither himself on the 11th. The rebels having scarcely any ammunition, agreed to submit, and were met by the governor at the head of 500 men, and commanded to ground their arms, under pain of being attacked, instead of which they shouldered their weapons, and prepared to resist. A heavy fire was immediately poured in upon them, and a furious but brief contest ensued, which soon terminated in their complete dispersion; some scrambled up the fortified ridges, and fired the cannon fixed there upon their pursuers, and then flung themselves headlong down the precipitous rocks. Sixty were killed, 370 taken prisoners, and a few escaped to the woods and mountains. The loss of the whites was four slain, and twenty-four wounded. Several of the ringleaders were executed, and thus ended this melancholy tragedy, notwithstanding which the governor declared his confidence in the fidelity of the black regiments generally quite unshaken. Unfortunately the part which he is believed to have acted in the matter, would suffice to have prevented full investigation into the causes of an outbreak so inconsistent with the usual loyal character of the negro corps.

In 1805, a marauding attack was made by a French force. About 4,000 men were landed, the town was

* Atwood's *History of Dominica*, pp. 140, 155.

† The father-in-law of the author (the late Mr. George Barron) was seated at whist with the officers of the regiment at Prince Rupert. when the news of the mutiny was communicated. He hastily quitted the table, to proceed to the powder magazine, of which he had charge, but on the way was shot through the thigh and stomach. A negress had him conveyed to her hut, and he lay there concealed two or three days and nights, with the keys of the powder magazine under him, and loaded pistols by his side, determined to defend them with his life. Of his three late associates, two, if not three, were barbarously murdered and literally cut to pieces, within half-an-hour of their quitting the card-table. He received the commendations of the home authorities, and eventually a pension of £300 a-year.

set on fire in several places, and after a severe struggle, during which 500 of the assailants were killed or wounded, General Prevost abandoned Roseau, and retreated to Prince Rupert's, whither the French commander, La Grange, did not attempt to follow him, but levied a heavy contribution from the miserable inhabitants, destroyed or carried away the shipping in the anchorage, and quitted the island.

In 1813, and part of 1814, Dominica was harassed by what was termed a "Maroon" war, occasioned by the marauding incursions of about 500 negroes, fugitive slaves, and others, who had established themselves in the mountain fastnesses. They were at length totally subjugated or killed; the means used were sufficiently unscrupulous, the governor (Ainslie) having publicly proclaimed that the soldiers, or rangers, as they were termed when employed on this service, had "orders to take no prisoners, but to put to death men, women, and children, without exception;" a reward was offered for each fugitive killed, and the owner of every such slave was indemnified by the colony. This flagrant barbarity excited the severe censure of the British Parliament; it was declared, not without some reason, that the colonists, no longer able to procure slaves by importation, had carried on hostilities against the Maroons for the purpose of reducing them indiscriminately to bondage, and the governor was recalled. There is no other event requiring notice in the history of Dominica excepting the great charge common to all the British West Indies, from slavery to apprenticeship, in 1834, and from apprenticeship to complete freedom in 1838.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND TOPOGRAPHY.—Its early discoverers found the island "so covered with trees that they could not see so much as an ell space of bare earth or stony ground;" and Columbus on his return to Spain endeavoured to satisfy the curiosity of Queen Isabella, by crumpling a sheet of paper in his hands, in order to give her some idea of the jagged and compressed appearance of its mountains. It still retains the same characteristics, and a late writer speaks of it "as truly a highland country, a land of mist, and rainbows, and mountain-torrents," and dwells with enthusiasm on its luxuriant vegetation, its trees laden with fruit, and flowering shrubs descending to the waters' edge, except where the cliff sometimes, for considerable distances, presents a perpendicular face of rock. The mountains, peaked, lofty, and abrupt as they are, occasionally rising to the height of 5,600 feet above the level of the sea, are mantled to their very tops with verdure; sometimes they are divided only by narrow ravines, or luxuriant dells; but at others they enclose large and perfectly level savannas. Dominica is abundantly watered by streams and streamlets, chiefly supplied, it is said, by a large fresh water lake situated on a mountain summit nearly in the centre of the island, which covers a space of several acres, is in some places unfathomable, and spreads into three distinct branches; having altogether a very extraordinary appearance. Several of the mountains emit sulphureous vapours, and are called Soufrières, this term being applied alike to active volcanoes, like those of St. Vincent or Guadaloupe, or to the numerous quarries of hot sand, and boiling mineral springs, which are either the remains of ancient craters, or minor eruptions from a soil highly impregnated with volcanic elements. The island is divided into ten parishes. *Roseau*, the chief town, is situated in the parish of St. George, on a point of land on the south-west coast, which forms two bays, that of *Woodbridge's* to the north, and *Charlotte Ville* to the southward. Viewed from the sea the town is not a very pleasing object, but seen from the edge of *Morne Bruce*, a lofty table rock occupied by the garrison, it has a very different appearance; its long, spacious, regularly laid out and well paved streets, large square, market-place, government-house, bounded by a pleasant garden, and the shingled roofs of the dwellings, tinged with the intense blue of the heaven above them, have altogether much of the clear, well-defined aspect which the good towns of France have when viewed from an eminence. The remaining portion of the landscape is extremely beautiful, the valley runs up for many miles in a gently inclined plane between mountains of various heights and forms, most of which are crowned with rich coffee plantations, that perfume the air to some distance over the sea; the Roseau River rolls a deep and roaring stream down the middle of the vale, and is joined at the outlet of each side ravine by a mountain torrent, whilst at the top, where the rocks converge into an acute angle, a cascade falls from the apex, in a long sheet of silvery foam.* There are no public buildings requiring notice, except the gaol, a fine stone building erected from funds contributed by charitable persons in England, for the relief of the sufferers by the fire of 1781, which could not, it appears, be distributed, owing to the deaths of some and the emigration of others of the persons for whom it was intended.† The roadstead of Roseau is capacious, but dangerous during the hurricane months (from the end of August to October), when the sea often flows turbulently from the southward, in billows of amazing height. The fortifications of Roseau, namely *Young's Fort*, *Melville's Battery*, *Bruce Hill Batteries*, and *Fort Desmoulins*, occupy strong and commanding positions.

Prince Rupert's Bay, in St. John's parish, on the north-west side of the island, is three miles wide, and one and a half deep, offering a spacious basin, in which the whole of the British navy might safely ride at anchor at all seasons, and sheltered by two mountain ridges called the Cabaretas, the inner of which is about 500, the outer 600 feet in perpendicular altitude, and both beyond the reach of any other elevated land. *Fort Shirley* stands between the two Cabaretas, with a flat of 100 acres in extent at its base; in time of war the fortifications on these heights might be rendered almost as strong as Gibraltar. *Portsmouth*, the so-called town, laid out on the shore of the bay, returns two members to the assembly, but is a very inconsiderable place. The *Grand Savanna*, an elevated plain about a mile in extent, possesses large quarries of excellent freestone, which at one time formed an article of export to Guadaloupe and other islands. Very little of the soil has been brought into cultivation beyond the river levels, and the slopes of the mountains; the rest remains a fertile wilderness. The monkey, wild boar, and agouti, a small hairy animal, half-pig half-rabbit, still tenant the woods, whence a species of boa constrictor occasionally emerges on marauding excursions to the nearest poultry yard; and numerous parroquets, hawks, doves, and varieties of humming-birds, add, by their brilliant plumage, a new charm to the glens and glades, embowered in richest foliage, a prominent and charming characteristic of which is ever formed by the branching tree-ferns, which grow to the height of

* Coleridge's *Six Months in the West Indies*, pp. 157-'8.

† Atwood's *History of Dominica*, p. 185.

twenty or even thirty feet, and wave their delicate feathers over the whole scenery of this romantic island. The Guana is not uncommon, and there is a large edible frog, which is caught in great numbers and esteemed a delicacy.

The GEOLOGY and MINERALOGY of Dominica have been little investigated; according to Atwood,* pieces of silver ore have been found in the north-east portion of the interior. The SOIL in some places is a light brown-coloured mould, that appears to have been washed down from the mountains, and is mixed with decayed vegetable matter. In the level country towards the sea-coast, and in many parts of the interior, it is a fine deep black mould, well adapted for the cultivation of the sugar-cane, coffee, and other tropical produce. The under-stratum of the soil is sometimes a yellow or brick clay, in others a stiff terrace; but generally very stony. The CLIMATE is hot and humid, but the frequent mountain breezes are refreshing and salubrious. The wet season sets in about the end of August and lasts till the beginning of January, with frequent intervals of fine weather. Neither the rainy nor the dry season appear to be accompanied by illness, but irregular rain and sunshine usually induce ague and intermittent fevers. Temperature of the low districts varies from 69° to 88°.

POPULATION. — In the statements of different writers (Edwards and Southey more especially), regarding the population at different epochs, there are discrepancies which are not easily explicable. The following table is the best I have been able to frame upon this head:—

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Slaves or Blacks.	Total.
1763	1,718	500	5,872	8,090
1773	3,350	750	18,753	22,853
1787	1,236	445	14,967	16,648
1805	1,594	2,822	22,083	26,499
1811	1,325	2,988	21,728	26,041
1834	720	3,814	14,175	18,709
1844	—	—	—	22,000
1851	—	—	—	—

Note.—No classified returns for the years 1844 and 1851.

There appears to have been no census in 1851. In that of 1844 there was no classification as to descent. The proportion of creoles and whites can be but small; it comprises, notwithstanding, the issue of English, Scotch, Irish, a few American refugees, a large proportion of French, and some Spanish, Italian, and Genoese immigrants. There are said to be still a few Caribs, who maintain themselves by hunting, fishing, and basket-making. The language commonly spoken is a French patois. The number of males in 1844 was 10,596; of females, 11,604. The town of Roseau contains about 4,000 inhabitants. The conduct of the freed blacks, albeit very cruelly used during slavery and even apprenticeship, is highly satisfactory.

In 1839, the planters at a public meeting acknowledged, "with feelings of unmixed gratification, the peaceable and quiet disposition evinced by the labourers as a body, since their entire emancipation." Here, as in other islands, they have purchased land to a considerable extent, consisting of private estates and Crown property. The lieutenant-governor, in March, 1852, in his annual official despatch, adverts to their prosperous condition and increasing means, and to the contentment which "very generally prevails amongst the labouring classes."—(*Blue Book* for 1851, p. 141.)

GOVERNMENT as in the other islands, having representative assemblies; the majority of the representatives, who are in number nineteen, are men of colour.

RELIGION.—The Roman Catholic form predominates; there is a small Church of England, and an active Wesleyan ministry. The numbers of the different persuasions, in 1844, were, Church of Rome, 19,040; Church of England, 714; Wesleyans, 2,531; Moravians, 5; unknown, 179.

EDUCATION.—Nine Roman Catholic and several Protestant schools. A Board of Instruction, with an inspector of schools, was appointed in 1850-'1.

CRIME.—Total commitments, in 1851, 219. The lieutenant-governor reports, "a decided diminution."

PRESS.—One newspaper.

FINANCE. — Revenue in 1834, £3,905; in 1851, £12,901, of which £5,356 were derived from import duties. Civil expenditure paid by England, in 1851, £4,441, including the salary (£1,200) of the lieutenant-governor. Commissariat disbursements in the same year, £7,226.

COMMERCE.	1833.	1851-2.
Sugar . . hogs.	3,230	4,252
Molasses . . casks	596	807[1]
Rum . . . pun.	309	295
Shipping inwards tons	7,606	12,046
Imports . . value	£53,506	£71,828

Note.—[1] Puncheons.

The statistics of the revenue afford satisfactory proof of the commercial progress of the colony, exhibiting a steady increase during the last three years, whilst the amount of imports and exports, for the same period, present an equally favourable aspect. —(Report dated March, 1852, accompanying *Blue Book* for 1851, p. 140.)

MONTSERRAT,—

was first seen by Columbus in 1493, and so called from its real or supposed resemblance to a mountain of the same name, about twenty miles from Barcelona. It is situated in 16° 54′ N. lat., and 61° 34′ W. long., about thirty miles north-west of Antigua, and is loosely estimated at nine miles in breadth, and as many in length, with an area of 30,000 acres.

HISTORY.—The accounts recorded of this small island are scanty and unsatisfactory. According to Peter Martyr, the Haytian captives whom Columbus had on board with him at the time of its discovery, described it as very populous, and replenished with all things necessary for the sustenance of man. In 1632, a party of adventurers from St. Kitt's, chiefly Irish Roman Catholics, came over and, if the testimony of the Abbé Raynal may be trusted, "were not content with disturbing the peace of the many savages then inhabiting it, but very soon contrived to expel them." The colonists would seem to have increased rapidly by emigration, since Oldmixon asserts that, at the end of sixteen years, they numbered upwards of 1,000 white families, the adult males constituting a militia of 360 effective men. In 1712 the invasion and depredations of a French armament greatly injured the island, which in 1782 was captured by France, but restored at the close of the war, and has ever since remained a British possession.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND TOPOGRAPHY. — The

* *History of Dominica*, p. 5.

interior is, for the most part, a congeries of mountains, occasionally attaining an altitude of 2,500 feet, extending south-east and north-west, covered with dense forest, and terminating towards the north in a bold headland, close to which vessels may approach with safety, but there is no landing there, and indeed no secure anchorage along the whole coast-line.

The southern shores are lofty and precipitous, rising abruptly to the height of 1,500 feet, and the sea, for a mile or two off, is bordered by immense rocks and shelving coral banks. Of the whole surface, only one-third is considered cultivable, the remainder being very mountainous, or barren. The heights in many places are rendered inaccessible by steep clay-stone masses, and immense perpendicular chasms, several hundred feet deep. Even where the country slopes towards the sea-coast, or extends between the flanks of the various groups, the surface is commonly furrowed with deep and broad ravines, serving as channels for innumerable torrents, which, in the rainy season, bring with them large accumulations of sand and gravel, and often completely blockade roads at all times rugged, and difficult to traverse even on the patient and sure-footed mules. Among the heights there is a Soufrière, situated about 1,000 feet above the sea, in a romantic dell, between three conical peaks. A hot spring rises here, whose waters boil up violently, cooling gradually as they meander towards the sea; the surrounding surface is hot everywhere, and strewed with irregular blocks of limestone and clay mounds entirely crusted with pure alum. The sulphur procured here is less valuable than that of the Dominica Soufrière; it has been shipped to America at a cost on board of four dollars per ton; the expense of freight forbids its being sent to England.

Plymouth, the only town, is small but convenient, the houses are built of good grey-stone, and embowered in trees. The public buildings are not creditable, but the colonists plead poverty in excuse. Great damage was inflicted here by the hurricane of 1825, both to life and property; above 230 persons are said to have perished in various miserable ways.

GEOLOGY—resembles that of the neighbouring islands. Many of the rocks seem vast masses of clay, of various hues. The conical hills abound with carbonate of lime, iron pyrites, and aluminous earth.

The SOIL is in general dry, light, thin, gravelly, and thickly strewn, except in the valleys, where there is a loamy deposit.

CLIMATE.—An elastic atmosphere, and temperature varying according to position at the windward or leeward sides of the island, or the elevation above the sea. Hurricanes occasionally occur.

POPULATION.

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Blacks or Slaves	Total.
1673	1,500	—	523	2,023[1]
1707	1,545	—	3,570	5,115
1720	1,688	—	3,772	5,460
1787	1,300	260	10,000	11,560
1805	1,000	250	9,500	10,750
1812	444	402	6,537	7,383
1828	315	818	5,986	7,119
1834	312	827	6,101	7,540
1844	—	—	—	7,365
1851	—	—	—	7,053[2]

Note.—[1] An estimate. [2] Males, 3,149; females, 3,904. No classified returns for the years 1841 and 1851.

The decrease of population has been owing to the emigration of numbers of the labouring class, between the ages of 16 and 45. The diminution between 1844 and 1851 was about 25 per cent. The increase by births must have been considerable, nearly half the population in 1851 being under 16 years of age. The births in that year were 271, deaths 78.

GOVERNMENT.—A president, acting in subordination to the governor-in-chief at Antigua; a house of assembly of twelve members; and an executive and legislative council of seven.

RELIGION.—Three clergymen of the Church of England, and a small Wesleyan establishment.

EDUCATION.—Ten public schools, containing, in 1851, 345 males and 386 females = 731, and 844 Sunday scholars. The large number in proportion to the scholars is necessitated by the difficulty of communication between various parts of the island.

CRIME.—The president, Mr. E. D. Baynes, in reporting officially on the *Blue Book* for 1851, says—

"I do not think there is in the West Indies a more orderly community than that of Montserrat. * * * * Such is the confidence of the authorities in the conduct of the population, that the police force was discontinued several years since, and in July last the services of the only remaining paid constable were dispensed with. * * * Our criminal calendars, instead of exhibiting numerous felonies and other offences of magnitude, are now confined to petty police charges. * * * Our prison, instead of being crowded as formerly, has now been for more than a month (including the festive and idle season of Christmas) without an inmate."

FINANCE.—Revenue, in 1834, about £2,000; in 1851, £3,235; payments by England, in 1851, £1,770 including £500 to president, or officer administering the government.

Coin in circulation, about £1,000.

COMMERCE.—Value of imports, in 1834, £20,123 currency; in 1851, £9,498 sterling. Sugar exported, in 1833, 654 hogsheads; molasses, 425 puncheons: in 1851, sugar, 926 hogsheads; molasses, 434 puncheons.

An extensive change of ownership in the soil has recently taken place, from embarrassed to unembarrassed parties, and has been attended by favourable results—

"Long-abandoned estates have been restored to cultivation by the new purchasers, who, instead of leaving their labourers for months, sometimes for years, or altogether, unpaid, settle with them punctually, and thus acquiring confidence, instead of having cause to lament the want of labour, have more applicants for work than they can employ, even at the extremely moderate rate of 5½*d.* per diem for hard descriptions of labour, such as cutting wood and clearing land, and 4*d.* for lighter work. * * * It is prejudice or fatuity, with so many and such unmistakeable signs of amelioration before our eyes, to join in the cry of decay or ruin with those whose imprudence and mismanagement have, beyond all contest, ruined themselves and temporarily injured others, but whose downfall has proved the redemption and safety of the island. That parties in such a position should be incapable of appreciating, or unwilling to acknowledge the improvement in which they can no longer participate, and which in fact their own fall has prepared and made practicable, is by no means matter of surprise; but the impartial observer, the punctual landlord, and the labourer so long unpaid, will not confound individual with general distress, nor mistake private for public depression; but will, on the contrary, hail the beneficial effects of a change that has taken the land from the possession of parties unable, whether from want of capital or want of method, to cultivate it successfully for the advantage of society, and placed it in the hands of others

more sensible of their duties, more alive to the reciprocal obligations between employer and labourer, and who have the will and the means of regularly employing and punctually paying their labourers."—(President Baynes' report accompanying *Blue Book* for 1850, p. 110, 111.)

It would be well for Jamaica, and other islands, if the altered state of affairs so well described in the preceding remarks, were equally applicable to them.

REDONDA,—

so named by Columbus from its rounded form, is a high, rocky, uninhabited isle, situated between Montserrat and Nevis, which seen from different points of view resembles a great ship under sail, a haycock, or a huge tower. It is of easy access on all sides, but its western coast affords anchorage in ten to twelve fathoms. At the south-east is a small islet called the *Pinnacle*, which nearly joins the land. To the westward and northward there are said to be sand-banks abounding in fish.

NEVIS,—

To the north-east of Montserrat, in 17° 10′ north lat., 62° 42′ west long., is nothing more than a single mountain, rising like a cone in an easy ascent from the sea, to the height of 2,500 feet, and bordered by a fertile strip of level and highly cultivated land. The area is about twenty square miles. The island received from Columbus the appellation of *Nievis*, or *the Snows*, either from the resemblance its lofty summit canopied in a mass of fleecy clouds bore to a snow-capped eminence of that name in Spain, or as Edwards supposes, from a white smoke which probably then issued from a now extinct volcano.

History.—A small settlement was formed here in 1628 by emigrants from St. Kitt's, under the protection of Sir Thomas Warner, who dying in 1638 was succeeded by Governor Lake, "a knowing person and fearing God,"* under whose administration the little colony progressed so rapidly as to become, within twelve years of its formation, of national importance. Its prosperity continued for nearly half a century, but was then checked by a long series of disasters. In 1689 a dreadful mortality swept off half the inhabitants. In 1706 the French came on a marauding expedition, and carried away between 3,000 and 4,000 slaves, whom they sold to their own planters in Martinique, and in the following year a fearful hurricane well nigh completed the ruin of the island. By slow degrees commerce revived, sugar however becoming the sole article of export, and its cultivation entirely superseded that of tobacco and ginger, which had been profitably carried on by the early settlers.† The slaves are said to have been comparatively well-treated in Nevis, but this statement it is difficult to credit after perusing the circumstances connected with the case of a miscreant named Huggins,‡ whose trial revealed to the British public, in 1811, the atrocious cruelties that might be committed in slave-holding colonies, in defiance of all laws made by the Imperial Parliament, and which the local legislatures could not or would not prevent or punish. So late as 1825, Coleridge, in describing the island, commented on the wretched clothing of the slaves, alike insufficient for the requirements of common decency, and even health (for it is at times really cold on many of the estates), and adverted to various things which even he, the new bishop's nephew, the petted guest of the planters, and the sworn foe of "methodists and saints," could not but admit ought to "make the planters think a little." Indeed few Englishmen with eyes happily unused to such sad scenes could have "not seldom watched a poor girl in the fields, who has turned away from the gaze of man, and shrouded her bosom with crossed arms and declining head," even though his experience showed him no worse sufferings to which womanly modesty and virtue might be exposed than this degrading want of proper covering, without questioning the soundness of the system under which such things were suffered to continue. The great change visible in the appearance of the labouring classes, speaks volumes in favour of emancipation; the former slaves throughout the West Indies, are all decorously clad, according to the requirements of the varying climates under which they live.

Physical Features and Topography.—When first visited, Nevis was densely clothed with forest, and is still supplied with fine timber, and well watered by clear springs and rivulets. Plantations commence at the sea shore, and ascend the mountain slopes nearly to its summit; the fertility of the soil diminishes with increased height; but the temperature becomes proportionately lower, and favours the growth of many European vegetables, as sea-kale, turnips, and carrots.‡ The coast-line affords no

* Davies' *History of the Caribby Islands*, p. 20. † *Idem.*

‡ In direct opposition to a clause in the Melioration Act of 1798, a wealthy planter, named Huggins, ordered his slaves to labour by night, in carrying out dung, and this illegal exaction was said to have produced some appearance of insubordination among them, to check which, or rather to gratify his own fiend-like cruelty, he, with his two sons, brought thirty-two of them to be flogged with cart-whips in the public market of Charlestown, by two drivers expert in the inhuman office. Many of them were women, one of whom received 291 lashes, and a man 365, this number being inflicted in direct defiance of the amount (thirty-nine) prescribed by law not to be exceeded, yet it was done within sight or hearing of five magistrates, not one of whom interfered. Of the victims, many fell sick of fevers, and a woman wasted away and expired in a few months. A coroner's inquest, composed of three friends of the murderer's, declared her to have died "by the visitation of God." The House of Assembly passed resolutions denunciatory of the whole transaction. Huggins was indicted and brought to trial, and could not attempt to deny having violated a positive statute; which, however, was treated by his counsel as a very slight offence, the Melioration Act being sneered at as a mere deception, passed for the purpose of silencing the clamours of "the saints" in England. The jury acquitted Huggins, who forthwith prosecuted the printer of the *St. Christopher's Gazette* for libel, for having published the resolutions of the House of Assembly, and the defendant was actually found guilty, and sentenced to a month's imprisonment. When these proceedings became known in England, orders were sent out for the public dismissal of the magistrates who had witnessed without attempting to prevent so horrible a scene; but the chief criminal appears to have escaped unpunished, by man, for this as for many other cruelties perpetrated on his wretched slaves, some of whom committed suicide to escape from him, and many others perished on his estates, like the unhappy woman above mentioned.—(Continuation of Edwards, vol. iv., pp. 456-'7. *Quarterly Review*, September, 1819.)

§ The fruits here are peculiarly well-flavoured, especially the pines and oranges, which, according to Coleridge, are "most ambrosial." This entertaining writer says—"In Nevis a man is always placed as sentinel in a pinery; for, otherwise, those dogs the monkeys, who are very good livers, and know a ripe pine to a day, are sure to take an

harbours, but has three roadsteads; the best and most frequented of which is that situated in the wide curving bay, on whose shores *Charlestown*, the seat of government, is built. It is a place of some pretension; the court-house is a handsome building with a square in front, and contains commodious public offices. *Charles Fort* is the chief fortification. Government-house is a convenient and pleasant edifice, situated a little above the town, on the lowest slope of the mountain, which rises gradually behind it. Half a mile to the south of Charlestown are extensive mineral baths, on a rising ground near the margin of the sea. There are three spacious plunge baths on terraces one above another, varying in their temperature, from 50° to 100° Fahrenheit. The lowest and largest is now used as a turtle crawl. The island, small as it is, is divided into five parishes, each of which has a church generally in excellent condition, and most picturesquely situated; that of St. John's parish (Fig-tree church),* is placed half-way up the mountain, and looks down upon a wide expanse of sea; including the town, shipping, the whole of the neighbouring island of St. Kitt's, with the summit of St. Eustatius in the distance. Besides Charlestown there are two other shipping places, called *Indian Castle* and *New Castle*.

Population.—The accounts on this head given by Raynal and others are so conflicting as to afford no satisfactory evidence whatever; but according to official data† it appears that, so early as 1673, there were 1,411 white men able to bear arms, and 1,739 blacks (slaves). During the present century the progress has been as follows:—

Year.	Whites.	Free coloured.	Blacks, or slaves.	Total.
1707	1,104	—	3,676	4,780
1720	2,358	—	5,689	8,047
1730	1,296	—	5,646	6,942
1778	2,050	140	9,100	11,290
1812	501	603	9,326	10,430
1834	300	200	8,815	9,315
1844		9,571[1]		—
1851		10,200[2]		—

Note.—[1] Of whom there were 4,418 males and 5,153 females. [2] The estimate of the president of the island; there having been no census taken in 1851.

The European settlers are chiefly of British descent. The president reported in 1851 that the working classes still preserved their former good character. The majority of the field labourers work on the metayer or share system, as the planters, whose credit no longer enables them to obtain loans from England, have no capital for the payment of wages, and the credit of the island has for many years been at a low ebb.

Government.—A representative assembly of nine, and council of seven members, and a president, under the governor-in-chief of Antigua.

evening walk from the mountain, and will, I am told, fairly pick, pack, and carry away all the eatable fruit in the garden at one visit. Certainly Jacco is a rogue, a villain, a thief; yet the fellow's cleverness is so great, his malice so keen, his impudence so intense, that it exceeds the hardness of my heart not to like him. You may offer your fine green Seville oranges to him by handsful; deuce a bit of the rind of ten thousand of them will Jacco touch! no! no! massa—dem monkies savey what bitter as well as buckra [White man.]!"—*Six Months in the West Indies*, p. 184.

Religion.—Five clergymen of the Church of England. A Wesleyan Mission was established here in 1789, and has ever since been prosecuted with diligence and success.‡

Education.—Eleven public schools, with 647 male, and 630 female scholars. There are several seminaries conducted by Wesleyan Missionaries.

Crime.—Commitments in 1851, six.

Finance.—No returns for 1834; in 1833, revenue stated at £5,794 (but doubtful whether for the single year); in 1851, £3,705. There is a debt to Great Britain of £12,000, now in course of liquidation.

Labour is 6*d*. to 1*s*. per day.

Commerce.	1833.	1851.
Value of Imports	£18,567	£16,483
Sugar exported . . hogsheads	2,826	1,885
Molasses . . . . gallons .	17,864	66,900
Shipping inwards . tons . .	8,266	8,700

In 1851 there were seven steam engines, forty-five wind and forty-seven cattle mills employed in the manufacture of sugar.

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S, COMMONLY CALLED ST. KITT'S,—

was named by Columbus in 1493, from the form of its mountains; the island having on its upper part, as it were upon one of its shoulders, another lesser mountain, which gave it some resemblance to the statues common at that period on church porches of St. Christopher carrying our Saviour; by its numerous native proprietors, it was called *Liamuiga*, or the Fertile Isle. It is separated from Nevis by the "Narrows," a rocky strait impeded by shoals, but affording a ship channel of at least six fathoms depth. St. Kitt's (*Fort Smith*) is in 17° 17′ N. lat., 60° 42′ W. long., and extends north-west and south-east about twenty miles, with a small and very unequal breadth, and an area of about 68 square miles, or 43,726 acres.

History.—The honour of having been the first West Indian island colonised by England has been assigned by different writers to Barbados, Antigua, and St. Kitt's; there was certainly no great difference of time between the three; but the last-named appears to have had the priority. The Spaniards never took possession: and the first attempt at its settlement was made, according to Dr. John Campbell, by Mr. Thomas Warner, who established himself and about fourteen other persons there, in January, 1623, immediately commenced the cultivation of tobacco, and was proceeding very satisfactorily until, towards the close of the year, when their plantations were demolished by a hurricane; Warner returned to England to seek succour, which he obtained from the Earl of Carlisle, who despatched a ship, the *Hopewell*, laden with all kinds of necessaries, in the beginning of 1624. In the following

* In the burying-ground attached to this church is a monument erected by Viscountess Nelson (who was born here), to the memory of her father, or some relation. It may here be remarked, that the British West Indian burial-grounds are generally characterised by costly monumental structures, more conspicuous for size than elegance.

† Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789. Supplement, No. 15.

‡ *Vide* Dr. Coke's *West Indies*, vol. iii., pp. 15 to 35; and Latrobe's *Report on Negro Education*. Parl. Papers, June, 1838.

year, Warner returned to St. Kitt's, accompanied by a large body of recruits; and about the time of his landing, or, as some assert, on the very same day, D'Enambuc, the commander of a French privateer, having lost several men in an engagement with a Spanish galloon, retreated here with the remainder of his crew, consisting of about thirty hardy veterans, who were well received by the early settlers, with whom they entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with regard to the Caribs. The English had previously been very kindly treated by the natives, and supplied by them with provisions; but at length some symptoms of anger were manifested at the unscrupulous usurpation of their lands, and suspicions being entertained of their hostile intentions, the Europeans took counsel together; and to prevent the possible attempts of the Caribs, fell upon them by night, and having murdered 120 of the stoutest, drove all the rest from the island, except such of the women as were young and handsome, of whom (says a contemporary writer, Père du Tertre, who relates these transactions, as if they were ordinary and quite justifiable), they made concubines and slaves. Some Caribs, however, escaped to the neighbouring islands, and returned, accompanied by a large body of their countrymen. In the struggle which ensued, the Europeans were eventually victorious; but 100 of them were mortally wounded by poisoned arrows, and several died raving mad; 2,000 Indians were killed or wounded, and their dead bodies were piled up into an immense mound.* The survivors fled the island, which Warner and D'Enambuc then formally divided, and some months after returned to their respective countries, where each was well received, the former being knighted by Charles the First, and sent back to St. Kitt's as governor, with 400 new recruits; and the latter, through the patronage of Richelieu, was enabled to assemble 532 intending colonists, who sailed from France in 1627; but, from the wretched and inefficient supplies furnished by the new company who fitted out the ships, for the most part perished miserably at sea for want of food.†

The disasters attendant on the establishment of a colony, founded in crime, did not end here, for the Spaniards who, before the arrival of either the English or French, had been in the habit of touching at the island for wood and water, and had even left their sick men under the care of the natives who had kindly tended them, asserted their right of discovery, and, in 1629, at the head of a powerful fleet, invaded St. Kitt's in a treacherous manner. The French planters hastily quitted the island; but for want of provisions many perished on their way to Antigua; the English fled to the mountains, but were compelled to surrender unconditionally; 600 of the ablest men were captured, and carried off to labour in the Spanish mines; the rest, consisting chiefly of women and children, were commanded to quit the island in some English vessels which had been seized at Nevis; the Spanish commander (Don Frederiek de Toledo) then laid waste all the settlements within his reach, and sailed off to attack the Dutch colony at Brazil.‡

The remaining English persisted, however, in retaining their position in St. Kitt's, the French returned there, and in the absence of an external foe, internal strife, more or less fierce, at different times scourged the population for the next half century; which people were the first and chief aggressors it is now difficult to say;—each party inflicted great suffering, and temporarily succeeded in expelling the other from the island, which was at length, by the Peace of Utrecht, ceded wholly to the English, some few only of the French being suffered to retain their estates, and become naturalised.

In 1782, St. Kitt's was captured by a powerful French armament, after a tedious siege of more than a month's duration, in which the enemy are said to have lost 1,000 men in killed and wounded, and the English between 300 and 400, together with property to the amount of £160,000 sterling,§ "in negroes and cattle, and the burning of the canes," says Edwards, who adds that this "sum was made up to the sufferers by a poll-tax on the slaves of no less than forty shillings."‖ In the following year the island was restored to England. In 1804, a tremendous hurricane, in which 274 vessels are said to have been destroyed,¶ included in its desolating sweep all the windward islands, but was especially felt at St. Kitt's. In 1805, a French marauding expedition visited the island, and, under the threat of attaeking the fortifications at Brimstone Hill, and destroying the town of Basseterre, extorted from the inhabitants a contribution of £18,000, and burned, after first pillaging, six valuable vessels they found in the anchorage. Since this period no other event has occurred requiring notice in this necessarily brief historical sketch.

Physical Features and Topography.—The form of St. Kitt's may be compared to an outstretched leg, the upper and larger part or calf being about five miles in breadth, the lower, or the foot, about four, and the ancle being represented by an isthmus not more than half-a-mile wide. A central ridge of volcanic origin traverses the length of the island, increasing in height towards its northern extremity, terminating to the southward in the verdant slopes of *Monkey Hill*,** and in the middle forming a rugged mountain group, above which, overshadowing the crater of an extinct volcano, the gloomy crag well named *Mount Misery*, rises to the height of above 3,711 feet in nearly perpendicular ascent, its bare, black summit being generally visible, whilst the lower parts of the surrounding eminences are enveloped in clouds. This striking object imparts a peculiar majesty to the softer features of the scenery, the land everywhere sloping from the centre towards the coast, and being for the most part in a state of high cultivation. The crater beneath (or rather forming part of) Mount Misery, is 2,600 feet in depth; the bottom of it is described to be a level of

* Southey, vol. i., p. 253.

† Edwards, vol. i., p. 458.

‡ The treaty of 1630 would, it was hoped, put an end to such enormities as these, but it did not do so; for only eight years after the affair at St. Kitt's, the Spaniards attacked a small English colony established in the small island of Tortuga, and put every man, woman, and child to the sword.

§ Adolphus' *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 380; and *Annual Register for* 1782.

‖ Edwards, vol. i., p. 510.

¶ A ship from Surinam sailed for three days through the floating fragments of the wrecks.—Edwards, vol. v., p. 72.

** The monkeys here are mostly small, but even more than usually mischievous. They assemble in troops, and commit sad havoc among the sugar-canes, but are too cunning to be shot, always placing a sentinel in advance, who sets up a terrible screeching on the approach of danger.—Sturge's *West Indies in* 1837, p. 44.

fifty acres in extent, of which seven are covered with a lake, and the rest with grass and trees. Hot water, impregnated with sulphur, still issues from the fissures. Several streams descend from the mountains, four of which are called rivers, though they little merit that name; during the rainy season, few plantations are without rivulets, some of which occasionally become destructive torrents. In the low lands springs are plentiful, but often unfit for use in consequence of their being strongly saline. There are large salt-ponds at the southern extremity of the island. The water in use is chiefly that supplied by the abundant rains, preserved in large tanks. The *coast-line* has roadsteads, but no harbours.

Basseterre, the capital, is a low, hot, dusty town, with some good buildings, a spacious square, and Church of England and Wesleyan places of worship. Seen from a neighbouring eminence in the road to the picturesque parish of St. Mary Cayonne, on the opposite coast, the town, with the shipping in the anchorage, defended by Fort Smith, has a pleasing appearance; and the lovely vale of Basseterre, with its tall moving windmills, houses, sugar-works, and cottages, embowered in trees, has many points of resemblance to the village scenery of England, although beautiful wild flowers, large hedges of aloes, and groves of the sea-side grape,* are decidedly foreign characteristics. The churches belonging to the different parishes (nine in number), into which the island is divided, are generally large, well-arranged, situated near the sea, and command fine views of the country, forming themselves very pleasing objects, as do also the buildings attached to the Wesleyan and Moravian Missions.

Sandy Point is a sea-port town or village on the north-west shore; near it are the defences of *Charles Fort* and *Brimstone Hill;* the fortifications on the latter are very imposing, being situated on a huge rock, 750 feet high, precipitous on all sides, backed by the mountains, and fronted by the coast-level and the western sea. There are several pretty fishing-places in various localities.

Geology.—Formation igneous,—immense layers of volcanic ashes are found in every parish; and the soil is chiefly of a dark grey loam, extremely porous. At Sandy Point, St. Ann's Parish, there are alternate layers of this loam, and ashes, to the depth of seventy-five feet, on a substratum of gravel. This compost is considered one of the best in the West Indies for the cultivation of sugar. Brimstone Hill consists of granite, limestone, primary rock, schistus, volcanic ashes and madrepores, with a very small proportion of alluvial deposit on a few spots. Clay is found in considerable quantities in the high or mountain land, but rarely in the low land. Among the central mountains, one contains mines of sulphur; and not far from Fort Charles traces of silver ore have been discovered.

Climate.—From the smallness of the isle and its elevation above the sea, St. Kitt's is extremely dry and healthy; the mean temperature on the coast is 80, but the mornings and evenings of the hottest days are agreeably cool. The coldest month is February—the warmest, August. The winds for the greater part of the year are from the north-east and south-east. The rains that fall are more frequent than heavy, and the bracing atmosphere is evidenced by the ruddy complexions and physical strength of the inhabitants.

* The *coccoloba uvifera* bears a fruit which, when cooked, has the flavour of gooseberries.

Population.—The white inhabitants were formerly numerous; in 1673 there were 496 men able to bear arms, and 352 negroes in the island. Since then the numbers have been as follows:—

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Slaves, or Blacks.	Total.
1707	1,545	—	3,570	5,115
1720	1,688	—	3,772	5,460
1724	1,000	—	4,400	5,400
1729	1,545	—	5,616	7,161
1756	1,300	—	10,000	11,300
1774	1,912	1,908	8,853	12,673
1805[1]	1,800	—	26,000	—
1812	1,610	1,996	19,885	23,491
1834	1,200	2,500	19,780	23,480
1844	—	—	—	23,177
1851	—	—	—	—

Note.—[1] No return of the free coloured population for 1805. In 1844 there were 10,523 males and 12,654 females. There was no census in 1851; births in that year, 945; deaths, 650; not including the Roman Catholics, who are less than 200 in number.

The president (Robert Claxton) administering the Government, reports—16th of April, 1847,—"I continue to afford my testimony to the good conduct and industrious habits of the labouring population. The independent villages which are continually starting up and increasing in extent in every parish of the island, afford a regular and healthy supply of labour to the adjacent estates." The implemental husbandry introduced originally into St. Kitt's, under the charge of Europeans, is now being worked by "native labourers, whose emulation was excited, and has been rewarded by the additional wages which their skill has enabled them to earn." Lieutenant-governor Drummond Hay, in 1851-'2, corroborates this testimony by stating that churches and other public buildings have been repaired; a large (comparative) amount expended on the public roads; that the schools are respectably conducted, and manifest a large numerical increase of the numbers attending them. The chief justice in the same year bears witness to the "advancement amongst the lower orders in industrial habits, and increased respect for the rights of individual property."—(*Blue Book for* 1851, pp. 135, 136.)

Government.—A representative assembly, legislative and executive council, and lieutenant-governor.

Religion.—Chiefly Protestant; there are nine clergymen of the Church of England, also eight Wesleyan, and four Moravian chapels.

Education.—Advancing. In 1851 the public schools were—

Denomination.	Schools.	Scholars.		
		Male.	Female.	Total.
Church of England	12	369	347	796
Wesleyan . . .	8	442	443	885
Moravian . . .	4	390	368	758
Total . .	24	1,201	1,158	2,439

Crime.—Commitments in 1851, 193. The chief-justice, in his address to the grand jury at the commencement of 1852, congratulated them "on the vast diminution of crime," which had taken place since they last met; and the lieutenant-governor states,

that the state of the population in this respect is "favourable."—(*Blue Book* for 1851, p. 136).

Finance.—Revenue in 1834, £3,638; in 1851, £17,902; of this £11,327 were derived from import duties. Lieutenant-governor, salary of, £1,300, paid by England. Disbursements from commissariat chest in 1851, £8,791. Governor Mackintosh reported, in May 1851, that the financial condition of the colony was sound, and stated a fact, creditable to the community, viz., that, notwithstanding the pressure on its means, occasioned by bad crops for several years, "the Island Treasury has just paid off its last instalment of debt."

Coin in circulation, from £10,000 to £20,000. Paper-money in value, about 20,000 dollars.

Wages—Agricultural, 6*d.* per day; domestic, 12*s.* 6*d.* to 20*s.* per month.

Commerce.—Value of imports:—

Year.	Value.	Year.	Value.
1833	£44,497	1850	£92,418
1834	63,018	1851	112,748
Total . .	107,515	Total . .	205,166

Note.—Shipping inwards, 1834, tons 16,964; 1851, tons 22,066. Value of exports, in 1833, £105,267; in 1851, £126,610.

There are no returns given of the quantity of sugar made during the three years preceding the abolition of slavery in 1834; the average for the six years between 1822 and 1829, was 7,060 hogsheads; the export for 1851 was 7,270 hogsheads; and here, as in other islands, the size of the hogshead has, I believe, been recently increased.

The best estates belong to absentees; nearly all are mortgaged, and from that cause subject to heavy charges. In 1850, the cost of producing sugar was the same as at Barbados; it might be brought to market ready for shipment, including charges of every kind for 12*s.* 6*d.* per cwt.; some estimated the cost at 14*s.*; freight to England 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* per cwt., except when the properties were mortgaged, when the consignees charged 4*s.** The few resident planters are doing well, and here, as in Jamaica and other islands, persons who were formerly agents for absentees are buying up good properties as fast as their means will allow, and obtaining a fair profit from their cultivation. One proprietor recently purchased some land adjoining his estate at the rate of £20 per acre. The planters are wisely economizing labour, by the introduction and use of improved agricultural implements. The peasantry are anxious to buy waste land, or to lease it; but an enormous price or rental is demanded, under the idea that the labourers will thus be kept dependent on scanty and precarious wages, and prevented having homes of their own. In some cases they are working on the métayer or share system.

ANGUILLA, OR SNAKE ISLAND,—

so named either from its tortuous form or the various descriptions of serpents with which it is infested, is situated in 18° 15′ N. lat., and 63° 0′ W. long. It is the most northern of the Caribbee islands, lies forty-five miles to the north-west of St. Kitt's, and is separated from St. Martin's by a channel, of which the least width is four miles, and the depth from thirteen to twenty fathoms. The length is about twenty miles, the breadth varies, becoming very narrow towards the southward; the area is estimated at thirty-five square miles.

History.—Anguilla was settled by the English in 1650, and was early subject to harassing incursions from the French; but in 1745 they made a more serious attack, and 600 men were landed, under M. de la Touche; but governor Hodge, with 150 militia, defended a breastwork at a narrow pass with such success, that the enemy speedily retired, after a heavy loss in killed and captured, La Touche himself having received two wounds. The Anguillans were, however, destined to suffer severely from a subsequent assault made by order of Victor Hugues, who having, it would appear, conceived an especial dislike to the people of this petty and comparatively undefended island, despatched 300 or 400 picked men, in 1796, who having, without difficulty, made good their landing, set the town on fire, pulled down the church, seized on all private property, including the wearing apparel of the women, massacred many defenceless individuals, not sparing even children, and were preparing to carry out their inhuman orders of utter extermination, when intelligence arrived of approaching succour from St. Kitt's. The maranders hastily re-embarked, to the indescribable relief of the terrified colonists, and on the following morning encountered Captain Barton in the *Lapwing*; a sharp engagement ensued, in which the *Valiant*, manned by 135 men, ran on shore at St. Martin's, and was destroyed with the greater part of her crew—and the second French ship-of-war, the *Decius*, which was crowded with troops, after sustaining the terrible loss of eighty killed and forty wounded, became so shattered, that Captain Barton, on the appearance of two more of the enemy's frigates, took out his prisoners and set it on fire. By a signal act of retributive justice nearly every man engaged in this iniquitous expedition was killed or captured. Since this period Anguilla has remained in peace, under the British flag.

Physical Features.—The pastoral aspect of Anguilla is very unlike that of most West Indian islands. The surface is flat, without mountains or rivers, and with a deep, chalky soil. A cliffy wall, some forty feet in height, rises at the northern end, the country then slopes inward in a concave form, and towards the south is only just above the level of the sea. There are several adjacent islets, of which the largest, lying to the north-eastward, is named *Anguillita*. There are two harbours for small vessels. In the centre of the northern part of the island is a large salt lake, which is public property; in favourable years no less than 300,000 bushels have been exported, chiefly to the United States. Although both fertile and level, only a very inconsiderable portion of the surface, two or three-tenths perhaps, at the utmost, is now under cultivation. The ground provisions raised here, especially yams, are excellent; fine tobacco, millet, cotton, maize, and sugar, have all thriven, and cattle find abundant pasturage. There is no town, the houses and cottages of the scanty population are scattered in different directions, and the roads consist of level grassy tracks, pleasant to the eye and agreeable to equestrians.

The Climate is salubrious.

Population.—In 1673, Anguilla is said to have possessed 500 men capable of bearing arms; in 1724, the first trustworthy return stated the inhabitants at 360 whites and 900 negroes; in 1819, there were 360

* *British West Indies in* 1850; by J. Candler and G. W. Alexander. *Anti-Slavery Reporter;* Feb. 1851.

whites, 320 free coloured, and 2,226 slaves = 2,996; in 1834, the whites and free coloured numbered 674, the slaves 2,226 = 2,920; in 1844, the population was stated at 982 males, 1,197 females = 2,179, but were not classified as to colour, the diminution being occasioned by the emigration of able-bodied labourers to islands where they could find more remunerative employment. The proprietary class, previous to the abolition of slavery, had become impoverished and indebted, the same causes having produced the same effects here as elsewhere; since then a change for the better appears to have taken place. "The native inhabitants," says Governor Higginson, "are a superior race, and particularly correct in their deportment. They are in comfortable circumstances, raise stock and provisions for their own consumption, and occasionally for exportation. Crime is almost unknown."—(Annual Report on *Blue Book* for 1846, p. 44.)

The RELIGION professed is Protestant: there is one Church of England place of worship and schoolhouse, and a Wesleyan chapel.

Anguilla is a dependency of St. Kitt's, and sends a representative to the Assembly. The officials, including the rector, are all paid by the Home Government. A free port would probably conduce to the progress of the colony, which, notwithstanding its out-of-the-way position, has useful characteristics.

THE VIRGIN ISLANDS—

were discovered by Columbus in 1493, and thus named in honour of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand maidens famous in Romish legends. They lie to the north-westward of the Caribbee Islands, and appear to consist of the more elevated heights connected with the eastern extremity of the Cuban chain, which extends from 64° to 85° W. long., a distance of about 1,400 miles. Of this space the Virgin Islands occupy a very inconsiderable portion, though comprising about fifty isles and islets, called *Cays;* they stretch over twenty-four leagues east and west, and sixteen north and south. The Danes possess the islands of *St. Thomas*,* which has a good harbour, *Saint Croix* or *Santa Cruz*, which is cultivated like a garden, *St. John*, and some inconsiderable islets; the remainder, and more easterly, are British: the chief are *Tortola*, *Virgin Gorda*, *Anegada*, *Jost van Dykes*, *Peter*, *Guana* (so called from its abounding in that species of lizards), *Normand*, *Beef*, *the Camanos*, *Ginger*, *Coopers*, *Salt*, and others of no importance. The total area is estimated at 58,619 acres.

HISTORY.—This group attracted little attention at the period of its discovery, in 1493; it was visited by Sir Francis Drake in 1580, and in 1596 by the Earl of Cumberland, when on his way to attack the neighbouring island of Porto Rico; in the records of this last voyage it is mentioned as "wholly uninhabited, sandy, barren, and craggy." The islands now belonging to Great Britain were first colonized by a party of Dutch buccaneers, who established themselves at Tortola, about the year 1648, and built a fort, but were subsequently driven out by a stronger body of British adventurers of the same class; soon afterwards, Tortola and its dependencies were annexed to the Leeward Island government, in a commission granted by Charles the Second to Sir W. Stapleton. In 1680 some English planters† emigrated from Anguilla, and, undeterred by the craggy mountains, laboured with great zeal, and soon raised cotton, ginger, sugar, and indigo, in no inconsiderable quantities. The earliest representative assembly met in February, 1774, and by their first act agreed to subject themselves to an impost of 4½ per cent., similar to that paid by the Barbadians, and this tax continued to be levied until 1838.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND TOPOGRAPHY. — The prevailing characteristics are rugged heights and precipitous coast-lines, with numerous bays, havens, and creeks. There are tracts of waste land, covered with luxuriant guinea grass, and affording excellent pasturage for cows, sheep, and goats, of which the emancipated blacks are the chief proprietors.

TORTOLA, in 18° 24′ N. lat., and 64° 32′ W. long., is of an irregular shape, about twelve miles in length and three or four at its greatest breadth; its peaked and picturesque summits are loftier than any other portion of the Virgin Islands—attaining the height of 1,758 feet. *Road Town*, the chief place, and a free port, consists of one large street, extending along the western shores of a fine and well-sheltered harbour. VIRGIN GORDA (sometimes called *Spanish-town*, a corruption of *Penniston*) is about nine miles in length, and, in some parts, four in breadth; its central eminence rises to the height of 1,376 feet. It has many

* During the last war, St. Thomas (which had been occupied by the Danes in 1671), St. John, and St. Croix, (which they had purchased from the French), were taken possession of by England, but on its termination these islands, and their dependencies, were restored to Denmark.

† Of the manner in which the slaves were treated in the Virgin Islands, appalling evidence was given in the case of Arthur Hodge, a planter of Tortola, who was a member of Council; and is represented as having been a man of liberal education and polished manners, but possessed with a spirit of the most diabolical cruelty. By various barbarities, of which even a brief record would fill several pages, he was declared by a witness, upon oath, to have destroyed sixty slaves (including women and children) in about three years. He appears to have experimentalised upon human life much in the same manner as a chemist might have tried the effects of poison on animals, only with no other motive than the horrible one of inflicting the greatest possible amount of agony on his wretched victims. His fellow-planters (unacquainted with the full extent of his atrocities) do not appear to have regarded him with the detestation he merited; or, at least, his character as a notorious duellist protected him from any manifestation of such a feeling, until he quarrelled with and threatened to challenge a former friend, who, being a magistrate, thereupon preferred a charge against him for several murders committed some years before, especially for that of a negro named Prosper. The counsel for Hodge, boldly asserted that "a slave being property, it was no greater offence in law for his master to kill him than it would be to kill a dog;" and the criminal himself admitted that he had been guilty with regard to many of his slaves, but was innocent in respect to Prosper. The evidence was so abundant and conclusive, that even a planter jury were compelled to bring in a verdict of guilty, accompanied, however, by a recommendation to mercy, to which Governor Elliott indignantly refused to listen. Such was the state of excitement occasioned in the colony by the fact of this monster being adjudged to suffer death—the sole plea in his favour being his having a white skin, and his wretched victims black ones—that the governor was obliged to proceed in person to Tortola, proclaim martial law, and avail himself of the presence and protection of a frigate then in the harbour, before he could venture to carry out the sentence of the law, which was fulfilled by the execution of Hodge on the 8th of May, 1811.—(*Vide* Continuation to Bryan Edwards, 1819; vol. iv., p. 458; and Southey, vol. iii., p. 501.)

inlets affording anchorage. ANEGADA, about ten miles in length and four in breadth, is a bed of coral rock, raised but a few feet above the surface of the ocean. It produces some ground provisions and fruits. The islanders from time immemorial have looked to "wrecking" for their main subsistence; between 1811 and 1838-'9, no less than sixty-seven vessels have been lost on a dangerous reef, which extends for a distance of ten miles, from this island to the south-eastward, towards Virgin Gorda. The remaining isles are all small and unimportant; villages and cottages are scattered in various localities. A Sanitary Act, induced by the ravages of cholera in Jamaica, has been recently passed, and will probably improve the moral, as well as physical, health of the population.

The GEOLOGY resembles that of Cuba, Jamaica, Hayti, and Porto Rico. Granite of a fine quality predominates, and milky quartz abounds.

MINERALOGY.—As gold, silver, copper, platina, arsenic, and other minerals, have been found in the Cuban chain of islands, it is most probable they also exist here. The buccaneers are said to have worked both gold and silver mines, and coined dollars in imitation of the Spanish mints. On Virgin Gorda there are several shallow shafts sunk, it is supposed, by the Spaniards. A few years since several enterprising gentlemen expended £40,000 in mining operations here. They purchased a mining tract at the south-eastern end of Virgin Gorda, erected buildings, made roads and wharfs, set up a steam-engine, sunk three shafts (one to the depth of thirty fathoms), and drove several levels (one fifty fathoms), north and south. During the sinking, driving, and excavating, 210 tons of rich ore were raised, and yielded upwards of 20 per cent of pure copper. Some was exceedingly rich, and produced £31 : 10*s.* per ton, dry weight, at Swansea. The lode is composed of yellow pyrites, green carbonate, and grey ores, in a matrix of white spar, carrying with it the rare metal termed Molybdenum. Black copper was found in a large vein, and native copper in "strings." The working ceased from the want, or rather the mismanagement, of capital, owing to a misapprehension of the local agent, just when its value was ascertained, and will probably be resumed.

POPULATION.—The first precise account was given in 1717. Virgin Gorda had then 317 white inhabitants and 308 negroes; Tortola, 156 whites, and 176 negroes. The proportions since then are shown in the annexed table:—

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Slaves, or Blacks.	Total.
1720	1,122	—	1,509	2,631
1756	1,263	—	6,121	7,384
1787	1,200	180	9,000	10,380
1805	1,300	220	7,000	8,520
1834	800	600	5,135	6,535
1841	—	—		6,689

The last census was taken in 1841, there were then 3,130 males, and 3,559 females; the registered births 253, and the deaths 47. The area, in acres, and number of inhabitants in each of the principal isles was;—Tortola, 13,300 acres, 4,027 population; Jost Van Dyke, 3,200 a., 1,158 p.; Virgin Gorda, 9,500 a., 764 p.; Anegada, 31,200 a., 345 p.; Beef Island, 1,560 a., 68 p.; Guana, 1,120 a., 36 p.; Caymanas, 65 p.; Peter's Island, 143 p.; Salt, 83 p. The present number of inhabitants is about 7,000.

GOVERNMENT. — A lieutenant-governor, council, and assembly.

RELIGION. — One Church of England, and four chapels, but (in 1852) only one clergyman; eight Wesleyan chapels, and two other places of worship.

EDUCATION.—Five Church of England and three Wesleyan schools: scholars, 944; Sunday-school pupils, 401.

CRIME.—Commitments in 1851, number 54.

FINANCE.—Revenue in 1836, £2,796; in 1851, £1,471.

COMMERCE.—The soil being considered worn out, sugar cultivation has diminished from about 1,000 hogsheads, at the period of the abolition of slavery, to 329 in 1851. Cotton is grown in small patches all over the island, and, like other native produce, is generally shipped in fishing-boats to St. Thomas. Value of imports, £4,417; exports, £6,095. Wages of labour, 6*d.* to 9*d.* a-day. Abundance of green turtle, and fish of various kinds, is obtainable; and 200 men are engaged in catching and curing it.

The conduct of the emancipated slaves has been orderly and industrious.

CHAPTER XII.—BAHAMAS, TURK'S ISLAND, AND THE CAICOS.

THE Archipelago, called Bahama, or *Lucayos*,* consists of a large number of small, irregularly-shaped, but generally long and narrow isles, situated on two banks of sand and coral, and surrounded by countless reefs, rocks, and shoals, stretching between Hayti and East Florida, in a diagonal line, for about 550 miles; being the Cays of Grand Bahama, in 27° 31′ N. lat., 79° 5′ W. long., and the islands of Maricuana and Inagua, in 20° 55′ N. lat, 72° 40′ W. long. The total area is 3,521 square miles.

HISTORY.—The discovery of these isles, the first to give assurance to Columbus of the reward which awaited his patient research, has been already described (see p. 4). The numerous and gentle race, who so kindly welcomed the toil-worn adventurers, soon fell victims to Spanish avarice, being deluded or forced from their homes, to work the mines in Hayti, or act as divers in the pearl fishery of Cumana. From that period, up to about the year 1629, the Bahamas were left uninhabited; New Providence was then settled by the English, who held it until 1641, when they were attacked and expelled by the Spaniards, who after murdering the governor in a very barbarous manner, burned the habitations, and

* "Lucayos" was the native name for these islands, most of which are small and sandy; probably the term Cay or Key, commonly applied to small sandy islets throughout the West Indies, is simply a corruption of the original term. The Spanish word Cayos signifies Keys; but it is difficult to conjecture why the early navigators should have applied this name, unless, indeed, it were in allusion to the strange shape of the scattered isles.

departed. The island was re-colonised by the British in 1666; it continued in their possession until 1703, when the French and Spaniards again drove out the settlers, and destroyed the plantations. The Bahamas next became a rendezvous for pirates, whose sanguinary marauding expeditions in the West Indian seas became so alarming, as to induce the British government to re-settle the colony, as the best means for their suppression. An active and intrepid governor (Captain Woodes Rogers, R.N.) was appointed in 1718; and being well supported by a naval force, eventually succeeded in repressing these outrages; some of the leading pirates were slain, and the rest, by judicious lenity, brought to submission. Shortly after this, several of the other islands were settled.

In 1776, at the beginning of the American war, Commodore Hopkins, with a small squadron, attacked and plundered New Providence, and carried away the governor; in 1781, the island capitulated to a Spanish force of 1,500 men, under Don Galvez, but was recaptured by the daring enterprise of a young officer, named Colonel Devereux, and confirmed to England by the peace of 1783. When the independence of the United States was acknowledged, many loyalist families emigrated with their remaining property to these islands.

Physical Features and Topography. — All the Bahamas, seen from a ship, are low, flat, and verdant.

New Providence — on whose northern shores *Nassau*, the seat of government, is situated, is about nineteen miles in length and seven in breadth; mostly flat, and covered with brushwood and extensive lagoons, but by no means deficient in timber. *Lake Killarney*, in the interior, is three miles long, with a somewhat lesser breadth; it has numerous mangrove islets. A ridge of hilly rocks runs in an east and west direction; and upon them many of the buildings of Nassau are constructed, including an excellent government-house, spacious barracks, and Fort Charlotte. The streets are wide and airy, and the houses well built. The harbour is secure, but small, not admitting vessels drawing above fifteen feet water: it is sheltered on the north by *Hog Island*, which is little more than a reef of rocks.

Andros Islands lie to the westward of New Providence, from which they are divided by a "tongue of ocean," as it is here called; they extend about thirty-three leagues in length. The northernmost is of considerable width, and contains much valuable timber (cedar); but the coast alone is inhabited, the interior being filled with swamps, jungle, and musquitoes, sufficiently formidable, it appears, to forbid the approach of settlers, whether white or black.

Harbour Island—is about five miles in length and one and a-half in breadth; the inhabitants are chiefly employed in ship-building and wrecking, as are also those of the large island, called Great Abaco (on the Little Bahama Bank), which is long and very narrow, and has four settlements; on the neighbouring Cays there are two villages.

Eleuthera—the principal fruit-growing island, is extensive, and of very irregular shape. Its east and north-east shores are washed by the Atlantic Ocean; while, on the westward, is the shallow and smooth water of the Great Bahama Bank. The port of entry is at *Governor's Harbour*. There are also settlements, named *Rock Sound*, the *Cove*, and the *Current*, on the western shore. At Crooked Island, Long Cay, and Rum Cay, the people are chiefly engaged in procuring salt—"salt-raking," as it is termed; but in the last-named island there is some stock raised and ground cultivated. San Salvador, Guanahani, or Cat Island, has good anchorage, and is generally believed to be the first land seen by Columbus. There are two settlements upon it. The population of Great and Little Exuma, and the Exuma Cays, are engaged in agriculture, cotton-growing, and salt-raking, which last is their mainstay. The port of entry is at Little Exuma.

There are four *light-houses*: 1. a fixed light on Hog Island, entrance of Nassau harbour; 2. a revolving light, 160 feet above the sea, on the south-east point of Abaco; 3. do., 80 feet above the sea, at Gun Cay; and, 4. a fixed do., 100 feet do. at Cay Sal.

Long Island—is seventy miles in length and only three or four in width; has an anchorage on its east side, called *Great Harbour*, and exports salt, sponges, conch-shells, and turtles. Ragged Island exports salt largely to the United States. In Grand Bahama Island, Indian corn is raised, and other agricultural pursuits are followed. The Berry group, of which the chief is *Stirrup's Cay*, has a scanty population, chiefly employed in the melancholy business of wreckers. The Biminis are small, but afford good anchorage on the south-west, and have each a well of fresh water. Inagua and Maricuana, the most eastward or windward of the Bahamas, though little known, are reported to exceed all the others in fertility. The former has several prairies, and an enormous salt pond, covering an area of about 1,600 acres, which a joint-stock company are now profitably working.

Geology.—No rocks of primitive formation have been found; the base is coral reefs. The surface stratum consists of the debris of coral, shells, madrepores, marine deposits, and decayed vegetable matter. Here and there strata of argillaceous earth may be seen, and marl occasionally on some of the outer islets. Porous limestone is quarried for building purposes; it is also used for drip-stones. Meteoric stones have been found rudely sculptured with human features by the aborigines; and at Turk's Island a great number of calcareous balls were discovered, all bearing an indentation, as though a pedicle had been attached to them. There are no traces of minerals, but, at Inagua, the water of several wells blackens silver as if it had been in contact with sulphur.

Soil and Productions.—The calcareous masses of which the Bahamas are formed, would, to an inexperienced eye, convey an idea of hopeless sterility; yet, owing to the porous quality of the stone, and its consequent power of retaining moisture, many of the isles (even those most covered with rock) produce increasing quantities of Indian and Guinea corn, grass, vegetables, and fruit of all kinds, the latter in great abundance, particularly the pine-apple, the orange, and the lemon, all of which seem to flourish, to an extraordinary degree, in the midst of huge blocks, which retain the moisture. There is excellent pasturage for cattle, which not only obtain their food from natural grasses, but browse on the branches of the lignum-vitæ and other small native trees. There is some excellent timber for ship-building on the larger islands, where varieties of mahogany, brazilletto, satin-wood, cedar, pimento, wild cinnamon, &c., are to be found. Crops on the small islands are frequently damaged by the spray driven from the sea during violent gales of wind.

The Climate is equable, but, although for the

greater part, the archipelago is situated without the tropics, the heat of summer is considerable. From May to September the thermometrical range is from 73° to 93°, July, August, and September being the hottest months. The prevailing winds, from October to March, are north-east and north-west; during the remainder of the year it blows from the south-east. From the 1st of November to the 1st of May, the temperature is very grateful; the north-east, north, and north-west winds from the continent of America, impart an invigorating coolness to the atmosphere, and render it well adapted for invalids, especially for persons with bronchial affections; for this advantage, Nassau is resorted to by American citizens, who are subject to pulmonary disease. The salubrity of the climate is attested by the healthy appearance and robust forms of the creoles. Cholera has never visited the Bahamas. The vernal and autumnal seasons are distinctly marked by deciduous vegetation. The early and the late rains are abundant. The annual fall is from 43 to 45 inches; excepting October, November, and December, it is pretty equally distributed over the other months. Hurricanes occasionally occur; a very severe one was felt on the 3rd of October, 1796, which, in one night, destroyed all the vessels in Nassau harbour but three. On the 21st of July, 1801, another hurricane did much damage on the land, and 120 sail of vessels were counted as wrecks on the shore. A tornado of some violence took place in 1850.

POPULATION.

Year.	Whites.	Free coloured.	Blacks, or slaves.	Total.
1722	830	—	310	1,140
1731	935	—	453	1,388
1773	2,052	77	2,241	4,370
1812	3,872	1,600	11,000	16,472
1826	4,570	2,259	9,186	16,015
1834	4,240	2,991	10,086	17,317
1841	6,062	18,649		24,711
1844	—	—		25,292
1851	6,243	21,276		27,519

Note.—No classified returns in the year 1844.

Population of the Bahamas, in 1851.

Islands.	Area in square miles.	Whites.		Coloured.		Total.		Total Male and Female.	Mouths to square mile.
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female		
New Providence and Cays	80¾	713	821	3,106	3,519	3,819	4,340	8,159	100
Harbour Island	8	484	469	451	436	935	905	1,840	230
Eleuthera and Cays	100	605	606	1,715	1,684	2,320	2,290	4,610	46
Rum Cay	36	19	18	419	402	438	420	858	21
Crooked Island	160	10	2	544	536	554	538	1,092	6
St. Salvador	101	15	12	897	901	915	913	1,828	18
Exuma and Cays	75	74	70	958	925	1,032	915	1,947	27
Long Island	135	100	94	649	634	749	728	1,477	10
Abaco and Cays	225	280	598	418	415	998	1,013	2,011	8
Ragged Island	6	8	8	175	156	183	164	347	5
Andros Island	1,656	1	—	519	510	520	510	1,030	0¾
Grand Bahama	210	1	—	491	430	492	430	922	4
Berry Island	8	4	3	133	196	137	99	236	20
Biminis and Gun Cay	3	49	40	33	28	82	68	150	50
Walting's Island	60	8	5	184	187	192	192	384	6
Inagua and Maricuana	657	32	22	333	136	372	158	530	0¾
Green Cay	1	2	5	—	—	2	5	7	7
Cay Sal	1/16	7	4	—	—	7	4	11	176
Total	3,521	2,722	2,777	11,025	10,995	13,747	13,772	27,519	—

Note.—Births, in 1851, 1,206, deaths, 576.

There is an extensive building in New Providence for the reception of poor and infirm persons from all the islands: the total number of inmates during 1851 was, *poor and infirm*, males, 22, females, 22; *lunatics*, males, 777; *lepers*, males, 3, female 1, = 62. The average cost of each inmate was 9*d.* per day; the charge for the year, £1,054. A public dispensary supplies the poor with medicine and medical advice.

Droghing, fishing, and wrecking, give employment to no inconsiderable portion of the population. The last-named business is carried on under the provisions of a colonial law. Many vessels are annually lost here. The wreckers go in search of them in well-built fast-sailing schooners, whose hardy crews are skilled in diving in deep water, whereby much valuable property and many lives are saved. Until the local legislature passed an enactment on the subject, the men who saved passengers had no lien on the cargo or ship for remuneration; and it was advantageous that no living beings should be found on board the ill-fated vessel. Now, the saving of life is made to some extent consistent with the remunerative preservation of property. When the crew are all drowned, or abandon the ship, the wreckers obtain salvage, amounting mostly to 75, but sometimes to 95, per cent out of the *nett* amount realised, after payment of the charges of the Vice-Admiralty Court. The value of the wrecked goods brought into the custom-house of the Bahamas during the years 1848-'49-'50 was, £90,413. The whole property is subjected to a duty of 15 per cent on its value, as ascertained by the auctioneer's hammer at the "Vendue House," erected on the wharf at Nassau, where cases and packages, whose contents are little more than guessed at, are almost daily put up for auction.

The deep-rooted prejudice against the coloured race, is combated by the personal efforts of the present excellent governor (Gregory); but it is still pain-

fully conspicuous in some of the smaller islands. At Nassau, however, a better spirit is manifested, and white, coloured, and black jurors walk indiscriminately into the jury-box, and perform their important functions on a footing of the most perfect equality. Three of H.M. justices of the peace are pure negroes; two of them were formerly slaves; and they recently sat on the bench with the governor and other white magistrates, and showed themselves well-qualified for the judicial office.

The emancipated population generally appear to be favourably distinguished by habits of sobriety, order, and decency. The administration of the Holy Sacrament in Nassau is rendered very striking, by the numbers, respectable appearance, and devout fervour of the former slaves, as they kneel before the Communion table beside their white fellow-subjects. The fruit of the persevering exertions of the ministers of religion is daily visible in the tranquillity of the streets, the strict observance of the Sabbath, and the rarity of heinous crime. Concubinage (one of the many legacies of slavery) is being gradually superseded by the marriage contract; and religious instruction has also had the effect of raising up a spirit of brotherly love among the negroes.—(Despatch of Governor Gregory, 15th May, 1850).

GOVERNMENT.—A governor, council, and representative Assembly of seventeen members. The salary of the governor is £2,000 per annum, of which £1,200 is paid by England, and £800 by the colonists. He has also one of the best government residences in the West Indies.

RELIGION.—The Bahamas are included in the diocese of Jamaica. Provision is made by law for clerical duty in the thirteen parishes of the colony; but their insularity prevents effective visitation. Connected with the Church of England, there are nine churches and eleven chapels, with 4,078 members, of whom 988 are communicants. There is a Presbyterian church at Nassau, endowed by the local legislature. The Wesleyans have two capacious chapels at New Providence, and places of worship at several of the other islands. The Baptists and Anabaptists have also several chapels. The Church of England has an archdeacon and twelve clergymen; the Presbyterians, one minister; the Wesleyans, five; the Baptists, several missionaries in connexion with England, and others of African descent. The legislature, in 1851, voted £300 towards the erection of three Methodist chapels.

EDUCATION.—In 1833, there were seven public free-schools, with 227 males, and 231 female scholars; now there are twenty-two public schools, supported by funds voted by the colonial legislature, and entrusted to the disbursement of an education board. The system adopted is that of the British and Foreign Society. Number of scholars, males, 1,022; females, 835 = 1857; teachers, thirty-seven, besides stipendiary pupil teachers, and paid monitors. The Church of England have 858 children in daily, and 1,999 in Sunday schools. Governor Gregory, who recently inspected all the schools, says—

> "The general intelligence of the negro children, and the quickness with which they answered the numerous questions of myself and others upon a variety of subjects, struck me very forcibly;" * * * "in no part of the world have I ever seen greater proofs of anxiety on the part of parents (most of whom, a few years ago, were in the abject condition of slaves) to have their offspring educated. Children of tender age are to be seen, in almost every island, walking four or five miles a-day, through rocky and rugged paths, to and from school.

In 1851, out of 27,519 inhabitants, 8,126 were able to read.

There is a reading-room, library, and museum at Nassau, including a working-man's library, with suitable books, and a low scale of subscription adapted to their means.—(*Blue Book* for 1851, by Lieutenant-governor Nesbitt.)

CRIME—Inconsiderable and diminishing. There is an excellent stone gaol at Nassau, and small prisons in the principal islands; but they are generally untenanted.

PRESS.—Three semi-weekly newspapers, and one or two almanacks.

FINANCE.—Revenue in 1833, £10,201; in 1851, £26,105; independent of £1,701 local taxes. The rent received from the salt-ponds in three years, ending 1850, was £2,194, which was expended on the ponds in their keep and improvement. There is a colonial debt of £18,787, after deducting the liability of the Turk's Island government; interest, at the rate of 5 per cent., is paid quarterly. It was commenced about the year 1830, when the Assembly (in their fierce opposition to the humane measures of Governor Smyth for the prevention of the flogging of women, and the better treatment of the slaves), stopped the supplies for four years. The public bank at Nassau (of which the profits are appropriated in aid of the local revenue) issues paper-money to the amount of about £16,000. Coin in circulation, about £20,000: specie in Nassau bank, gold, £6,000; silver, £18,000.

Wages.—Domestics, males, 40*s.*, females, 20*s.* per month; labourers, males, 1*s.* 6*d.*, females, 1*s.* per day; trades, 4*s.* *Prices*—Beef and mutton, 7½*d.* to 9*d.*; turtle, 2½*d.*; wheaten bread, 3*d.*; butter, 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* per lb. Price of land 6*s.* to 10*s.* per acre.

COMMERCE.	1833.	1851.
Imports . . value	£123,735	£117,318
Exports . . ,,	75,875	75,552

Note.—Tonnage inwards, in 1833, 28,377; in 1851, 36,038. The returns for 1833 *include*, and for 1851 *exclude*, Turk's Island and Caicos.

The principal trade is with the United States. Formerly, cotton was extensively cultivated; in 1791 the export from the Bahamas amounted to 1,392,348 lbs.; attention is again being given to this useful product.

The consumption of salt is very large in the United States; it is said to average 40 lbs. annually per head; owing to the extensive use of the article in the curing of meat and fish. In 1841, six million bushels were made in the States, and seven million imported = thirteen million bushels. In 1837, about seventeen million bushels were consumed, of which ten were imported. The demand has continued increasing; but the domestic manufacture has not been proportionately augmented, owing to the disappearance of the forests before advancing civilisation. Salt, obtained by solar evaporation, is found to be more effective for the preservation of fish (for which purpose it is ground in mills) than mineral salt. The Bahama Salines are therefore extremely valuable. Other items are being added to the brief export list of these isles; sponge was exported in 1850 to the value of £5,700; in 1851 it rose to £14,000; fruit (pine apples, oranges, &c.) increased, in the same time, from £8,000, to £12,600. Hard and dye woods, and turtle are also exported. The value of salt shipped in 1851 was, £16,500; the number of

bushels furnished for export was, from Rum Cay, 249,909; Exuma, 115,356; Crooked Island, 112,878; Ragged Island, 100,500; the other isles contributed smaller quantities.

The average cost of the salt put on board ship is 3*d.* per bushel; an export duty is levied at the rate of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*, generally at one farthing per bushel; the price obtained in the United States is 5*d.* to 6*d.* per bushel. A rent is paid by the lessees of the salt ponds, amounting, upon an average, to 30*s.* per acre. The leases, for the term of twenty-one years, are sold by the government, by public auction.

The number of acres of land granted to individuals is, 277,824; the remainder still belonging to the crown, is estimated at 911,841. Inagua has 366,382; St. Salvador, 26,690; Crooked Island, 79,891; and Long Island, 27,660 acres of ungranted land; with valuable salines or salt-pans, and turtle-ponds for breeding. The sale of crown land (which, during the three years ending 1851, amounted to £1,053) "exhibits the increasing ability of the population to purchase their own homestead, and field for cultivation; neat cottages and other more substantial buildings may be seen springing up at various points of the colony, in proof of an increasing successful industry, and corresponding comfort."—(*Blue Book*, report for 1851).

TURK'S ISLAND AND THE CAICOS.

This portion of the Bahama Archipelago, situated between the parallels of 21° and 22° N., in consequence of the reiterated entreaties of the inhabitants, has been recently separated, by an order of her majesty in council, from the Bahama government, and erected into a presidency, under the control of the governor of Jamaica. Turk's Island* and its Cays have an area of twenty-one square miles, and the N,W,E, and Grand Caicos, together with *Providenciales*, *Ambergris*, and other cays, extend over about 450 square miles. The bank on which this group is placed, is about sixty miles long, by fifty broad, with not more than six to twelve feet of water. Turk's Island, &c., are also on a narrow bank, of about thirty-five miles in length. It is estimated that there are on the Caicos 55,905 acres of waste land, of which 8,000 are under water, 19,000 barren and unfit for cultivation, 10,648 remaining of escheats that have been cleared, and 18,257 under grant and uncleared. In Turk's Island there are 5,000 acres waste. The aspect is for the greater part that of a moderately elevated platform, about 400 feet above the sea, very sterile and rocky, almost incapable of yielding any vegetable food, and without springs; rain-water is preserved in tanks. The number of the inhabitants is about 3,000, of whom but a small proportion are white, and these are generally wealthy, being the proprietors of salt-pans; in which, however, some of the blacks have a limited share. They are a cheerful, industrious people, remarkably free from crime, and in religious fellowship under clergymen of the Church of England, Wesleyan, and Baptist denominations. Their government is administered by a president, appointed by the Crown, aided by a council of eight, four of whom are elected by a majority of such of the tax-payers as are able to read and write English; the other four are nominated by the Crown.

The settlement is prosperous; according to a despatch from Mr. President Forth, dated 31st of January, 1853, it appears that the total revenue is about £8,000 per annum; the value of the imports in 1852, £29,467; of the exports, £24,826;—the tonnage inwards; vessels, 383; tons, 39,796. The quantity of salt exported, was, in 1851, 786,422 bushels, value £17,245; in 1852, 1,061,177, £22,035. All the trade is carried on with the Americans, who frequently send their new vessels here for a cargo of salt, as it preserves the timbers from dry rot.

CHAPTER XIII.—THE BERMUDA, OR SOMER ISLES.

This low and isolated archipelago, the still-vexed Bermoothes "of Shakspeare," situated in the North Atlantic, in 32° 20′ N. lat., 64° 50′ W. long, is 600 miles from Cape Hatteras, in North Carolina, the nearest point of land. The isles are said to be as numerous as the days of the year, but the majority are mere nameless specks, scarcely elevated above the ocean; an elliptical belt of coral reefs surrounds them, measuring about twenty-seven miles at the largest axis of its inner circumference, and fourteen at the smallest. The area is stated at 12,000 acres.

History.—In 1527, a Spaniard, named Bermudez, sighted these shores during a voyage across the Atlantic. In 1593, Henry May, and twenty-five other survivors of a shipwrecked crew, were cast upon the north-western coast. They found the remains of Spanish, Dutch, and French vessels; and after sojourning five months on these desert isles, subsisting chiefly on turtle and bread, prepared from the palmetto berry, engaged meanwhile in building a bark of eighty tons, from the valuable native timber, they managed to fit it out with stores saved from the wreck, and sailed for England, whither they arrived in safety. In 1609, Sir George Somers being wrecked here, on his way to Virginia, of which colony he had been appointed deputy-governor, took possession of the islands for the Crown of England; all his crew, 150 in number, were saved, and, following the example of their predecessors, set to work in the construction of two small cedar vessels, in which there was not any iron, except a bolt in the keel. At the end of ten months, their labours being completed, they succeeded in reaching Virginia; they probably left live-stock behind them, as Somers, on his arrival, was sent back to Bermuda to procure a supply, and died there, exhausted by fatigue.†

A settlement was formed in 1611, by the brother of Sir George Somers, who brought with him about

* So-called, it is said, from the abundance of a beautiful species of cactus, resembling a turban cushion or "Turk's Cap."

† In the parish church of St. George's there is a monument, with an inscription setting forth that,

"In the year 1611,
Noble Sir George Somers went hence to heaven."

And adds, in allusion to his request, that, though his mortal remains should be carried to England for sepulture, his heart should be left in Bermuda:—

"At last his soul and body being to part,
He here bequeathed his entrails and his heart."

sixty persons. The first governor, named Moore, selected a plain in St. George's Island on which to erect his palmetto hut, and the rest of the adventurers establishing themselves near him, it soon became a place of some importance. In 1614, the Spaniards formed a plan for the capture of the islands, which being defeated, they appear to have relinquished the idea. A regular form of government was soon afterwards established, a militia organised, and defences constructed. The civil wars which terminated the reign and life of Charles the First, occasioned a large accession of inhabitants. Among the exiles was the celebrated royalist poet, Waller; but on the Restoration, many of them returned to England, vaunting loudly the soft beauty and salubrity of the lonely isles which had afforded them a safe and peaceful asylum. During the War of Independence, the Bermudas became the seat of a regular court of admiralty, and the prize ships carried into its harbours made the fortunes of several individuals.* Washington well knew the value of these isles, and desired to annex them to the republic, that they might become "a nest of hornets to annoy the British trade;" but his politic desire was rendered fruitless by the precautions taken by the home government to fortify these posssessions, and render them a great naval station, for which their situation peculiarly fitted them, affording (during the war with America) a near and safe retreat to the fleet, and at all times a convenient resting-place for West Indian vessels, being in fact the key to our transatlantic territories. Their strong natural defences have been recently rendered almost impregnable by costly and skilful fortifications. In these isles slavery long shed abroad its pestilential influence; the early laws and general treatment of the slaves appear to have been harsh and sanguinary, and, up to the termination of the last century, the ordinances of religion were almost totally disregarded. In 1798 there were, throughout the nine parishes, into which the colony was divided, only three clergymen, of whom one was a man of bad character, and another incapacitated for duty by age and infirmity. At this period the Wesleyans, at the request of certain colonists, sent out a zealous missionary named Stephenson, of tried piety and discretion. A small society (white and coloured) was soon formed, but the more bigoted planters strongly opposed the extension of religious instruction to their slaves, and, in 1800, procured the enactment of a law, declaring "that no man is to preach, exhort, lecture, write, or speak, or in any wise propagate, any doctrine to any colleeted audience, public or private, who is not ordained according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England or Scotland, under a penalty of £50 and six months imprisonment for every offence." Mr. Stephenson having rendered himself liable under this arbitrary measure, was committed to trial, found guilty, and sentenced to the above-named punishments, as well as to pay the heavy costs of the court, the severity of the sentence being probably aggravated by the strong feeling displayed by parties in power; the attorney-general, for instance, asserting "that the Methodists were the cause of the rebellion in America, the revolution in France, and the disturbances in Ireland;"† ergo, they would excite a slave insurrection in the Bermudas. After six weary months,‡ spent in a loathsome jail, where, in addition to other wrongs, and injuries, the unfortunate prisoner was at an expense of no less than fifteen shillings a-day, he was at length discharged, and the law against non-conformists being still unrepealed, soon afterwards quitted the colony, almost worn out with sufferings, which his advanced age (being more than sixty years old) had rendered peculiarly trying. Even when the repeal of the persecuting law was proclaimed, the spirit in which it had originated was still so strong, that no minister was found to attempt the re-establishment of the mission until 1808, when a Mr. Marsden arrived, with his wife, and after much opposition and privation, succeeded in obtaining a firm footing. Since then, steady improvement has taken place in the character of all classes of the population, of which marked proofs were given by the more humane behaviour of masters, and the growing honesty of the slaves, so that, in 1834, the one party was ready to grant cheerfully, the other to accept with full advantage, the great boon of immediate freedom; the apprenticeship system here, as in Antigua, being dispensed with as cumbrous and unnecessary.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND TOPOGRAPHY.—The four chief islands (which are separated from each other by narrow channels) form a chain extending north-east and south-west, in the shape of a shepherd's crook, for a distance of fifteen to twenty miles in a straight line, though considerably longer, if measured round the curve. *St. George's* is three miles and-a-half in length, *Bermuda* fifteen, *Somerset* three, and *Ireland* three. The breadth of the widest portion (Devonshire tribe or parish, in Bermuda) is two miles; and of the narrowest about one-eighth of a mile. The minor islands of *St. David, Cooper, Smith, Long-Bird, Nonsuch*, &c., form numerous picturesque creeks and bays, several of which are very large and deep—such are the *Great Sound, Castle Harbour*,§ *Harrington Sound*, and others; the larger of which are from seven to fifteen miles in circumference, and being nearly land-locked, have somewhat the appearance of lake scenery without mountains, there being no eminence in the whole Archipelago of above 250

* It was here that the poet Moore, through the interest of his patron, Lord Moira, was sent as registrar; being soon wearied with the monotonous and uncongenial nature of his occupation, he returned to England, leaving a deputy, who committed extensive malversations, and thereby involved his principal in heavy liabilities, which long oppressed him, but which he eventually fully and honourably discharged.

† Dr. Coke's *West Indies*, vol. iii., p. 253.

‡ When Mr. Stephenson had been imprisoned five weeks, the governor volunteered to liberate him, on condition of his quitting the Bermudas within sixty days; this offer he refused to accept, lest he should thereby injure the cause for which he suffered, but proposed, if liberated, to find bail for not repeating his offence, so long as the law which declared it such, should continue in force; but these terms were refused.

§ *Castle Harbour*, a noble piece of water, encircled by St. David's, Bermuda, Long Bird, and various isles and islets, is of very unequal depth, and dangerous for large vessels, by reason of its numerous banks and shoals of coral which are indicated by the different tints of the water, ranging from the deepest azure to the lightest hue of the chrysoprase. Through its clear waves, the soft, calcareous bottom looks like a flower garden, blooming with the more delicate descriptions of coral, the graceful lilac-coloured sea-fan (Gorgonia Flabellum), which is used for sieves, egg-whisks, &c.; the sea-rod, which resembles ebony, and being very flexible, is much esteemed for riding whips; the sea-feather; and brain stones without number. The large and fine oysters found adhering to the rocks or the coral, frequently contain pearls of very clear water.—(See an interesting work, published in 1835, by Miss Lloyd, entitled *Sketches in Bermuda*.)

feet. The northern coast, except at the dangerous passage by the north rock, which lies at the edge of the Bermuda Bank, opposite the northern coast of St. George's, is rendered inaccessible by a heavy surf, and a broad line of breakers extending above ten miles from the shore.

There is no large spring in the islands, and though wells may be obtained at a moderate depth beneath the surface, the water is generally brackish; that which falls from the heavens is therefore carefully preserved in stone tanks, and is usually sufficient to prevent any painful drought among the inhabitants; but it seriously detracts from the pastoral capabilities of these isles, and horned cattle thrive but poorly. Goats are very plentiful, they browse among the rocks, and supply the inhabitants with milk. Salted provisions are imported largely from the United States.

St. George's Isle, the military station of the colony, and formerly the seat of government, commands the entrance of the only passage for large vessels, and has a land-locked harbour, with a narrow and intricate channel, defended by strong batteries; but, once entered, it is extremely spacious and commodious. The town has a pleasing appearance; the low houses, with their gay verandahs, extend along the water side, and are well built of the dazzling, snow-white Bermuda stone, which contrasts forcibly with the soft verdure of the neighbouring cedar groves and pasture; on a hill to the eastward, large and convenient barracks have been erected. Bermuda, sometimes styled the *Continent*, from comprising by far the largest portion of connected land, is divided into several tribes or parishes; the seat of government, *Hamilton*, is situated on *Hamilton Harbour*, an inlet of the extensive natural basin, *Great Sound;* it is little more than an inconsiderable village; the back-ground is formed by barren, dreary-looking hills, on one of which stands the court-house. It is, however, convenient for trade, as the largest vessels unlade their merchandise at the very doors. The government house is well situated. Small hamlets or fishing villages dot the shores in every direction. Ireland Island, the most westerly of the group, is the chief naval and convict station; an extensive breakwater has been formed here by convict labour. A large and commodious hospital is situated in the highest part of the island; and the officers' residences are comfortable, and built in the English style. The dock-yard is kept in admirable order; in fact, ship-building has always been the forte of the inhabitants; and they still possess a good supply of suitable timber. Their chief communication is, from the strange shape of the isles* and the large and numerous lagunes, almost as necessarily by water as that of the people of Venice; and their cedar boats are very agreeable objects, seen sailing beneath an unclouded sky of the deepest blue, and on the bosom of waters so clear that the rocky depths below, the coral, the exquisitely-coloured shells, and the many varieties of excellent fish, in which these shores everywhere abound, are distinctly perceptible.

Geology.—The basis of the whole group is the work of the industrious coral zoophytes. Above it are layers of calcareous sand and limestone, formed from comminuted shells and corals, closely cemented together, and associated without any definite order of position, the harder limestone occasionally resting upon loose sand; the arrangement of the beds is often dome-shaped; but, in many instances, the strata are singularly waved; and the dip varies much in the direction it takes, and the angle it forms with the horizon. The so-called Bermuda rock is too porous to be suitable for filtering-stones; it is easily wrought with axes and saws; is naturally friable, but becomes harder when exposed to the atmosphere, and changes in time from white to blueish-grey in hue: when covered with cement or lime, it is impervious to rain or damp. At the bottom of the basin, within the zone of coral reefs, there is a soft calcareous mud, resembling chalk, which is supposed to be derived from the decomposition of zoophytes. The hilly parts of the islands are composed of a calcareous sand, cemented by the action of water, so as to form a hard incrustation of carbonate of lime, about half an inch in thickness.

Soil—of three kinds—light sandy, deep red, and, in marshy situations, peaty or decayed vegetable matter: all three yield profitable crops: the light sandy is specially adapted for Irish potatoes and onions: the average produce of the latter is not less than 24,000 lbs. per acre, valued at 5*s.* per 100 lbs. = £600: the red, which is also calcareous, contains a much larger proportion of clay and vegetable deposit, and, apparently, oxyde of iron, it grows arrow-root in great perfection: the peat soil unites in its range of product nearly all the vegetables of temperate and of tropical climes. Colonel Reid, an officer of high scientific attainments, and an excellent ruler, effected great improvements while governor of Bermuda, and showed that the tops of the apparently barren and rugged hills, where stunted cedar and sage bush could barely exist, would, when brought under cultivation, furnish table vegetables, fruit, forest and ornamental trees—the ash of the northern regions, the old English oak, the mahogany, India rubber, and green heart of South America.

Climate—is described as resembling that of Persia, with the advantage of a constant sea-breeze; there is a perpetual seed-time, for in winter the seeds of Europe germinate, and in summer those of the tropics. In December, January, February, and March, forming the cold season, the thermometer ranges from 60° to 66°; in June, the hottest month, from 83° to 86°; in April, May, July, August, September, from 75° to 79° Fahrenheit. The dew point ranges high, and the air is therefore moist and favourable to vegetation at all seasons. Frost is unknown; the warm gulf stream which flows from Florida towards Newfoundland, between Bermuda and the American continent, causes, especially in the winter months, an ameliorated temperature, and preserves the heat of the ocean so as to enable the coralline insect to build its rocky structures in this, the most remote point from the equator, where its living work is now found. Captain Page ascertained the main temperature of the sea to range from 61° in March, to 83° in August; mean for the year, 72° Fahrenheit.

Diseases.—The Bermudas are usually healthy. During two centuries only four epidemics are recorded; one an influenza, with fever, in 1842, raged with violence among the convicts, troops, and white inhabitants, and killed many; but the coloured population were very slightly, if at all, affected by the malady. Rheumatism, in various forms of fever, and of violent tooth-ache, occasionally prevail; the worst is that apparently resulting from the humid exhalations of the marshes after heavy and continued rains: it is here termed the *dandy* or *broken-bone fever*, from the stiff and constrained positions involuntarily assumed by the sufferer.

* See Map in Division 7, vol. iv.

POPULATION.

Year.	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Blacks or Slaves.	Total.
1698	3,615	—	2,247	5,862
1721	4,850	—	3,514	8,364
1756	6,402	—	4,900	11,302
1774	5,632	—	5,023	10,655
1783	5,462	—	4,919	10,381
1805	4,500	—	5,800	10,300
1810	4,755	451	4,794	10,000
1834	3,900	740	4,203	8,843
1843	4,428	5,502		9,930
1851	4,669	6,423		11,092

Note.—Much of the data of the early population of our Western Slave Colonies are derived from a report of the Lords' Committee of the Privy Council, on the Slave Trade, submitted for H M. consideration in 1789; there is little other reliable information.

Census of 1851.

Parishes, or tribes.	Whites.		Coloured.		Total.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
St. George . .	365	436	431	659	1,891
Hamilton . . .	177	200	330	387	1,094
Smith's . . .	103	135	128	148	514
Devonshire . .	129	217	208	230	784
Pembroke . .	431	606	495	703	2,235
Paget	195	293	233	317	1,038
Warwick . . .	189	270	241	283	983
Southampton .	145	218	246	308	917
Sandys	231	329	520	556	1,636
Total . .	1,965	2,704	2,832	3,591	11,092

Note.—Houses inhabited, 1,796; uninhabited, 90; building, 26. This is exclusive of troops, of persons in the service of the Crown, or of the convicts sent from England to labour in the fortifications and dockyard, whose number, in 1851, was 1,535. Deaths of convicts during the year, 39.

The increase of population since 1843, has been at the rate, among the whites, of one-eighth; coloured, two-eighths per cent. per annum; in 1851, births, 344; deaths, 134. The females, on the whole population, are nearly one-seventh in excess of the males. In the census of 1843—births to deaths—*whites*, 12 to 10; in 1851, 22 to 10: *coloured*, 18 to 10, and 26 to 10. The emigration of young white men accounts for the increased proportion of white females to males; but the governor thinks that the increasing ratio of births to deaths in the coloured population must be ascribed altogether to their improved comfort, intelligence, and morality. It is gratifying to remark, that while there has been a large increase since the abolition of slavery in the consumption of articles of food and raiment, there has been an extensive diminution in the importation of rum."—(*Blue Book* for 1850. Report dated 4th June, 1851, p. 27.)

GOVERNMENT.—A governor, council of nine, and house of assembly, of thirty-six members.

RELIGION.—The Church of England establishment is included in the diocese of Newfoundland. There are four Church of England clergymen, including one chaplain for the dockyard and one for the military. There are also one Presbyterian, one Wesleyan, and one Roman Catholic minister. The religious denominations are — Church of England, 9,322; Wesleyan, 1,018; Presbyterian, 579; others, 113.

EDUCATION.—Twelve free schools, containing 271 male, and 300 female pupils, = 571. Legislative grant for these establishments, £509. There are nine private schools.

CRIME.—Commitments in 1851, number 95, chiefly for petty offences. The convicts sent from the United Kingdom have hitherto been confined in five prison hulks: barracks, I believe, are now constructing on shore for their custody.

PRESS.—A newspaper and almanack.

FINANCE.—Revenue in 1833, about £10,000; in 1851, £11,376. The local or municipal revenue amounts to £2,168. Commissariat payments for military purposes in 1851, £36,713: ordnance department, £12,309: naval storekeeper, agent, victualler, and hospital, £18,695. Charge for the convicts in 1851, £33,910. An annual grant of £4,049 is voted by the Imperial Parliament in aid of the civil disbursements of the colony; of this, £2,199 goes towards the governor's salary of £2,800 a-year. There have been expended in the islands, on roads and public undertakings, irrespective of military works, £43,083. A large expenditure has been incurred by the British government for fortifications and naval works. The yearly sum was reduced from £96,000, in 1846, to £78,000 in 1849. The maintenance of the convicts costs about £23 annually per head.

COMMERCE.—Imports, exports, shipping, and produce:—

Details.	1833.	1851.
Imports	£79,740	£125,710
Exports	£29,954	£22,753
Shipping inwards . . tons .	14,675	32,693
Produce—		
Arrowroot . . . . lbs. .	44,651	854,329
Onions . . . . . „ . .	291,550	838,070
Potatoes . . . . . bushels	46,959	49,268
Garden vegetables . lbs. .	206,520	256,136

Maize, barley, carrots, turnips, and tomatoes have been added to the list of products since 1833, and the area of cultivation has been largely increased. The potato disease, which appeared here in March, 1850, after unusually heavy rains, checked the production of that valuable esculent, which was exported in 1851 to the value of £3,880; also onions to the amount of £1,906, and arrowroot, £10,334. An acre of land capable of producing arrowroot,* gives an annual return to the value of £35; but the number of acres under tillage, including gardens, is only 1,227; in grass for cattle fodder, 33; in wood or natural pasture, 10,339. The live stock in 1851, consisted of horses, 259; mules, 5; asses, 31; neat cattle, 1,643; sheep, 227. Farming implements—

* The Bermuda arrow-root possesses one great advantage over the West Indian, in being less subject to adulteration; for cassava is scarce, and flour expensive. That grown on St. George's and St. David's is the finest; the limestone soil being best adapted to its culture. The stalk, which, from its resemblance to an arrow, has given its name to the plant, rises, in a single shaft, to the height of two or three feet; and is surmounted by a tuft of pale green flowers, which are succeeded by small berries. The light green leaves, not unlike those of the lily of the valley, grow each separately from the root, the ripeness of which is denoted by their decay; it is then taken out of the ground, and the end broken off and reserved for the next planting; the remainder being dried and prepared (either by hand-sieves, which is a very tedious process, or mills) in the form of a pure light starch.

carts, 186; ploughs, 104. The rowing boats number 445, and the sailing 123. The shores of the islands abound with fish, which contribute largely to the food of the inhabitants. There is a small coast whale fishery, yielding in the season about twenty whales, which furnish nearly 1,000 barrels of oil.* Excellent vessels, of a small size, are built at Bermuda; the number belonging to the colony is thirty-nine, with a tonnage of 2,595, manned by 227 seamen. The Bermuda craft are very durable, dry carriers, and cheaply navigated; they are principally employed in conveying sugar and rum from the French West Indies to the United States. Governor Elliott reported, in August, 1852, that the progress of the settlement "continued to be satisfactory, particularly in the rural industry of the people."

CHAPTER XV.—HONDURAS, THE BAY ISLANDS, MOSQUITO TERRITORY, AND THE CAYMANS.

(DEPENDENCIES OF JAMAICA.)

The British settlement at Honduras is situated in Central America, between the parallels of 15° and 19° N. lat., and 88° and 90° west long. The eastern boundary is formed by the Gulf of Honduras, the north-eastern by the State of Yucatan, and the west and south by that of Guatemala. The length is about 200, and the breadth 100 miles, but the boundaries are imperfectly defined; it is, therefore, impossible to state the area correctly, but it has been loosely estimated at 62,000 square miles. The materials for an historical sketch of British occupation and relations on this coast are very scanty. The more authentic records have been destroyed in times of war, fire, and hurricane—and their loss is much to be regretted, since the subject upon which they have an important bearing may unhappily become matter of national controversy. The following information, the best I have been able to obtain, is given in small type, since it would otherwise occupy space that could be ill-spared:—

Discovery and History.—In 1502, Columbus, during his fourth and last voyage, sighted a small, but elevated island, which, from the number and description of its lofty trees, he named the Isle of Pines; it has, however, retained its Indian appellation—being generally known as Guanaja (though sometimes called Bonacea); and this term has been extended to the smaller adjacent isles. While landing at Guanaja, which lies some leagues to the eastward of the Gulf of Honduras, a great canoe arrived as from a distant country. It was eight feet wide, and as long as a galley, though formed of the trunk of a single tree; in the centre was an awning of palm leaves, under which, protected alike from sun and rain, sat a cacique, with his wives and children, with twenty-five Indian rowers. The canoe contained specimens of the various manufactures and productions of the neighbouring continent. According to Herrera (book v., c. 5.), there were blankets and carpets of plaited cotton and palm-leaves, worked and dyed with various colours; wooden swords, with channels on each side the blade, in which sharp flints were fixed by cords made of the intestines of fishes; agate knives, *copper* hatchets, *belts* and *medals*, together with great quantities of *cacao*, a berry as yet unknown to the Spaniards, but which the natives held in great estimation, using it both as food and money. They made a description of bread from maize, as also a kind of beer. The women wore mantles, in which they wrapped themselves, like the female Moors of Granada; the men had cotton cloths about their loins. Persuading or compelling an old man to accompany him as an interpreter, Columbus stood southwardly, until he reached the point of land at present known as Cape Honduras, but which he named *Cavinas*, from its being covered with trees bearing a fruit resembling the apple, so called by the aborigines. The fertile land was everywhere verdant and beautiful; the pine, the chesnut, and the palm, afforded deep shade from the fervour of a tropical sun, which was further mitigated by constant but gentle ocean breezes. The people appeared numerous, and were well supplied with corn, fish, and fruit; they were finely formed in person, and conciliating in manners, but spoke different languages. The Spaniards unhesitatingly set aside their rights, took nominal possession of the territory in the name of their sovereign, and then proceeded to examine a few other parts of the coast.

In 1509, the province of Honduras was granted to Nicuessa (see *History of Jamaica*, p. 19), whose territory extended from the Gulf d'Uraba to Cape Gracias a Dios; a bishop's see was formed here, and several towns (of which Truxillo was the chief), but the majority of these were deserted before they were finished. The mines of Honduras were soon exhausted or forsaken for more promising tracts, not, however, until they had been the tombs of, it is asserted, no less than a million enslaved Indians. The land became almost depopulated, and would probably have been left utterly desolate, but for its unrivalled stores of mahogany and logwood. The pirates, who swarmed around the greater Antilles, frequently sought fresh prey upon the shores of Honduras and Yucatan; and, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, Truxillo was taken, pillaged and inhabited by an Englishman of the name of Barker, who built a vessel there, and retired with it before the Spaniards had recovered from their astonishment. Some time afterwards, Newport, another British adventurer, succeeded him—captured four caravels laden with quicksilver, silk, and pearls, and returned to England through the Bahama passage. Gage visited these shores in 1630, and described the chief place as being inconsiderable, and having less than 500 inhabitants; the kindness of the remaining aborigines he spoke highly of, declaring that "the poor Indians thought neither their personal attendance nor anything that they enjoyed, too good for the strangers." At this time, hides, *canna fistula*, logwood, and sarsaparilla, were the chief articles of export.—(Gage's *Survey of the West Indies*, p.159.)

In 1638 Willis, the notorious buccaneer,† settled on the

* The catching of a whale is a season of great rejoicing among the poorer classes, who, from the scarcity of live stock, rarely taste fresh meat from one year's end to another; many white people also, think a slice of young whale, fried, a dainty dish; and the more delicate parts are often passed off upon strangers as beefsteaks or cutlets. They eat monkeys in Trinidad, crapands (described by Coleridge as "enormous frogs, of the colour and size of about ten fat toads") in Dominica; snakes, guanas, and other lizards in various islands; and why should whales be considered less edible?

† Buccaneer is derived from *boucan*, a word signifying a sort of wooden gridiron, on which these rough marauders used to broil whole, or "barbacue," the wild hogs they

banks of the river which bears his name. The Spaniards called it Walis, and it has since been corrupted into *Balise* or *Belize*. Another English colony was subsequently formed near Cape Cotoche, upon the coast of Yucatan, but the scarcity of logwood soon induced the settlers to migrate to the Laguna de Terminos, in the deep and sheltered bay of Campeche. The Spaniards actively opposed the new settlements, but the Indians of the Mosquito shore, who hated the very name of Spain, and would never suffer any one of that nation to enter their country, took part with the British immigrants. On the arrival of the Duke of Albemarle in Jamaica, in 1687, the Mosquito Indians sought the protection of his sovereign. They represented that, in the reign of Charles the First, the Earl of Warwick, on taking possession of Providence Island, near their own shores, had been very desirous of entering into a friendly correspondence, and had prevailed on them to let him take to England the son of their king, leaving as an hostage his own friend and companion-in-arms, Colonel Morris. The Indian prince, on his return after three years' absence, was so favourably impressed by what he had seen and heard of the power and justice of England, that he voluntarily declared himself her vassal, and, with all his tribe, professed allegiance. Sir Hans Sloane witnessed the Indians present a memorial to the governor to the above effect, and has recorded it in his *History of Jamaica*.—(Vol. i., p. 46.) They have ever since maintained an uninterrupted allegiance with England, and though often exposed to cruel injuries by the bad faith of the people of the neighbouring colonies, both Spanish and English, who captured and carried away many of them as slaves, they have sought redress only by appealing to the local government, or, that failing, to the higher powers at home.

English occupation was recognised by Spain in the treaty of 1670, which "confirmed to Great Britain a right to the Laguna de Terminos, and the parts adjacent, in the province of Yucatan; those places having been actually in possession of British subjects, through right of sufferance or indulgence."—(Reports of Board of Trade and Plantations, for 1717.) The same right or liberty was explicitly confirmed by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, and the settlements prospered, the exports of logwood, in 1716, being no less than 5,863 tons. In the following year the jealous Spaniards broke through every engagement, by making a sudden descent upon Campeche, destroying the town and capturing sixty-two sail of merchantmen, which had discharged their cargoes, and were loading with logwood as a return freight. The settlers took refuge at Belize, where their numbers were recruited by swarms of adventurers, who united with them in keeping up a desultory warfare with the Spanish inhabitants of the neighbouring shores and settlements, which lasted about forty years.

In 1742, a British military settlement was planted on the island of Ruatan, or Rattan, in the Gulf of Honduras. The Mosquito Indians gladly assisted; a small town was built between two streams of fresh water, a fortress erected at the mouth of *New Port Royal Harbour*, and a governor appointed. A mutiny broke out among the troops, which was, however, speedily quelled, and several logwood-cutters migrated thither. In 1751, a Spanish force of about 1,500 men, from Peten, a town 200 miles to the westward, advanced upon Belize, but were gallantly repulsed by the "Baymen" (as the people inhabiting the shores and isles of the Bay or Gulf of Honduras are familiarly termed), and their slaves.

In 1763, by the treaty of Paris, the king of Spain agreed to guarantee their protection from molestation, in their occupation of wood-cutters; but obtained in return the unwise and unjust concession, that all fortifications erected by British subjects should be demolished, not only in the Gulf of Honduras, but also those which had been erected on the Mosquito shore (where a regular establishment of troops had been placed, in compliance with the wishes of the natives). This unsatisfactory and unjustifiable arrangement, adopted by both parties as a matter of expediency, could not stop the strife attendant on national rivalry. Piratical expeditions were undertaken by both Spaniards and English, and these affrays had some share in the renewal of hostilities between the respective states in Europe. The Spaniards took advantage of an early knowledge of the proclamation of war, and with 500 or 600 men attacked the island, formerly known as St. George's Cay, which the Baymen occasionally inhabited as a refuge against the prevailing diseases of the main, and after a brief conflict, carried off many captives of both sexes, put them in irons, and then marched them blind-fold to Merida, the capital of Yucatan, from whence they were again countermarched to the sea-side, and shipped to the Havanna to be imprisoned in solitary cells. While the Spaniards were proceeding to complete the devastation of the island, three English vessels, under Commodore Luttrell, arrived upon the coast, collected the remainder of the scattered Baymen, and drove away the invaders with great precipitation. Captain Dalrymple, with a detachment of the "Loyal Irish," and a body of Indians, immediately afterwards joined the commodore; uniting their forces, and assisted by the Baymen, they formed a body of 500 men; and retaliated upon the enemy, by making a successful attack upon St. Fernando de Omoa, where they spared the lives of the garrison, on condition of the restoration of the captives taken at St. George's Cay. Omoa was soon afterwards retaken by the Spaniards, who continued to harass the settlers, until, in 1783, when the British government having resolved not to relinquish the settlement, obtained a somewhat more explicit understanding, in reliance upon which, the colonists, with their slaves, returned to Belize (having, it would appear, taken refuge in the Mosquito territory), and the boundaries of the settlement were extended by the express permission of the Spanish monarch, from the mouth of the Belize to that of the Siboon. This accession of territory and importance excited the deadly jealousy of the Spanish colonists of Yucatan; and the wily governor silently prepared a formidable armament of 2,000 troops, assisted by 500 seamen, whom, in 1796, he embarked on board a flotilla of thirty-one vessels. The settlers at Belize were on their guard, and after watching the gathering storm, until it was ready to burst over their heads, they pursued a desperate but effectual method of defence, by burning to the ground their valuable possessions on St. George's Cay: they also removed the beacons which would have directed the enemy through the shoals, and, bravely and faithfully aided by their slaves, met the formidable armada with a little fleet, hastily collected, but resolutely manned. After an engagement of three hours' duration, the enemy was completely defeated, and retreated in confusion; the majority of their vessels were soon afterwards lost in a violent tempest by which they were assailed.

Encouraged by this triumph, the Baymen extended their operations; and forts were erected to protect them from further molestation. At the peace of Amiens, Honduras was, by some strange oversight, not even mentioned; and the settlers and merchants connected with the trade became seriously alarmed by the disposition manifested by the Spaniards (prompted by the French) to take advantage of this omission. The war, however, which speedily ensued, terminated the discussion; and Honduras has since remained undisturbed under British authority.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND TOPOGRAPHY.—The shores of the bay are low, and thickly bordered with small verdant islands or cays, so numerous and so much alike, as to puzzle the most experienced sailor, and render navigation extremely difficult; receding from the coast, the country rises with a gradual ascent into bold highlands, interspersed with rivers

took in hunting. They were, says Du Tertre, "*une sorte de gens ramassez*," that is, a mixed assemblage of men of all nations, who, from various offences, had been banished from civilized society. From this commencement sprung many of the daring, hardy, but cruel and unscrupulous marauders, whose piratical exploits were, for so long a period, the dread and terror of merchant vessels in the western seas.—(See *Jamaica*, p. 23.)

and lagoons, and covered with magnificent forests. *Belize*, the capital of the Honduras settlement, in 17° 29′ N. lat., 88° 8′ W. long., is situated at the southern mouth of a river of the same name, which divides the town into two parts, and is crossed by a substantial wooden bridge, 220 feet long, by 20 wide. That portion of Belize which stands on the south or right bank, extends along the eastern edge of a point of land, and is completely insulated by a canal on its western side, which runs across from a small arm of the sea forming the southern boundary. The court, government, and council houses are good buildings; there is also a Gothic-looking church, several chapels and schools. Of the private dwellings, constructed of the durable native woods, many are commodious and even elegant; they have upper and lower piazzas, and are generally raised eight or ten feet from the ground (which has been, in great measure, redeemed from the sea) on pillars of mahogany. —(See drawing of Belize in map of Central America.) The streets are shaded by groves and avenues of fine cocoa-nut and tamarind trees. The river, which has generally a north-east course, is alleged to be navigable 200 miles inland, for canoes or "pit-pans;" it receives numerous tributaries, and is connected with many lagoons; off its mouth there is safe anchorage for small vessels, with quays and wharfs; the channel of entrance, though intricate, is deep, and there is a good lighthouse, erected in 1821, on *Half Moon Cay*, about forty-three miles from the harbour. *Fort George*, a substantial structure, is situated about half-a-mile from the mouth of the river, on a small, low isle, principally formed by the ballast from the shipping, every vessel being obliged to deposit here an amount proportioned to its tonnage. The seaboard of Belize is almost its only point of attack; to the north lie the barracks, behind which and all round, within the circumference of three or four miles, the country is hemmed in by wooded heights and marshes, and the more distant mountains form an impenetrable barrier, with only one pass, which is easily defensible by a small force.

The *Hondo*, which forms the northern boundary of British settlement, is a fine stream. *New River*, a few miles to the south of it, is of much less importance; it flows from an extensive inland lake or lagoon. Of the other water-courses little is known, save from the report of the wood-cutters, who, from the nature of their occupation, are little inclined to communicate any information calculated to lead others to intrude on the hidden spots where the finest timber is found. Some of the scenery is rendered extremely picturesque by waterfalls; one near the *river and lagoon of Manatee*, about thirty miles south of Belize, is described as peculiarly striking. A large sheet of water stretches northerly for several leagues; lofty hills, in many places ascend abruptly from its margin, forming wooded valleys, in whose deep recesses the tiger (here so called, though little resembling its terrible namesake in Bengal), the armadillo, opossum, antelope, and several species of deer, range securely; quails, plovers, pheasants, wild turkeys, and many varieties of the feathered tribe, also abound. Nor are the waters less amply furnished than the earth and air, the large marshes or shallow ponds, during the greatest part of the year, are filled with many kinds of fish, and their banks are frequented by wild ducks and other aquatic birds. During seasons of drought, the sea-fowl flock hither to prey upon the putrid fish destroyed by the evaporation of the waters; even the alligator has not unfrequently been seen many miles in the interior, wandering over these trackless wilds, from one pond to another, in search of fish, timidly and warily pursuing his way, and evidently feeling towards man even a stronger terror than that which his formidable appearance and great strength inspires. The Manatee lagoon is supplied in the wet season by innumerable rivulets, but during the dry months by three streams only; viz., *Corn* and *Plantation Creeks*, and the *Main River;* the two first, though called creeks, extend so far inland that their sources are, or, at least, have been until very recently, unknown to the British settlers. The banks of the Manatee present several striking features; the rapids commence about eight or ten miles from the lagoon; a little further on is a remarkable cataract, a quarter of a mile in length, and of considerable acclivity, succeeded by a series of arched caverns or tunnels, which, during the floods, are impassable for days together. The country generally is technically spoken of under two heads, the *Pine* and *Cahoon ridges*, the pine trees extending over immense park-like tracts; while the latter term denotes a richly fertile soil, producing the wild cotton and other giants of the forest, interspersed with dense underwood.

Of the islands immediately off Belize, the only one of any importance is that formerly known as *St. George's Cay*, now called *Turneffe*, an agreeable and healthy spot, about three leagues distant, to which the colonists resort during the hot months.

Geology.—The structure of the high lands beyond the alluvial coast-line appears to be still unnoted. Alabaster and fine marble are said to exist in large quantities; valuable crystals have been found within 180 miles of Belize, and pieces of transparent felspar, which are used in ornamental stucco-work, are obtained at different parts of the river banks. Quantities of lava and volcanic substances are scattered in different situations. *Labouring Creek*, about 100 miles inland, is remarkable for the petrifying properties of its waters, which, when taken by strangers, have a cathartic effect; and a healing quality, when applied externally to ulcerations. Gold has been occasionally found in the *Roaring Creek*, a branch of the Belize river.

Soil.—On the banks of rivers and creeks, a stiff loam, deposited from the waters during their frequent overflowings: on the Cahoon ridges, decayed vegetable matter, two to three feet in depth, and of unsurpassed fertility; the Pine ridge land has a substratum of loose reddish sand, and its indigenous products consist of those varieties of the vegetable kingdom, whose assimilative powers are strong and perennial.

Climate.—Hot and moist in the neighbourhood of Belize, except during the dry and most healthy season, from the beginning of March to the end of May, when the mercury ranges from 75° to 86° Fahrenheit. In June, July, August, and September, there are frequent and heavy falls of rain, engendering marsh miasm by the decomposition of animal and vegetable matter in the adjacent lowlands and swamps, which is diffused over the town by night land-winds, and gives rise to remittent and other fevers; but of late years the partial clearing of the ground of both underwood and swamps around Belize, has had the natural effect of diminishing disease. During the remainder of the year there are occasional showers more or less heavy; and in October, November, and December, strong north and north-west winds, particularly when accompanied by rain,

cause at night a fall of the thermometer from 80° at noon to 60° Fahrenheit. The sea-breezes almost constantly prevail during the day from north-east, south-east, and east. Temperance and regular habits, here as in other tropical regions, often insure immunity from disease. The elevated inland region has a climate more congenial to the European constitution than that of the coast.

Population.—There has never been a complete census of the settlement; this important duty being neglected, on the plea that the inhabitants were very much scattered, and it would require some time to make the enumeration. The number of slaves emancipated and paid for, in 1834, was, 1,901; at which period the inhabitants of Belize were stated to be, whites, 223; free coloured, 1,788. The present colonists are vaguely estimated at 10,000, of whom about 5,000 reside in and around the town of Belize. The population is of a miscellaneous character, consisting of Europeans, both English and Spaniards, and their descendants, Africans, Mosquito natives, and other Indians. The Honduras blacks are said to be little inferior to the whites in vigour of intellect; the Mosquito men are remarkable for fine muscular forms, but are said to be of slow intelligence; the Indians are a timid, inoffensive race in a low moral state.

Government.—A superintendent, acting under the governor of Jamaica, from whom he receives his commission — an executive' council of nine, appointed by the same authority, and an assembly, or "public meeting," elected by voters possessed of £60 each, which they are required to prove every three years. The qualification of a representative is the possession of £300, after payment of his just debts; and if twenty-five votes are recorded in his favour he is elected for life. There were, in 1848, sixty-four members of the "public meeting," and fifty-nine voters; only thirty-three of the members were qualified to vote. Any British-born subject can require the provost-marshal to open a poll for seven days; and if the necessary twenty-five votes be recorded, the candidate is elected for life. No adverse votes are received. This singular system had its origin in the circumstance, that, for a long period the "Public Meeting" was the assembly of all the inhabitants, whereby their wishes were expressed; to which a qualification for electors and elected was subsequently annexed.

Religion.—Two ministers of the Church of England; one for the southern portion of Belize, with a salary of £600, and the other for the northern part of the town, with £300; both are subject to the diocesan of Jamaica. There is a flourishing Wesleyan Mission at Belize, and at Stan Creek, a Carib settlement, forty miles to the southward, where very praiseworthy exertions have been made. — (Superintendent Fancourt's report in 1848.) The Baptists have two chapels at Belize. A dispensary for the relief of the poor, combined with an asylum for the reception of lunatics, was established in 1847.

Education.—Six seminaries, with 467 pupils, including a grammar school, towards which £400 is paid out of the £900 voted annually by the colonial legislature for education.

Press.—One newspaper.

Crime—Comparatively small; an effective police force and firebrigade was organized in 1846.

Finance.—From 1807 to 1826, the revenue averaged £6,869 per annum; in 1851, it amounted to £17,964. Salary of superintendent, £1,650 per annum. Payments by Great Britain from commissariat chest for 1851, £12,378. A savings' bank was established in 1845; but on this and other matters there is no information in the annual reports of the superintendent.

Commerce—fluctuates, according to the demand in the adjacent provinces of central America; the imports, exports, shipping, and products are thus shown in :—

Details.	1833.	1851.
Imports . . . value £	235,156	289,819
Exports . . . „	242,330	153,777
Ships Inwards . tons . .	14,018	22,532
Mahogany[1] . . feet . .	4,565,034	5,659,552
Cedar . . . . „ . .	—	7,773
Logwood . . . tons . .	1,776	4,665
Sarsaparilla . . lbs. . .	—	672,456
Tortoise-shell . „ . .	—	1,505
Cocoa nuts . . number .	—	386,600

Note.—[1] The quantity of mahogany cut depends upon the state of the foreign demand; in 1846, the export was 9,567,570 feet.

Among the other articles exported at present may be named cochineal, aniseed, balsams, Yucatan hemp, green turtle, rosewood, fustic, Brazilletto, horns, and skins. The mere official values now afford but a very imperfect criterion of the extent of the existing trade. The imports of cotton goods into Honduras from England* during the four years ending with 1852, has been, plain calicoes, 18,538,838 yards; and of printed or dyed, 8,466,442 = 27,005,280. In one year alone (1851) the import was nearly 9,000,000 yards. A large part of these calicoes pay for the cochineal, sarsaparilla, Yucatan hemp, and other articles, which are brought hither from the neighbouring states, in small coasters. Agriculture is entirely neglected, attention being almost exclusively directed to the cutting of mahogany and logwood, and preparing it for exportation, which employs about 2,000 men. The plough is never used, and the labouring classes, when they have diminished the productiveness of the land by successive crops of maize, yams, and plantains, abandon the spot, and make a fresh forest clearance with the axe and hoe. The entire line of coast between the Hondo and Sarstoon rivers is available for agricultural pursuits. Lately, some Spaniards, who have taken refuge in our territory from Yucatan, have commenced the cultivation of sugar and tobacco. The mahogany trade employs a large capital, and is very lucrative; the first trial of the wood was made in 1595 by a carpenter on board one of Sir W. Raleigh's vessels, then lying off Trinidad; its use commenced in England about the beginning of the eighteenth century.†

* This does not include goods shipped from the Clyde, which were exported to the British West Indies in 1851, to the extent of 1,001,426 yards; of which, most probably, some went to Honduras.

† Its introduction is said to have originated from the circumstance of a West India captain having brought home some planks as ballast, which he sent to his brother, Dr. Gibbon (an eminent physician), who was then building a house; but it was rejected, as impracticable for working, from its extreme hardness. Some of it being subsequently made into a candle-box, and next into a bureau, which, from its variegated appearance and fine polish, soon became an

THE BAY ISLANDS.

Ruatan,* Bonacea, Utila, Barberet, and other islets in the eastern part of the Gulf of Honduras, occupied during the last century by England, are now chiefly tenanted by emigrants from the Caymans, who, finding it difficult to procure a livelihood, have migrated hither. The aggregate population is estimated at 1,500 to 2,000 souls, of whom about 200 are whites, including nearly 100 Spaniards, who resort to some of the islands from Yucatan. The majority are descended from the old English Buccaneers, by African mothers, and are an athletic race, of industrious habits, and good moral character. They have erected comfortable habitations, are cultivators of the soil and fishermen, and export cocoanut oil, pine-apples, and other fruit to Belize, New Orleans, and Truxillo, in exchange for manufactures and other necessaries. Their exports amount in annual value to £5,000, and their imports to £4,000. They have formed for themselves a Legislative Assembly. The islanders have recently memorialized H.M. government that a resident magistrate should be appointed to dwell among them, for the management of local affairs, the settlement (along with their own justices of the peace) of civil disputes, and the trial of criminal offenders, under the decision of a jury of twelve inhabitants. They have also asked that the Legislative Assembly be convened, prorogued, and subject to the guidance of H.M. superintendent at Honduras, and propose to raise a fund of £300 to £400 a year for the payment of the stipendiary magistrate to be sent from England. Her Majesty's government have complied with these laudable requests, and the *Bay Islands* are now a dependency of the British province of Honduras. Measures are being taken to provide the colonists with a minister of religion and schoolmaster, for which they are very desirous. There was a remarkable immunity of crime among this young community, but the Spaniards, who have recently come among them, carry long knives, or stilettos, which have been used with deadly effects; it will therefore be necessary to establish a criminal jurisdiction.

THE MOSQUITO, MOSQUITIA, OR MOSCOS TERRITORY—

is situated on the Atlantic coast, to the eastward of the British settlement at Belize, and stretches to the southward, some say, only to the *San Juan River*, which communicates with Lake Nicaragua;† others assert its extension to the Chirique Lagoon, in the 9th degree of latitude.‡ The inland boundary is also undefined, but is claimed to a distance of from one to two hundred miles from the Atlantic. This fine region is still inhabited by the aboriginal Indians, who have maintained an independent position since the downfall of Montezuma, and cherish a hostile feeling towards the Spaniards, whose former cruelties have imbued the Mosquito race with a traditional hatred, which is continued to the present descendants of the Spaniards in America. For more than two hundred years (see page 166) the Mosquito chiefs and people, have continued in intimate relation and friendship with England; their territory has, on vari-

object of curiosity; the Duchess of Buckingham asked the doctor for sufficient wood for a bureau; and mahogany furniture soon became in general request. The annual exportation for many years has ranged from five to six million feet. The tree is of immense size, and has a magnificent appearance, from the spread of the branches; it is said to require 200 years to arrive at full growth, and be fit for cutting. The trunk is most valuable on account of its dimensions, but the branches or limbs are preferred for ornamental purposes, the grain being closer, and the veins more variegated. The trunk is sawn into logs, which are subsequently roughly squared, for the convenience of ship stowage. The largest log known to have been cut in Honduras was 17 feet long, 5 feet 4 inches deep, and measured 5,168 cubic feet = 15 tons weight. The wholesale prices vary, at Liverpool, from 5*d.* to 9*d.* per foot. Messrs. Broadwood, the pianoforte-makers, are stated to have given £3,000 for three logs of mahogany, the produce of a single tree: they were each about 15 feet long by 38 inches square; and were cut into veneers of eight to an inch. The grain of this tree was particularly beautiful. When highly polished, it reflected the light like the surface of a crystal; and, from the wavy form of the pores, presented a different figure, in whatever direction it was viewed. A log, costing at Liverpool, £378, is calculated to yield about £1,000 when cut into veneers (thin slabs), of which £500 is assumed to be paid as wages to the English mechanics. While the mahogany delights in a comparatively dry and rich deep soil, the *logwood*, which is a low, crooked, prickly tree, thrives in swampy grounds, contiguous to fresh-water creeks and lakes, towards the edges of which, the roots (which are the most valuable part) extend. The wood is very dense, and so heavy as to sink in water: it admits of a fine polish; is of a deep red colour, which it yields to both alcoholic and aqueous menstrua; alkalies deepen the colour to that of purple or violet; acids turn it yellow: it is, therefore, much used for various dyes. There are several other trees; one, called the *pinus occidentalis*, grows to a height of sixty feet, with irregular branches and serrated leaves: owing to the quantity of turpentine and tar which it contains, the wood will sink in water when felled, and is of course highly inflammable; a torch, when stuck in the ground, forming an immense flambeaux, around which the negroes collect at night in their dark forests. It is very durable; and even as posts, resists for years the decaying influence of damp ground. The *cahoun* or *cohoon* yields an almost colourless vegetable oil, which emits an inodorous, pale flame, with little or no smoke. The affinity for oxygen is so great, that iron smeared with the oil very soon rusts; and its caloric is so easily abstracted, that, at the temperature of 60° Fahrenheit, it condenses into a wax-like substance, but resumes its original appearance on the application of heat. The *iron, clay*, and *rose woods;* the *palamatetta*, which is dark and beautifully figured; the *Santa Maria*, which possesses the properties of Indian teak; the *caoutchouc*, *sapodilla*, and many others abound, and might be applied to various useful purposes.

* Ruatan is about thirty miles long by eight miles broad; the surface is moderately elevated, and well wooded, but to the westward it consists of grassy plains. Near the southern extremity is the good harbour called Port Royal. The shores abound with turtle and fish: 5,000 Caribs were transported here from St. Vincent's in 1796 (see p. 128). Bonacea is the next to Ruatan in point of size, though greatly inferior.

† Nicaragua Lake is about 90 miles long by 30 broad; circuit, 465 miles; depth, 5 to 40 fathoms; height above the level of the Pacific, 128 feet: water pure. Its communication with the Atlantic by the San Juan River, is unobstructed by cataracts. Lake Leon, through which an extension of navigation might be made to the Pacific, is 48 miles long by 23 broad, and deep enough to receive the largest vessels.

‡ See Maps and Official *Correspondence respecting the Mosquito Territory*, presented to the House of Commons, 3rd July, 1848. H.M. government "are of opinion that the right of the King of Mosquito (who is under the protection of the British crown) should be maintained, as extending from *Cape Honduras* down to the mouth of the river *San Juan.*"—(Despatch of Viscount Palmerston to H.M. Consuls and Charge d'Affaires in Central America, of June and July, 1847.)

ous occasions, been recognised and protected, and in 1847–'8, when the Nicaraguan republic attempted to take possession of the San Juan River, H.M. naval forces successfully interfered for the preservation of the river to the Mosquitoes.

The government is an hereditary monarchy, and exhibits the only regularly organized constitution among the aborigines, in any portion of the American continent. The king of Mosquito is assisted in his council by a British resident, and there are many Englishmen dwelling in his dominions. The country affords almost inexhaustible supplies of mahogany, cedar, rosewood, and other ship and cabinet timber: logwood, dyes, drugs, gums, and tortoiseshell abound; and it probably contains mineral wealth. Large herds of cattle depasture on the savannas, and the soil and climate are well adapted for the cultivation of sugar, coffee, cocoa, cotton, tobacco, rice, maize, indigo, and all the productions of tropical regions. Some parts of the coast-line are unhealthy, but there are dry and airy spots, such as Blewfields and Valiente, where Europeans enjoy almost uninterrupted health; while in the interior mountain ridges, and plateaux, every variety of climate may be obtained.

The Mosquito sovereigns adopt English names, and are introducing Christianity among the bold and hardy race, who freely yield them a manly allegiance. In February 1840, "R. C. Frederick, king of the Mosquito nation," made his will at Belize, and devised, that in the event of his death, during the minority of the heir to the throne, the superintendent of the Queen of England at Belize should, with certain commissioners, nominated by the superintendent and appointed by the king, form a regency for conducting the affairs of the Mosquito kingdom, and should cause the royal children (Princes George, William, Clarence, and Alexander, and Princesses Agnes and Victoria) "to be educated in the doctrine and discipline of the united church of England and Ireland, and that the expenses of their support and education be defrayed out of the revenues of the Mosquito nation."*

It is to be hoped that the increasing importance of central America will attract British capitalists to this valuable territory, which England is bound by good faith, and by motives of Christian polity, to preserve in the possession of its aboriginal inhabitants, who have, on various occasions, for more than two centuries, proved their strong attachment to us, and their implicit reliance on our disinterested and abiding protection.

THE CAYMANS,—

are three small isles between 19° and 20° N. lat., about 130 miles south-west of Cuba, and north-west of Jamaica; the *Grand Cayman* being the most remote, and thirty-four miles distant from *Cayman braque*, and *Little Cayman* (see map of West Indies), which are within five miles of each other, and about one and-a-half mile long, by one mile broad. Grand Cayman contains 1,000 acres, and is so low as to be visible from the quarter-deck of a ship at no greater distance than twelve or fourteen miles, when some lofty trees appear like masts of shipping.

It has no harbour, but has tolerable anchorage on the south-west coast; on the opposite, or north-east side, it is bordered by a reef of rocks, between which and the shore, in smooth water, the inhabitants have their *crauls*, or turtle pens. The soil towards the middle of the island is fertile, producing corn and vegetables, while hogs and poultry find ample provender. Columbus discovered these isles on his return from Porto Bello to Hispaniola, and observing the coast swarming with turtle, called them *Las Tortugas*. They were never occupied by the Spaniards, but became the general resort of adventurers or rovers, (chiefly French,) for the sake of the turtle.

In 1655, when Jamaica was taken by England, the Caymans were still untenanted. Mr. Long states them in 1774 to have been inhabited by 106 white men, women, and children. The bishop of Jamaica, in 1827, estimated the population at 1 600. The number of slaves in 1834 were 1,920. These, on the payment of the compensation money, were immediately set free, without the intervention of the apprenticeship system.

The present race of inhabitants are said to be descended from English Buccaneers, and, being inured to the sea, form excellent pilots and seamen: they have a chief or government officer of their own choosing, and they frame their own regulations; justices of the peace are appointed from Jamaica. A large number of them have recently migrated (as before stated) to Ruatan and the Bay islands; the present population cannot be given with any certainty; but it does not exceed a very few hundreds.

CHAPTER XVI.—BRITISH GUIANA, COMPRISING DEMERARA, ESSEQUIBO, AND BERBICE.

GUIANA, or Guayana,† is that part of the South American Main, which lies between the Amazon and Orinoco rivers, extending from 8° 40′ N. lat., to 3° 30′ S., and from 50° to 68° W. long. The area, of 800,000 or 900,000 square miles, is possessed by several powers. The north-western portion, known as *Spanish Guayana*, belongs to the republic of Venezuela; the south-western portion, called *Portuguese Guianna*, to the Emperor of Brazil. Between these two divisions, which embrace by far the larger part of the country, are the colonies of *British Guiana, Dutch Guiana, or Surinam*, and *French Guiana, or Cayenne*, belonging respectively to the nations whose name they bear.

British Guiana includes the three former colonies of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice; the union of the first and second took place in 1785, the third was joined with them in 1831. The Atlantic forms the north boundary for a distance of about 300

* Correspondence laid before Parliament, 3rd July, 1848, respecting the Mosquito Territory. Appendix C, p. ix.

† Guayana is the Spanish name; Guianna, the Portuguese: the earliest Dutch settlers gave it the designation of Guiana, or the wild coast; and the British portion is so called in official documents.

miles; the Corentyn River, from its mouth to its source the eastern (separating British from Dutch Guiana); the southern and western are still unsettled, and remain to be decided with the Venezulian and Brazilian governments. The superficies cannot, of course, be correctly stated; but they are lonsely estimated at 100,000 square miles; the settlements at present are confined to the vicinity of the coast, and the banks of the rivers and creeks in the lower part of their courses.

History.—About the year 1576, two Jesuits landed on the coast of Guiana, and for three years preached the Gospel to the natives with some success. At the expiration of that time they are said to have been driven away by the Dutch, who commenced cruising along the coast, between the Amazon and Orinoco rivers, as traders, and established a post near the river Pomeroon, which they called New Zealand, and another at the mouth of the Abary Creek, where there was a large Indian village. Soon afterwards they formed a station on the west coast of the Essequibo; but being driven thence by a party of Spaniards and Indians, they fell back upon a small island at the junction of the Cayuni and Mazaruni rivers, where they found the ruins of a fort, built of hewn stone, with the arms of Portugal over the gate-way; but when or by whom erected they could not discover. The capital of the Essequibo colony was subsequntly established on Fort Island, about fifteen miles from the mouth of the river, near its eastern bank.

In 1621, the Dutch West Indian Company was formed, and invested with exclusive control over all the Dutch settlements on the coast of Guiana, and the trade thither; by the concession of the company, an enterprising Dutchman, named Van Peere, was allowed to colonise, for his own benefit, on the bank of the Berbice, Fort Nassau was built some thirty miles up the river, and long remained the capital of the colony.* In 1720 a company called the Berbice Association was formed for the purpose of extending the cultivation of sugar, cocoa, and indigo, and raising money for the purchase of slaves. In 1732, Berbice received a constitution from the States General; a governor, assisted by a council of six, was to be appointed by the Directors of the Association, and courts of criminal and civil justice established. Hitherto the settlements, in what is now termed British Guiana, had been small and insignificant, and made along the river's banks; but the greatly increasing demand for tropical produce gave a powerful stimulus to colonial industry, the cultivation of coffee was commenced, and soon afterwards of cotton; and the people of Essequibo discovering the superior fertility of the low lands on the coast, began to remove there in 1741. The long neglected alluvial lands of the Demerara at length attracted attention; and, in 1745, one Andrew Pieters obtained permission to form plantations on the "uninhabited river Demerary," where a separate colony was to be founded. The growing commerce of Berbice received a severe check, in 1763, from an extensive slave insurrection; several thousand negroes united, and in a few days made themselves masters of all the plantations. The whites, many of whom were slain at the commencement of the outbreak, fled to Fort Nassau; but the Governor, considering it indefensible, retired with the inhabitants on board the ships, blew up the Fort, sailed to the entrance of the river, and there awaited assistance. The inhabitants of Essequibo and Demerara were thrown into extreme consternation by the condition of their neighbours. Succour was sent from Barbados (by Admiral Douglas), Surinam, Curaçoa, and St. Eustatia; but it was not until the expiration of eleven months, that the insurrection was finally quelled, by the aid of a squadron despatched from the Netherlands. Several hundreds of the wretched slaves were burnt, or broken alive upon the wheel.†

Upon the restoration of tranquillity, or at least as much of it as could exist in a colony where a handful of whites had been newly enabled, by military force, to regain the power of coercing the labour of more than thirty times as many blacks, a return was given which stated the population at 116 whites and 3,370 slaves. In 1773 the settlements on the Deme-

* The English settled on the Surinam River about 1630; the river was then called the Great Coma.

† Dr. Pinckard relates, that he visited an estate in Berbice, termed *Garden-Eden*, belonging to Mr T. Cuming, where he saw a mulatto man, twenty-eight years of age, who was said to have been born with all his bones broken, in consequence of his mother having been present at the infliction of this horrible punishment. This statement was confirmed by the mother, who informed the Doctor that when pregnant she had unfortunately witnessed the torture, and was so horror-struck as to be taken extremely ill; her sensations were indescribably distressing. It was expected that abortion would follow; but it was not so; and she was delivered at the usual period of this mis-shapen offspring, having previously borne her husband (a Dutch soldier) four children, who were then athletic mulattoes, remarkable for symmetry of person. The conformation of the deformed son was most extraordinary:—"His person appeared as if it had been composed by throwing the materials into a bag with a loose congeries of broken bones, and shaking the whole together until they assumed a shape approaching to that of a human being. It was not the tortuous construction usually occurring from scrofula or the rickets; he had not the crooked, twisted bones of disease; they appeared as if they had been literally broken, and some of them badly united, some not united at all. The common marks of a sickly constitution were absent, and he enjoyed a state of general health, fully proportioned to the structure of his frame." His head was the only part that was well formed: when sitting upright, the height from the seat to the crown of the head was not quite equal to the length of Dr. Pinckard's fore-arm, from the elbow to the extremities of the fingers. "Every rib and every limb seemed as if it had been fractured; the long bones of the arms being divided in their middles, were loosely held together by membraneous or ligamentous unions. Those of the legs appeared as if they had been broken, and the two parts (of the tibia and fibula) afterwards placed together in direct parallel with each other, and thus united into one broad flat bone, the end of which projected forward in the middle of the leg, thinly covered with integuments, while the lower part of the limb was thrown backwards, with the heel up, towards the thigh. He had not the power of moving from his seat without assistance; with some difficulty he could make the lower arm reach the head, the direct motion of the shoulder-joint being extremely limited from the want of the fulcrum commonly afforded to the muscles by the bone of the arm." The poor broken mulatto answered the questions which were put to him expertly, and was considered, in point of intellect, to be quite equal to the generality of the people of colour.—(*Notes on the West Indies.* London: 1816: vol. ii., pp. 218—223.) This incident is quoted here, less from its being a physiological fact of great interest, than from the extraordinary illustration it affords of a peculiar class of dangers attendant on displaying before the public eye, scenes which nature shudders at, but which experience proves to have a strange attraction for the very minds on which they are calculated to produce the most injury.

rara had become so greatly extended, that a Court of Policy, and courts of civil and criminal justice were established at Borselen, an island about twenty miles up the river, but removed, in the following year, to Stabroek, which was then first laid out, and formed the nucleus of what is now George Town. For the next ten years, the people were constantly complaining of the small number and high price of the slaves brought to the colony. In 1781, during the American war, in which Holland had joined France against Britain, Lord Rodney captured Demerara and Essequibo; these colonies were subsequently taken possession of by the French (who compelled the planters to supply slave labour for the erection of forts), but restored to the Dutch at the Peace of Paris.

In 1784, the West India Company published certain regulations against compelling slaves to work on Sundays, or punishing them with more than twenty-five lashes, but these rules were entirely disregarded.* In 1796, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, were captured by England, but restored in 1802, and re-captured in 1803, since which time they have remained British possessions.

As late as 1808, there were but two churches in British Guiana, one (Lutheran) at Berbice, the other (Reformed Dutch) on Fort Island; the London Society, compassionating the spiritual destitution of the people, sent out missionaries in this year; in 1810, the first episcopal church was opened at St. George. In 1823, Mr. Canning's resolutions for "ameliorating the condition of the slave population, and preparing them for freedom," were forwarded to the lieutenant-governor (Major-general Murray). No official communication was made to the slaves on the subject, but they soon learned that steps had been taken in England on their behalf, and were persuaded by some designing persons that their "freedom had come out," but was wrongfully withheld by the governor and planters. Infuriated by this supposed aggravation of the long course of cruelty and injustice to which they had been subjected, they conspired together, and the rising was so general on the East Coast, that on most of the estates the managers and white people were overpowered and put in the stocks, where they remained until relieved by the troops. Where no resistance was made, no blood was shed; on one or two plantations, fire-arms being used, the assailants likewise resorted to them, and thus one or two white persons were killed, and a few wounded. Among the strange and suspicious circumstances connected with the outbreak, which occurred in the afternoon of Monday, the 18th of August, is the fact that, early in the morning, information of the plot was communicated to a Mr. Simpson by his coloured servant, who, it appeared by the evidence adduced on the subsequent trials, had been one of the very persons in whose reports of "freedom having come out," the whole business had originated. Lieutenant-governor Murray, on learning the intentions of the slaves, mustered a body of mounted militia, and proceeded to the coast; but, apparently, considering his force inadequate, hastily returned to the town, and sent off fresh troops at midnight to the scene of the disturbances. Next day martial law was proclaimed, all the free adult males put under arms, and the united detachments of regulars and militia, marched to a plantation (*Bachelor's Adventure*) where a large body of insurgents had assembled; some few of them had fire-arms, which they scarcely knew how to use, others cutlasses, or bayonets fixed to poles. They refused to lay down their arms, declaring they wanted their

* The treatment of the slaves in Guiana during both the Dutch and English rule, was terrible. One instance, related by Dr. Pinckard, deputy inspector-general of hospitals to H.M. forces, who was sent officially to Berbice in 1796, will illustrate the character of the system pursued, the colony being then under English dominion. During his visit, two slaves, a man and a woman, absconded from the plantation *Lancaster*, at Mahaica: "the manager, whose inhuman severity had caused them to fly from his government, dealt out to them his avenging despotism with more than savage brutality." The victims were taken early in the morning to a remote part of the estate, too distant for the British officers to hear their cries; "two of the strongest drivers, armed with heavy whips," inflicted on the man, who was tied down to the ground, "many hundred lashes:" on releasing him, it was discovered that he was nearly exhausted; in this state the manager struck him on the head with the butt-end of a large whip, and felled him again to the earth, where he soon expired at the feet of his murderer. But not satiated with blood, this savage tyrant next tied down the naked woman on the spot by the dead body of her husband, and with the whips, already purple with gore, compelled the drivers to inflict a punishment of several hundred lashes, which had nearly released her also from a life of toil and torture." Dr. Pinckard, on returning from the hospital, immediately after the transaction, proceeded to the "sick house" on the plantation to satisfy himself by "ocular testimony." He says:—"I found the almost murdered woman lying stark naked on her belly upon the dirty boards, without any covering to the horrid wounds which had been cut by the whips, and with the still warm and bloody corpse of the man extended at her side, upon the neck of which was an iron collar and a long heavy chain, which the now murdered negro had been made to wear from the time of his return to the estate. The flesh of the woman was so torn as to exhibit one extensive sore, from her loins almost down to her hams: nor had humanity administered even a drop of oil to soften her wounds: the only relief she knew was that of extending her feeble arm to beat off the tormenting flies with a small green bough which had been put into her hand for that purpose, by the sympathizing kindness of a fellow-slave. A more horrid and distressing spectacle can scarcely be conceived. The dead man and the almost expiring woman had been brought home from the place of punishment, and thrown into the negro hospital, amidst the crowd of sick, with cruel unconcern. Lying on the opposite side of the corpse was a fellow-sufferer, in a similar condition to the poor woman: his buttocks, thighs, and part of his back had been flogged into one large sore, which was still raw, although he had been punished a fortnight before." The remaining portion of the description of the unhappy woman is too shocking to be recorded here. It excited deep loathing in the minds of the officers; and a few days after the transaction, the attorney of the estate, happening to call at Lancaster, to visit the officers stationed there, they asked him what punishment the laws of the colony had provided for such horrid barbarity; when, says Dr. Pinckard, to our great surprise, the attorney smiled, and treated our remarks as the dreams of men unpractised in the ways of slavery. To the question, whether the manager would not be dismissed from the estate, he replied, "certainly not;" adding, that "if the negro had been treated as he deserved, he would have been flogged to death long before." Dr. Pinckard concludes by observing, that cruelty had become contagious upon the estate. A former proprietor, not content with severely flogging his slaves, would beat them on the head with the butt-end of his whip between each of the strokes given by the drivers; and he would sometimes order the teeth of the slave to be torn out with a pair of iron pincers, and would himself stand by to see the torture inflicted."—(*Notes on the West Indies*, vol. ii., pp. 45 to 53.)

liberty; or at least two or three days in the week for their own use. After some further parley, the troops were ordered to fire, and the insurgents were dispersed with terrific slaughter. From the 20th to the 30th of August, Colonel Leahy, the officer in command, appears to have employed his entire force in searching the plantations, and apprehending real or suspected ringleaders, some of whom were taken prisoners, and others shot upon the spot. A court martial was assembled in George Town for the trial of the remaining prisoners, who amounted to nearly 200, and Chief Justice Wray sat as a member, in the character of lieutenant-colonel of militia. Many persons were sentenced to death, others to receive from 200 to 1,000 lashes, and to be worked in chains. Several were hung in chains along the East Coast, and others decapitated, and their heads stuck on poles.* On the 24th of May, there still remained fifty prisoners under sentence of death; but these sanguinary proceedings had excited the horror of the British public, and further executions were arrested by orders from home. Here, as in Jamaica, the insurrection of the slaves, though directly provoked by years of the most cruel oppression, was attributed to the influence of the missionaries; they had been for years vilified in the local papers, as agents of the anti-slavery party, engaged in promoting disaffection, and the government paper abounded in the most disgraceful calumnies. All the missionaries were at first seized and imprisoned, but the chief fury of the storm was vented upon the Rev. J. Smith, who was connected with the London mission, and in whose chapel, or its vicinity, the plan of the rising was alleged to have been formed. On the 21st of August Mr. Smith and his wife were made prisoners, and confined in a very small room; they were not even allowed to have a change of linen, or anything but food brought to them, and here they were imprisoned fourteen weeks, Mr. Smith himself being known to be labouring under a pulmonary complaint. On the 13th of October, the prisoner was tried by court-martial, by which several ends were gained, the evidence of slaves was introduced, while the assistance of an advocate to speak on his behalf, and the means of appealing from an unjust sentence, were precluded. All these proceedings were by the special order of lieutenant-governor Murray, himself a planter. The trial lasted from October the 13th to November the 24th; it was conducted with scarcely veiled malignity,† and it terminated in a sentence of death, accompanied by a recommendation to mercy. The victim (for such he was), in bitter mockery of the palliatory part of his sentence, was removed to a very low room, where the floor consisted of rotten planks, with stagnant water visible between the wide crevices; no executioner was needed, and the mercy, or rather the scanty and partial justice extended by the home government, arrived too late, the meek and holy spirit‡ of the persecuted man had gone to a better country, where his heart would never more be doomed, in his own words, to "flutter at the dreadful sound of the crack of the cart whip." His life, however, was not sacrificed in vain (even to human understanding); in the House of Commons this sad catastrophe raised a long and useful discussion, while throughout the United Kingdom it produced a deep impression of the evils of a system which could so debase and corrupt whole societies. Lieutenant-governor Murray was recalled, but the colonists, in token of their approbation of his conduct, voted him a piece of plate of the value of 350 guineas, and presented testimonials of a similar nature to Colonel Leahy and other militia officers, conspicuous for their "vigorous measures."§ The insurrection was estimated to have cost $200,000.

Major-general Sir Benjamin D'Urban succeeded

* The actual number of slaves slaughtered during and after the insurrection, was never acknowledged. Mr. (now Lord) Brougham, in introducing the subject to the British parliament, commented on the scrupulous forbearance from bloodshedding evinced by the negroes, who, in avowed accordance with the teaching of their minister (Smith), spared life; not daring to take that which they could not give: and he compared their conduct, during their brief hour of strength, with the unsparing vengeance of the colonists. "Considerably above a hundred," he stated, fell in the field, where *they* did not succeed in putting one soldier to death. A number of the prisoners, also, it is said, were hastily drawn out, at the close of the affray, and instantly shot. How many, in the whole, have since perished by sentences of the Court does not appear: but up to a day in September, as I learn from the Gazette which I hold in my hand, forty-seven had been executed. A more horrid tale of blood remains to be told. Within the short space of a week, it appears by the same document, ten had been torn in pieces by the lash: some of these had been condemned to 600 or 700 lashes; five to 1,000 each; of which inhuman torture one had received the whole, and two almost the whole at once."—(Debate, House of Commons, June, 1824.)

† Some of the chief evidence was obtained from entries in a private journal, in which the missionary had described in simple, but pathetic language, his anguish at witnessing the sufferings of the slaves, and his fears that they would be driven into rebellion, by the shameless manner in which the laws regarding them were daily set at nought.

‡ While suffering a lingering death, in a place emphatically described by Mr. Brougham as only suited to purposes of torture, the missionary was compelled by his persecutors to draw a bill upon the London Society to defray the expenses of his so-called trial. Many years afterwards, the secretary of the Society, in arranging some old papers, met with this bill, and noticed in one corner, written in a minute hand, "2 Cor. iv., 8. 9;" a solemn and affecting testimony of the peaceful frame of mind enjoyed by the Christian under his afflictions. Besides his faithful helpmate, and Mrs. Elliot (the wife of his brother missionary, who had gone to England to represent his condition), an unexpected friend was raised up, in the person of the Rev. Mr. Austin, the colonial chaplain, who, having been at first prepossessed against him, was so deeply impressed by the revelations made in the course of the long and tedious investigation, in which he took part, as to sacrifice all his hopes of progress in the colony, and oppose the prejudices of the governor and colonists by stating his conviction that "nothing but those principles of peace which he (Mr. Smith) had been proclaiming, could have prevented a dreadful effusion of blood here, and saved the lives of those very persons who are now, I shudder to write it, seeking his life!"—(Extract from Speech of Sir J. Mackintosh. House of Commons, 11th June, 1824.) Mr. Austin constantly visited Mr. Smith in prison; and performed the last melancholy office of reading the funeral service over his body; when, by the order of the governor, it was ignominiously hurried into a felon's grave. The wretched widow, and Mrs. Elliot (in defiance of the direct prohibition of the governor), accompanied by a free black man, who carried a lantern, for it was before sunrise, left the gaol, and not being permitted to follow the corpse, went another way, but arrived in time to witness the last scene of this tragedy.

§ On the 24th of February, 1824, three weeks after the death of Mr. Smith, a public meeting was held at George Town, and attended by nearly all the leading persons in the colony; and a resolution passed to petition the Court of Policy "to expel all missionaries from the colony."

to the government, and arrived, in April, 1824, to a most difficult office, for the British Parliament had at length resolved upon the amelioration of the condition of the slaves; and the planters were equally determined to oppose it to the utmost. In 1825, as a step towards a better order of things, Demerara and Essequibo were divided into parishes, and arrangements made for the erection of churches, and the maintenance of clergymen. In 1833 Sir James Carmichael Smyth was appointed lieutenant-governor. The prestige attached to his name, as a soldier of unblemished character, might have ensured for him the short-lived popularity, then the usual lot of colonial rulers; but that his reputation for humanity, earned during his previous administration at the Bahamas, where his strenuous efforts had been directed to the abolition of the flogging of women, and, in various ways, to the mitigation of the severity of the slave code, raised up at once a host of enemies against him in Guiana. One of his first measures was, nevertheless, exceedingly popular; for he restored the liberty of the press,* which was immediately availed of, to give vent to the most lavish abuse of him and his proceedings. In August, 1834, the apprenticeship system commenced, the masters entered upon it in much the same spirit as did the Jamaicans (see p. 58), and the labourers did not understand how slavery could terminate, except in entire freedom. This feeling was chiefly manifested on the Arabian (a corruption of Caribbean) coast; 700 or 800 men collected in Trinity church-yard, hoisted a flag, declared that the king had made them free, and when ordered to disperse, refused. The colonists vainly endeavoured to force the governor into declaring martial-law; he proceeded to the coast, explained to the people their error, and advised them to return to their homes, which they immediately did. A large number of persons were tried, and many were found guilty; one was sentenced to death, and executed; thirty-one others, condemned to imprisonment and flogging, were at once pardoned by the governor, who, for his refusal to proclaim martial law, was bitterly assailed in the pages of the *Guiana Chronicle*: and when a suit was instituted, which failed, on the ground of his previous recognition of the liberty of the press, the proprietor received, by subscription, a present of $3,000; and the lawyer who had defended him a piece of plate of the value of 150 guineas. This liberality was far from being extended to the government officials, for when it became necessary to establish a civil list, in consequence of the abolition of the slave capitation tax; the Combined Court could not be induced to come to any satisfactory decision, until Sir Lionel Smith, the governor of the Windward Islands, came over, and succeeded in negotiating an arrangement for the term of five years. In token of his sovereign's approbation of his conduct, Sir J. C. Smyth, who had been heretofore lieutenant-governor only, received a commission as governor, in December, 1837. His quiet persistence, in a right course, at length produced a change in public opinion; the insolent tone of the *Guiana Chronicle* was discountenanced as discreditable to the colony, and the apprentices began to reap the benefits of his untiring efforts.§ The governor would not suffer the sentences of the Magistrates and District Courts to be carried into effect without his sanction; and by this active superintendence he gradually, at the cost of much personal odium, bitter, though short-lived, procured the abolition of corporal punishment by whipping, except in cases of theft, and prohibited females being sent to the treadmill; undeniably beneficial results speedily ensued, and in addressing the Court of Policy, 3rd February, 1838, his Excellency said:—

"I offer to you my sincere congratulations on the happy, contented, and prosperous state of this province. I challenge comparison with any county of Great Britain; and I affirm that fewer crimes and fewer breaches of the peace will be found to have been committed in British Guiana, during the year 1837, than in any part of H.M. dominions of the same extent, possessing two sea-ports, and containing an equal population." The governor then adverted to the good conduct of the apprenticed labourers; to their anxiety for religious and moral instruction, and to the churches and chapels and school-rooms rising rapidly in every district throughout the province.

By one of those mysterious dispensations, whose wisdom our faith can trust in, though our reason cannot understand, Sir James was suddenly attacked with illness, and died in a few days, leaving the community, who had newly learned his tried judgment and integrity,§ to appreciate his value by the blank created at a most important crisis; for never surely could a colony more need an experienced pilot at the helm, than in weathering the unknown dangers (of which the real ones were overlooked, and bugbears held up instead), of the great change which took place on the 1st of August, 1838. The planters, no longer restrained by the presence and growing influence of Sir James Smyth, had endeavoured to prepare for it after their old fashion, by passing a vagrant law, which was to give extraordinary powers to the local justices of the peace, and abolish the stipendiary magistracy; this and six other ordinances, framed for the evident purpose of keeping the coloured population serfs, in all but the name, were disallowed in England. The conduct of the emancipated slaves, as described by the new governor (Light), afforded a triumphant answer to the fears (real or pretended) of riot and disturbance, against which the planters were so

* Sir B. d'Urban had suppressed the *Guiana Colonist*, and stopped the publication of the *Chronicle* three times.

† A volume, published in 1850, by Mr. Higgins (a Guiana planter), under the signature of *Barton Premium*, is in direct contradiction to this assertion; and also to the facts as developed in the present condition of the colony. The work is written in the usual graphic and humorous style of the author (the *Jacob Omnium* of "The Times"), who, notwithstanding his bitter complaints of depreciated property, mentions having sold 100 acres of land to the negroes (whose idleness is a leading theme) for the sum of 20,000 dollars.

‡ Governor Smyth was ably seconded in carrying out his humane and just policy by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. (now Sir) H. E. F. Young, the present governor of South Australia, by whom a useful work, entitled the *Local Guide of British Guiana*, was prepared and published, in 1843.

§ H.M. ministers expressed, in the strongest terms, their esteem for the late governor; in officially acknowledging the melancholy intelligence of his death, Lord Glenelg (then secretary of state) declared that there was "no public functionary in the colonial empire, at the present time, whose continued services would have been of higher importance to the prospects of that portion of the empire, which is now placed in circumstances at once so novel and so interesting to humanity." His lordship also adverted to the proof of "the wisdom of the spirit by which the governor had been guided," afforded by the fact that it had at length been recognized even by the planters; for that "all parties appear to have become equally sensible of the gratitude which was owing to him."

desirous of being fore-armed :—"That day [1st Aug.] was passed in thanksgiving and in prayer in every part of this extensive colony: not one instance of disorderly or offensive conduct can be adduced to throw any slur on the character of the new race of freemen.* The infatuated colonists here, as in Jamaica, were blinded by prejudice to the opportunity then afforded of forming connexions with the labourers based on kind and just principles. The provision grounds, plaintain walks, and fruit-trees, cultivated and reared by the peasantry while in bondage, were destroyed on many estates, in order to compel their dependence on plantation work; and but few owners of the soil could be prevailed on to sell or lease small portions of land sufficient for the sustenance of families. This impolitic conduct had the very opposite effect from that which it was intended to produce; the negroes became increasingly alienated from their late masters, and the estates to which, if encouraged, they might have become permanently attached: they combined, and sedulously hoarded their means, until they were enabled to purchase, generally through the agency of the clergy, some large estates that had been abandoned, or were in the market for sale; then divided them into allotments, built neat habitations, and formed numerous free villages. Up to the end of 1848, no less than 446 estates had thus been acquired, on which 10,541 houses were built and occupied by 44,443 persons, or, on an average, four to each dwelling. These small freeholders raise a large part of their food, and nearly all employ a portion of their time in field-labour when they can obtain fair remuneration, regularly paid.† Among the free villages may be mentioned Victoria (a large settlement), Plaisance, Buxton, Friendship, and Naboclish. The *Good Hope* estate, on the east coast, was bought by a limited number of negroes for $50,000. *Golden Grove* was bought by a single labourer for $5,000. It is strange enough, that the idleness of the blacks should be asserted as the cause of the sale of these and other estates which the savings of their industry have purchased. Governor Sir Henry Light furnished the parliamentary committee, 13th March, 1849, with a better reason, when he said—"not a few of the nominal possessors of property are ground to the earth by the debts accumulated annually from the enormous interest which the habits of West India dealing have introduced."

Physical Features.—The cultivated portion of British Guiana, is an alluvial flat, scarcely elevated above the surface of the sea, drained like Holland or Denmark by canals and sluices, with lofty dikes or mounds of mud of considerable thickness embanking each estate, and together with the numerous bridges kept in repair by the proprietors of the land in which they are situated.‡ Against the incursions of the sea or rivers during the spring-tides, the front line of estates are protected by a dam, inside of which, parallel with the sea shore, or river banks, runs the public road. A back dam wards off the inundation which would otherwise overwhelm the plantations from behind, by what is called the bush-water. The low alluvial tract above described extends from ten to twenty, and in some instances (as between the rivers Berbice and Corentyn) even to forty miles inland, and is terminated by a range of sand hills from 30 to 120 feet high, whose pure white cliffs glitter in the sun; they approach the sea within two miles of the Arabisi coast of the Essequibo, thence taking first a south-east by south, and then a south-east direction, traverse the whole colony. Almost parallel with this sandy ridge, lie several detached chains of hillocks, seldom attaining an altitude of more than 200 feet, which cross the Essequibo at Osterbecke Point, in 6° 15′, the Demerara at Arobaya, in 6° 5′, the Berbice in 5° N. lat. In the last named-parallel, a mountain chain occurs, an offset of the Orinoco mountains; it may be considered the central ridge of the colony, which it traverses in a south-eastern direction, forming majestic cataracts in the river channels, namely, those of *Twasiniki* and *Ouropocari* in the Essequibo, *Itabrou* and *Christmas* in the Berbice, and giving rise to the great waterfalls of the Corentyn. The highest peaks appear to be the *Mountains of St. George*, at the Mazaruni, the *Twasiniki* and *Maccari*, the latter rising about 1,100 feet above the river. The Itabrou mountains, on the Berbice river, are considered by Sir Robert Schomburgk§ to be the old boundary of the Atlantic. The *Pacaraima*‖ *mountains*, which approach the Essequibo in 4° N. lat., are an offset of the *Sierra Parima;* they extend in an east and west direction, and appear to be exclusively of primitive formation. The culminating point is an extensive sandstone group, rising 5,000 feet above the table-land, or 7,500 above the sea, called by the natives *Roraima;* the upper 1,500 feet present a remarkable mural precipice, from whose summit the highest known cascades descend. These mountains separate the waters connected with the basins of the three great rivers that drain the northern half of South America, the Orinoco and Essequibo on the north, from the Amazon on the south, and are therefore of great importance with regard to the settlement of the boundaries of British Guiana. The *Makarapan mountain* approaches the river Rupununi in 3° 50′ N. lat., and attains an altitude of about 3,500 feet above the sea. The *Cannucu* or *Conocon mountains* in 3° N. lat. connect the Pacaraima mountains with the *Sierra Acarai*, in which the Essequibo, the largest river of Guiana, and the Corentyn, which forms the southern boundary of British dominion have their sources. Their extreme height is estimated at 4,000 feet, and they display the vigorous and luxuriant vegetation which characterises the country. The *Ouangouwai* or *Mountains of the Sun*, form the connecting link between the Acarai and *Carawaimi mountains*; the *Tarapona* between the latter and the Cannucu and Pacaraima monutains.

The interior of the colony is, for the most, thickly wooded with valuable timber, with the exception of the swamps of the river Berbice, and the open tracts called Savannas. Those which extend between

* *West India Papers*, Part 1. Jamaica and British Guiana, 17th March, 1839; p. 271.

† Endeavours were made, in 1842, to reduce wages in Demerara and Berbice, and to introduce an arbitrary code of "Rules and Regulations," without any previous consultation with the labourers. A general strike ensued, which lasted about six weeks, and ended in the abandonment of the obnoxious measures; but a mischievous effect had already been produced.

‡ The aborigines in Raleigh's time, during the wet season, dwelt in huts built on trees: the narrator adds, that they were "a bold and hardy race, who knew the value of liberty and had the courage to defend it."—(*Curious Collection of Voyages*, fourth edition, 1781; vol. iv., p. 63.)

§ Description of British Guiana. London: 1840.

‖ The name is derived from the resemblance which several of the eminences bear to the form of an Indian basket called *Pacara*. On a small hillock at the outskirts of these mountains is a remarkable basaltic column, about fifty feet high, known as *Pouré piapa*.

the Demerara and Corentyn rivers, and approach the sea-shore at the Berbice, are divided by the second ridge of mountains from the Great Savannas of the Rupununi, which occupy about 14,400 square miles, and have an average height of 350 to 400 feet above the sea. They are encompassed by the Sierra Pacaraima to the north, the Cannucu, Taripona and Carawaimi mountains to the south, the thick forests of the Essequibo, and isolated eminences to the east, and the Mocajahi heights, and offsets of the Sierra Parima to the west. The winding courses of the rivers are generally bordered with trees; and clumps of timber occasionally vary the monotonous appearance of the plains, which are otherwise wholly covered with grasses, interspersed with a few stunted trees. The geological structure of this region indicates its having been formerly the bed of an immense inland lake; and traditions of a long past era, related by the natives to Raleigh and his contemporaries, at the close of the sixteenth century, aided by an imperfect comprehension of the language, are supposed, by Sir R. Schomburgk, to have given rise to the reports of its being the site of the famous El Dorado,* a country of matchless riches, variously described; but always retaining certain leading features, such as auriferous mountains, whose rocks were so visibly impregnated with gold as to shine with dazzling splendour, encompassing a vast inland lake named Parima, or the White Sea, upon which stood a city called Manoa, whose houses were covered with plates of gold. In 1599, in a map published by Hondius after the return of Raleigh, this imaginary lake was resresented as covering a space of 200 leagues long, and forty broad; and it continued an open question among geographers whether to omit or insert it, until the untiring research of Humboldt at length proved the White Sea, and its gorgeous accompaniments to be entirely an illusion. There is, however, a lake (*Amucu*) in the savannas which, in the dry season, is small and overgrown with rushes; but in time of heavy rains inundates the neighbouring tracts. A native village named Pirara is situated on the banks of the lake.

RIVERS.—The extraordinary facilities for inland navigation which distinguish British Guiana, present the best guarantee for the development of the resources afforded by its prolific soil and humid climate. The *Essequibo*, which Keymis† relates was called by the Indians the brother of the Orinoco, is the largest river in British Guiana, through which it flows from south to north. Its length is estimated at 640 miles; its entire basin, *i.e.*, those regions from which it receives tributaries, covers an area of 42,800 geographical square miles.‡ During the first sixty miles from its source (in the Acarai mountains, forty-one miles north of the equator), it flows through a rich mountain valley, meandering gently in dry weather, but rising from twenty-five to thirty feet above its banks in heavy rains. After receiving a considerable tributary on either side, and passing the Ouangou mountains, which rise on its eastern shore to a height of 3,000 feet, its course is north and north-east, until it receives in 2° 16′ N. lat. the *Cuyuwini*; thence, for the next seventy miles, its channel is so impeded by rapids as to be impracticable even for small canoes. In 3° 15′ it forms *William the Fourth's cataract*; being hemmed in by mountains in a width of about fifty yards, the water precipitates itself with great force over two rocky ledges about twenty-four feet high. In 4° N. lat. it is joined by the *Rupununi*, a large river having a course of 220 miles, mostly through savannas. Fifty miles from the mouth of the Essequibo the last rapids occur, and prevent the further ascent of sailing vessels or tidal influences; about six miles from Point Saccaro, it receives the united waters of the *Mazaruni* (400 miles in length), and *Cuyuni*§ (330) whose junction takes place about eight miles to the westward; it still continues its northern course, becoming wider until it expands into an estuary from fifteen to twenty miles wide. In this broad basin there are several islands, some of which are of considerable extent. *Wakenaam Island*, which is about fifteen miles long, and *Leguan* about twelve, are in a high state of cultivation. *Hogg Island* is fifteen miles in length, but only its northern point is cultivated; and *Tiger Island*, the most western in the mouth of the Essequibo, is only partially occupied. The entrance to the river is rendered dangerous by shoals and sand-banks extending to seaward; the best and safest of the four channels formed by the above-named islands, lies between Leguan and the east shore, and has a depth of from two to four fathoms.

The *Demerara*, which receives no tributaries of any magnitude, is situated east of the Essequibo, and parallel to it, having its sources probably in the mountain cluster, called Maccari, in 4° 28′ N. lat. Its upper course is known only to the Indians. The last rapids (Kaicoutshi) occur about eighty-five miles in a straight line from George Town, to which point it is navigable for vessels of a small size. A square-rigged vessel has been known to load timber at Lucky Spot, in 5° 57′ N. lat., about seventy-five miles (the windings included) from the river's mouth, where it is more than a mile and a half across. A bar of mud extends about four miles to seaward, with only nine feet of water at half-flood, but the channel along the eastern shore has nineteen feet of water at high tide.

The *Berbice* enters the Atlantic about fifty-seven miles to the east of the Demerara, which, at an early period of its course, in 3° 55′ N. lat., it approaches

* The first rumours of this golden land reached Europe in 1535, the mountains of New Granada being the reputed locality; and when, after much fruitless search, the honour was transferred to Guiana, numerous expeditions were despatched thither, the last of which was sent by Don Manuel Centurion, governor of Spanish Guiana, so late as 1770.

† Captain Keymis accompanied Raleigh in his voyages to Guiana: during the last, being sent in search of a gold mine, he had a conflict with the Spaniards, in which young Raleigh was killed; his father, enraged at the loss of his son, and the failure of the expedition, bitterly upbraided Keymis, who retired in discontent to his cabin. Hearing the report of a pistol soon afterwards, Sir Walter called out to know the reason; Captain Keymis replied that it had been let off on account of its having been long charged, but an hour afterwards he was found dead, a long knife having completed the destruction which the bullet, though it had broken one of his ribs, had failed to do.

‡ On the banks of the Guidaru, one of the tributaries of the Essequibo, in 2° 55 N. lat., there is an isolated eminence, with a wooded base about 350 feet high, from which rises a bare granitic mass in the form of a pyramid, 550 feet high, making the entire elevation 900 feet above the river. There are, also, on the west banks of the Essequibo, two gigantic piles of granite about 140 or 150 feet in height, of singular shape.

§ These rivers have been ascended to a considerable distance by Mr. Hillhouse, but both are much impeded by rapids and cataracts. The Mazaruni is only navigable for small sailing vessels to the island of Caira.

within nine miles. From thence it takes a north-west course, sometimes narrowing to thirty feet, at others spreading into lake-like expansions, and occasionally studded with boulders; its banks are low and often marshy. The cataracts and rapids, which for fifty miles impede navigation, terminate in 4° 50′ N. lat., leaving the channel free for boats. Vessels not drawing more than twelve feet water can proceed upwards of 100 miles, according to the river windings; and those of seven feet draught, sixty miles further; the influence of the tide being perceptible nearly the whole distance.

The *Corentyn* has its source in about 1° N. lat.; being impeded by the same line of boulders, which traverses the Berbice and Essequibo, it forms in 4° 20′ a series of cataracts of great majesty. It receives the river *Cabalaba* from the south, and then becomes navigable for boats drawing seven feet water, to its mouth, a distance of 150 miles, by its windings, which are very tortuous, especially in one instance, from the mouth of the river *Paruru*, to the river *Maipuri*, where it describes almost a circle; it enters at Oreala (forty-five miles in a direct line from the sea), the low, alluvial coast plain; at Baboon Island, it turns for fifteen miles north-west, assuming afterwards an almost due northern course, to its embouchure, during which distance it has a breadth of four miles, and forms in 5° 55′ N. lat., an estuary impeded by sand and mud banks, with navigable channels between, of which the windward and deepest has eight feet and-a-half, at low water, and the tide rises eight feet and-a-half at springs, and three at neap. The breadth of the estuary between Plantation Mary's Hope and Nickeri, is ten miles in a north-west and south-east direction; but, if Gordon's Point and Plantation Alness be considered the extremities of the month of the Corentyn, the distance across is upwards of eighteen geographical miles. The river *Nickeri* flows into the eastern shore of the Corentyn; at its entrance is the Dutch fortified settlement of the same name. Between the Essequibo and the Orinoco are the rivers *Pomeroon*, *Marocco*, and *Wai-ina* or *Guayma;* and although these outlets are comparatively of small size, they are of considerable commercial and political importance from the means of water communication afforded by their branches and tributaries with the mighty Orinoco (in the Venezuelan territory), which is navigable for 700 miles from its mouth up to the city of Bolivar, formerly Angostura. Between the Demerara and Berbice, are the small rivers *Mahaica*, *Mahaiconi*, and *Abari;* between the Berbice and Corentyn, the *Devil's Creek*, was formerly the outlet of the swampy ground behind the sea-coast in that region, but is now blocked up.

All the large streams with which the colony is intersected continually bring down quantities of detritus, and increase the fringe of marshy land, which soon becoming covered with mangroves (*Rhizophora Mangle*) and courida bushes (*Avicennia nitida*), marks the first step of the encroachment of the coast upon the sea. The sandy flat extends from twelve to fifteen miles to seaward, and in proportion as its distance from the shore augments, is covered with three to four feet of water.*

Divisions and Topography.—British Guiana consists of the counties of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice; the two former have been united, and formed into eleven parishes; the latter into six, named as usual, from the saints' calendar.

* Schomburgk's *British Guiana*, p. 7.

George Town, on the right bank of the Demerara, the seat of government, is situated in 6° 49′ N. lat., and 58° 11′ W. long, The wide streets are traversed by canals; the wooden houses, built in the Dutch style, mostly raised on supports to prevent damp, and seldom above two stories high, are shaded by a projecting roof, have verandahs and porticoes, and are generally surrounded by gardens and lofty trees, and separated from each other by canals or trenches. The most ancient part of the capital (which, until 1812 was called *Stabroek*) runs back from the river to the forest, for about a mile, in two rows of houses, with a broad and shaded road between them, and a canal in the rear of each line, communicating with the river. In consequence of the scarcity of fresh water, the dwellings are provided with large cisterns. The public offices are comprised in a costly brick stuccoed structure, erected opposite the river, at the cost to the colony of £50,000 sterling. There are various places of worship, including a new and handsome brick church of England in the gothic style, a Roman Catholic cathedral, and Wesleyan chapel. There is a colonial and a good naval hospital, and a savings' bank. The shops and stores are numerous and well furnished, and the market abundantly supplied and neatly kept. Fort William Frederick, a small fortification, built of mud and facines, is within a mile of the town; to the eastward of it is Camp House, the residence of the officer commanding the troops, the commodious Eve Leary barracks, two hospitals, the ordnance officers' and the engineers' quarters; the York and Albany barracks are still further to the eastward. The light-house and telegraph are situated between the Fort and Kingston district, one of the seven districts into which George Town is divided, the superintendence of the whole being vested in a committee, entitled the Board of Police. The mayor and town councillors, elected by the inhabitants of the eleven wards of George Town, manage the city funds, and form a court for the trial of petty offences.

In 1831, Major Staple, after unwearied exertions amidst many difficulties and great incredulity, succeeded in forming the first Artesian well; at that time government was supplying the poorer classes, in town, with water from the creeks, at the almost incredible rate of nine guilders a puncheon, and the supply for the garrison was obtained at a similar rate.† Now, the whole colony, from Berbice to the western coast of the Essequibo, is studded with these springs, and in George Town alone there were, in 1843, seventeen public or private springs, affording a daily supply of 1,200 puncheons. Two years afterwards, the Lahama Canal, a work projected by Dr. M'Turk, and carried out under his superintendence, was finished; by it a large body of fresh water (slightly impregnated with iron) is brought a distance of several miles, in a constant stream, for the supply of the capital, and the estates through which it passes.

New Amsterdam, the chief town of Berbice, in 6° 15′ N. lat., 57° 27′ W. long., extends about a mile and-a-half along the river, and is intersected by canals; each house has an allotment of half an acre of land, generally insulated by trenches, which are filled and emptied by the change of tide. Crab Island is a short distance from the mouth of the river, and occupies the mid-channel. It is low and bushy, and about a mile in circumference; from its northern and southern points, a sandy spit extends, dividing the bed of the river into two navigable channels, of which the eastern has a depth of seven-

† *Local Guide of British Guiana;* 1843.

teen to twenty feet, the western of eight to thirteen at high water. Opposite Crab Island on the eastern bank of the river, is the old Fort St. Andrew, now in ruins. The military barracks, the engineers' and ordnance departments, are erected at the junction of the river Canje, and occupy a square, which is defended by a small battery. There are Episcopalian, Scottish, Lutheran, Wesleyan, and Roman Catholic places of worship; and free and private schools. The court-house is a spacious wooden building. The commercial part of the town, with commodious wharfs and warehouses to land and receive the goods, fronts the river; the tide has free access to the wharfs, which are built on piles. A ferry-boat plies between the town and the opposite bank, and a steamer between George Town and New Amsterdam; there is also a land mail.

There are no other towns in British Guiana; of the villages, *Mahaica*, built on the west bank of the river of that name, is the most thriving. It possesses a church, Wesleyan chapel, and some good stores. The hamlet *Mahaiconi*, on the stream so called, is progressing, and other small settlements are springing up on the road between the capital and New Amsterdam. *Fredericksburg*, on Wakenaam Island, is increasing; *William's Town* and *Catherinesburg*, on the Essequibo, are small hamlets, with Church of England and Wesleyan places of worship. *Victoria*, on the east coast of Demerara, was formed by sixty-three emancipated labourers, who purchased the abandoned estate of Northbrok, chiefly from their savings during their first few years of freedom. There are many others springing up in various directions, under similar circumstances. The present governor (Barklay) is exerting himself with zeal and success for the improvement of the colony. An excellent railway is in course of construction from George Town to Mahaica, along the east coast, a distance of twenty miles; seventeen miles have been completed, at a cost of £262,271, and are in full work. The line runs through sugar estates within a mile to half a mile from the seashore. The total receipts to the end of 1852 have been—from goods' traffic, £14,768; passenger ditto, £23,881 = £38,649; of this, the receipts for 1852, were goods, £4,900; passengers, £7,600 = £12,500. The population along the line (including George Town) is about 60,000; the probable annual traffic from the neighbouring estates is sugar—tons, 14,470; rum, 5,500; sundries, plantains, and supplies for estates, &c., 32,000 = 51,970 tons. The permanent way has cost £100,903; land and compensation, £4,547; stations and buildings, including artesian well, £29,675; engines, carriages, trucks, machinery, &c., £64,686; wages to artificers, workmen, &c., £30,800; law expenses, printing, advertising, &c., £8,122; salaries and management, London and Demerara, £11,443. The line is economically worked; and, judging from what I witnessed recently on railways through sugar plantations in Cuba, will prove an excellent investment.

Natural Productions.—Game, chiefly deer, range the upper savannas; there are also tigers, little inferior in size to those of Asia, but very different in character, being rarely known to attack men,* and jaguars,† which prey on the herds of wild cattle and horses that graze on the extensive plains among the Pacaraima mountains, untouched by the Indians, who do not eat the flesh of cattle.—(Schomburgk's *British Guiana*, p. 114). The maipuri, or tapir, frequents the forests along marshes and rivers; its flesh resembles beef, and is much liked by the Indians. There are various kinds of monkeys, the coatimundi, sloth, ant-bear, &c. Two species of wild hog, the acouri oragouti, the cuba or paca, and many others, are used as food; but space will not permit me to offer any description of them, or of the numerous feathered fowl which abound here, including a species of turkey, pheasant, partridge, the Orinoco goose, and a great number of wild ducks, amongst which is an indigenous Muscovy. The water dog, or Guiana otter, has a soft, fine skin, which has been declared by hatters to equal the best beaver. The manati or sea-cow, crocodile, and fresh-water dolphin abound.

The rivers are, at certain seasons, stocked with varieties of fish; that called *pacou* is caught in large numbers, slightly salted, and dried on the rocks. The waters of the Rupununi are remarkable for a fresh-water fish, which occasionally attains a length of twelve feet, and a weight of upwards of 300 lbs.; it is used both fresh and salted. The electric eel has also its habitat in the streams of Guiana, and the armadillo in its woods. The leading characteristic of the country is not, however, its abundance of animal, but of vegetable life; in every form of which it presents new, beautiful, and even marvellous varieties; witness the superb Victoria lily which Sir Robert Schomburgk brought so lately as 1837 from one of the magnificent reaches of the Berbice, as a fitting tribute to the sovereign, in whose honour he had named the gigantic flower.† The timber of the interior is of great worth; the mora and greenheart will bear comparison with the East India teak, and African oak, for ship-building; the forests abound in materials adapted for ornamental work, pre-eminent among which stands the beautiful "letter-wood;" and, in trees and plants, valuable for their medicinal properties, or the dyes which they afford, such as ipecacuana, sarsaparilla, caoutchouc, balsam of copaiva, and many gums, arnatto (which covers the banks of the Upper Corentyn), &c. Many pleasant fruits likewise grow in these forests, among them may be named the pine-apple, guava, marmalade fruit, varieties of the anona tribe, the sappodilla, several species of passiflora, Brazil and Sonari nuts.

Geology.—The alluvial soil and clay of the coast-line has been penetrated to the depth of 230 feet, while sinking Artesian wells. In one instance, when the boring was noted, a micaceous substance was reached, at a distance of 140 feet, when water sprung up; at twelve feet below the surface a stratum of semi-carbonized trees was passed through; at forty, blue clay; at fifty, another stratum of decayed wood, twelve feet thick; at seventy, a compact whitish-grey clay; and thence, to the total depth, various coloured clays, the lowest having a smooth, soapy surface. It is supposed that this portion of the continent was formerly habitable at fifty feet below its present elevation, when it was then covered with an immense forest, which was destroyed by conflagration. Water, useful for culinary purposes (except tea) is obtained at depths varying from 100 to 145 feet. After passing the coast-line alluvium, on the Essequibo River, white sandstone, felspar, and

* Dr. Hancock's *Observations on the Climate, Soil, and Productions of British Guiana*. London: 1840; p. 18.

† The Bishop of Guiana, in his Visitation Tour for 1851, expresses his astonishment at the singular manner in which the Indian women and children caress and conciliate these usually savage animals (p. 11).

† See a series of beautiful views illustrating the Interior of Guiana, with letter-press by Sir R. Schomburgk; 1841.

granite are found in successive ridges. On the Demerara River, seventy miles from George Town, a porphyritic sandstone is met with; at ninety-four miles, granitic rocks, with hornblende; at 106 miles, stratified greenstone. The mountain-structure is granite, with a large proportion of ironstone. The ranges, seen on passing from the Essequibo into the Mazaruni (about 5,000 feet high), appear to be white quartz, interspersed with shining particles of mica, which gives them the appearance of gold.

MINERALOGY.—Large quantities of iron and divers coloured ochres are met with. The geological formation indicates the presence of copper and the precious metals. I was informed by Dr. Hancock, who resided many years among the Indians, that gold was frequently seen in their possession.

SOIL.—An alluvium along the sea-belt, extending ten miles inland, then various mixtures of loamy earths, with vegetable moulds, and indurated clays, all capable of yielding vegetable food.

CLIMATE.—On its first occupation by Europeans this coast was extremely unhealthy; but as the country became cleared and drained, and a free circulation of air admitted, the diseases peculiar to a low, hot and marshy region have been mitigated in violence, and the climate is now as good as the peculiar position will permit. There are two rainy seasons in the year; in 1830 there fell at George Town six feet eight inches of rain: the total yearly fall is probably about 100 inches. The wet seasons are—December, January, and February; and June, July, and August, when the land-winds prevail, and the thermometer, which usually ranges from 80° to 82°, becomes lower. The dry seasons are delightful, the air being clear, and invigorated by a strong sea-breeze, which continues from 10, A.M. to 6, P.M., and frequently returns in the night. As the country is ascended, the temperature diminishes, greater vicissitudes are experienced. On the high-lands a climate is found adapted to the European constitution.

POPULATION.—There are no reliable early records. The following table shows the relative number of each class during, and subsequent to, slavery.

Year.	Whites.	Free coloured.	Blacks, or slaves.	Total.
1831	3,529	7,521	89,484	100,526
1834	2,883	7,236	83,824	92,943
1841	—	—	—	98,133
1844	—	—	—	103,959
1851	11,558[1]	116,137		127,695[2]

Note.—[1] Including nearly 8,000 Portuguese labourers from Madeira. [2] This does not include the aboriginal Indians, beyond the settled districts, estimated at 7,000: the military, 854; the royal navy, 150; and merchant seamen, 295 = 445.

The number of slaves at the period of emancipation, in 1834, was 83,324, of whom 9,893 were children under six years of age, and 3,852 aged, diseased, and otherwise non-effective. The number of predials attached was 57,807, for whom £3,418,883 was paid; of these, 52,266 were field-labourers, men and women included.

The decrease of slaves, between the years 1817 and 1834, was 18,231. Adverting to this fact, the governor, in 1843, when transmitting Mr. Hadfield's carefully-compiled report on the population of the colony, to H.M. secretary of state, remarked—

"Upon these details the proprietary body ought to be satisfied that, but for emancipation, there was an annual decrease of their population, which would soon have thrown more estates out of cultivation than their fears have predicted would occur since that happy period. It is now clearly proved, that the Creole population is on a steady increase; that the young and vigorous, in the age most necessary for that increase, are in greater ratio than in any other portion of the population; and that in females—infants under five years—the excess over the same ratio of male infants is considerable; and the excess of both male and female under the same age is greater than in the time of slavery."—(Parl. Papers, 426. June, 1845; p. 27.)

Census of British Guiana in 1851.

Houses, Population, and Race.	Rural Districts.			Urban.	
	Demerara.	Essequibo.	Berbice.	George Town.	New Amsterdam.
Number of houses	5,672	2,254	3,226	4,895	1,103
Population . .	50,259	24,925	22,370	25,508	4,633
Race—					
European . .	5,121	1,758	450	3,730	499
Mixed . . .	3,796	1,845	707	6,774	1,632
African . . .	37,383	18,548	19,300	14,133	2,346
East Indies .	3,401	2,332	913	871	153
Aborigines .	558	442	1,000	—	3

Age. — Under five years, 7,013 males, 7,253 females; five to fifteen, 13,012 males, 12,455 females; fifteen to thirty, 19,926 males, 17,530 females; thirty to fifty, 19,931 males, 15,721 females; over fifty, 7,385 males, 7,469 females.

Native country. — British Guiana, 86,451; Barbados, 4,925; other West India islands, 4,353; African immigrants, 7,168; old Africans, 7,013, Madeirans, 7,528; English, Irish, Scotch, Dutch, and Americans, 2,088; Coolies from Madras, 3,665; ditto from Calcutta, 4,017; not stated, 17.

Occupation. — Public officers, 306; professional men, 187; merchants and shopkeepers, 1,376; clerks, 689; agriculturists, 863; agricultural labourers, 56,505; other labourers, 10,128; mechanics and artizans, 5,987; domestic servants, 5,547; boatmen and mariners, 1,405; others variously employed, 10,922; no stated occupation (including the ladies of the upper class), 12,263; children not employed, being of tender age, 21,517.

The aborigines* (2,003) mentioned in the census, include only those located in or near the cultivated portions of the colony. The Warraus, Caribisi, Accawais, and Arrawaaks, who are located indiscriminately on the Pomeroon, Marocco, Wai-nia, and Barima Rivers, and their tributaries, extending from the Tapacuma Lake to Point Barima, are estimated at 4,160—their respective numbers being 1,896, 832, 315, and 1,117: to these must be added about 3,000 who are scattered among the tributary streams of the Upper Essequibo and Corentyn Rivers. The total number is estimated at 9,000 to 10,000.

Between 1841 and 1848, there were imported into Guiana 46,514 immigrants (the greater number adult males), at a direct cost to the colony of £360,685, which, with incidental charges of hospitals, police, prisons, &c., was increased to not less than £400,000. At the end of 1848, there remained in the settlement —Africans, 5,739; Portuguese, 5,083; East India Coolies, 8,300 = 19,122; of the whole number, about

* The Bishop of Guiana describes them as a gentle and "painfully-interesting" race, desirous of Christian instruction.—(*Visitation Tour*, 1851, p. 31.)

25,000 (more than one-half) had disappeared in fifteen years; some had returned to the countries whence they came; others migrated to different places; and a large proportion perished of disease or destitution. Of the 19,122 who remained, only 12,872 were actually occupied in 1848 as agricultural labourers.*

Recently, more attention has been paid to the health and condition of the labouring classes.

The mortality among 15,200† indentured immigrants who have been working on the plantations during the three years ending 1851, was 364, or rather under 2¾ per cent., but the mortality was unequally distributed, the Madeirans losing fully 5, the Africans less than 2, and the East India Coolies very little over 1 per cent. per annum. Chinese labourers are being now introduced into Guiana, and, if well treated, will probably prove excellent agriculturists.

Recently (since the finances of the colony have been restored to a sound footing), considerable sums have been expended on the improvement of the lunatic asylum, the establishment of a leper ward, and the enlargement of the almshouse; an orphan asylum is also in course of erection; and a depôt has been provided for the accommodation of immigrants.

GOVERNMENT.—When Guiana was under the control of Holland, a constitution was organized which, with some modifications, is still retained; it consists of a governor, appointed by the crown, and a combined court of two chambers, which is thus formed: 1st, *A Court of Policy*, consisting of ten members, five official (the governor, chief justice, colonial secretary, attorney-general, and collector of customs), and five non-official, elected by seven persons, termed the *College of Keizers*, who are chosen for life, or during their residence in the colony, without any property qualification, by the votes of persons contributing direct taxes to the amount of £4:13*s.* a-year, or paying taxes of any sort on an annual income of £140. Absentees vote by proxy. Every second year the senior non-official member retires: the Keizers then send in two names, and one is chosen by the Court of Policy, on whose votes the governor has a casting voice. Local laws, not involving an outlay of money, are made by this court, which has also the power of revising or altering the civil and criminal jurisprudence of the colony, subject to the sanction of the governor and of the Crown. The franchise has been recently lowered.

2nd. The *Financial Representatives*, six in number, are chosen by the same electors that nominate the College of Keizers. The ordinary duration of their sitting is two years; but the governor may dissolve the chamber, which has no legislative power of itself, but meets annually the Court of Policy, to form the Combined Assembly, which discusses, item by item, the estimates of expenditure, and the levy of taxes as framed and proposed by the Court.‡

George Town and New Amsterdam have efficient municipalities. There is now no militia. The regular military forces in the colony, in 1851, consisted of 78th Highlanders, 187; 2nd West India regiment, 369; 3rd ditto, 298 = 854: the last-named corps are composed of negroes.

RELIGION.—Until the first quarter of the present century had elapsed, the ordinances of religion were almost wholly neglected. In 1827, Guiana was included in the see of Bishop Coleridge, and about this period divided into parishes; in 1838, an archdeaconry was constituted, and there were then thirteen clergymen of the Church of England; in 1842, there were twenty-eight clergymen of the Established Church, and the colony was erected into a bishopric, to which an income of £2,000 per annum was affixed. In 1851, the colony possessed 112 churches and chapels, viz., Church of England, 41; Church of Scotland, 15; London Mission, 19; Wesleyan, 15; Plymouth Brethren, 6; 12 belonging to various dissenting bodies; and Roman Catholic, 3. The average number of persons usually attending divine worship was, Church of England, 10,210; and 22,874 of the other religious denominations = 33,034. When it is considered that 39,716 of the population were between the ages of one and fifteen years; and that there were then about 15,000 East India Coolies and heathen African immigrants interspersed among them, the proportion of habitual attendants on the ordinances of their respective churches is considerable. The total number of each religious persuasion is stated, in the census of 1851, to have been, Church of England, 39,787; Church of Scotland, 11,664; Wesleyans, 8,438; London Mission, 15,502; Dissenters, whose denominations are not known, 13,639; Roman Catholic Church, 9,938; Hindoos and Mahommedans, 7,037; not stated, 21,710. These returns are, however, inaccurate; the Wesleyans, for instance, assert in their published documents that their number is 10,774; the London Mission or Congregational Dissenters are also under-stated. About 3,000 of the aborigines receive religious instruction at various missions carried on by the Church of England, by the Church of Scotland, and by the Roman Catholics.

EDUCATION.—The total number of public schools, in 1851, is not ascertainable, as the Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and Plymouth Brethren, furnished no returns: the other denominations stood thus:—

Denomination.	Schools.	Average attendance
Church of England . . .	53	4,478
„ Scotland . . .	13	380
London Mission	20	1,781

There are eleven private schools in George Town. Of the entire population, 12,952 can read and write; 11,466 can read only, and the remaining 103,277 are either wholly illiterate, or their state has not been ascertained.

CRIME.—Commitments, in 1851, numbered 2,702; the governor reports a "decrease on the years immediately precedent," which he considers—

"Attributable, in all probability, to the greater prosperity of the lower orders, arising from cheapened food and enlarged demand for labour, which induces the payment of pecuniary penalties to escape incarceration. * * * In December, 1851, there were, in confinement at the penal settlement and five gaols, only 401 prisoners, though no check had then been applied to the suppression of the petty thefts and trifling assaults which furnish the great bulk of the summary convictions: crime of a deeper dye is so rapidly declining that the records of the Supreme Criminal Court for 1851, show only 68 trials for felony, and 8 for misdemeanours, against 132 and 16 respectively in 1850, and 159 and 18 respectively for 1849. I will only add, that the result of the sessions, to date (April, 1852), is even more satisfactory; and now that the inferior cri-

* Journal of Messrs. Candler and Alexander.

† 3,738 Portuguese, 5,335 Africans, 6,127 East India Coolies.

‡ For fuller details, see Parl. Papers of 1849, on Guiana and Ceylon. Report and Appendix.

minal courts are presided over by the judges. I am encouraged to hope that minor offences may, by a vigorous policy, be also restrained within narrower limits."—(Governor's Report, in *Blue Book* for 1851, p. 146.)

There is a well-conducted and nearly self-supporting penal establishment on the Mazaruni river.

FINANCE.—*Revenue* in 1833.—Demerara and Essequibo, £42,273; Berbice, £23,239 = £65,512: in 1851 it was more than doubled, viz., 169,879, of which the custom duties on imports yielded £91,653; rum duties and spirit licenses, £43,460; general revenue, £57,820; tonnage duties, £6,658; export ditto, £3,608. The increase of 1851 beyond 1850 was about £10,000, which afforded a surplus of income over outlay of nearly that amount.—*Expenditure* in 1851.—Civil government (including salary of governor, £5,000) £16,557; judicial, £17,465; ecclesiastical, £14,805; education, £3,212; poor, £7,992; police, £20,924; hospitals, £15,048; penal settlement and prisons, £9,534; roads, £3,746; public buildings, £3,840; immigration, £28,030; public debt interest, £32,884; collection of revenue, £12,503. There is also a municipal revenue of £13,583, of which the local expenditure was, in 1851, at George Town, £10,681; at New Amsterdam, £1,311 = £11,995, (shillings and pence excepted throughout). The expenditure by Great Britain from the commissariat-chest was, in 1851, pay of troops, provisions, &c., £30,304; ordnance, military works, stores, &c., £4,239 = £34,543.

Banks, two—the *British Guiana*, and a branch of the *London Colonial*. Notes in circulation (about)—British Guiana, £36,000; London Colonial, £26,000 = £62,000, in sums of five dollars and upwards. Coin in use about £80,000.

Monies, Weights and Measures. — English has been recently substituted for the Dutch denominations, formerly employed.

Wages.—Agricultural, 2*s.*; trades, 4*s.* per day. Domestic servants, 34*s.* per month.

Prices in 1851.—Beef, 6*d.*; pork, 8*d.*; mutton, 13*d.* per lb.: all other articles of food proportionately high.

COMMERCE—see p. 183.

Sugar estates in 1851 numbered 171; average of canes, 44,326; number uncut, 31st December, 1851, 8,055 acres; number cut in 1851, 36,271 acres; hogsheads of sugar made in 1851, number 46,325; equal to about 1¼ hogshead per acre; probably about 1 ton, taking the hogshead at 1,800 lbs. net: total crop, 82,385,000 lbs. of sugar.*

The landed proprietors are divisible into three classes: the *first* possess estates which yield crops of sugar as large, often larger, than they did during slavery: draining engines of great power, vacuum pans, centrifugal machines, and every description of machinery found to succeed in the beet-root factories of Belgium and France have been applied with advantage to these properties; with such estates it is no longer a question of abandonment; it is a race of scientific improvement in which, with their immense resources, they must succeed.† The *second* class consists of those who purchased fine plantations, which had declined from the extravagant prices paid for them in 1841-'42: this class were generally managers for absentee proprietors, shrewd, possessed of practical skill and local knowledge, but devoid of available capital, which they obtained from the banks at a high rate of interest, on bills renewable from time to time. This extravagant mode of raising money to cultivate could only be sustained by high prices; and the fall in the price of sugar, from £15 to £10 per hogshead, caused the ruin of many: some, however, have weathered the storm; and, with fair seasons and good crops, are now arriving at the condition of the first-named proprietary.‡

The *third* class comprises "the owners of such heavily mortgaged and half-abandoned estates as struggled over the shock of 1847-9, though in so hopelessly encumbered and crippled a state, as to render their retention by their present proprietors possible under no circumstances short of a positive miracle." The machinery and buildings are completely dilapidated, but the ground has been kept in a state of semi-cultivation at considerable expense to the creditors. It must be evident that no system of protection, no laws to promote immigration, no scheme can save this last class, whose land and dilapidated tenements should, as soon as possible, be brought to sale, in order that persons possessed of capital may endeavour to resuscitate the cultivation either for sugar or for some other product.

Governor Barkly, from whose despatch of the 21st of April, 1852, the foregoing remarks are derived, urges the continuance of immigration on behalf of classes one and two, and adds—"though a trying ordeal is still to be gone through, I entertain no manner of doubt that British Guiana, in the course of a few years, will be able to furnish an unlimited supply of tropical produce, in successful competition with any country in the world."§ In conclusion, the governor, who is himself a West India proprietor, and had formerly taken a desponding view of our western colonies, thus sums up his elaborate and valuable report on the *Blue Book* for 1851—"it is shown in the authentic records now forwarded, that the revenue has been flourishing, population augmenting, education spreading, crime diminishing, and trade increasing during the year just passed; and there appears as yet no reason, under God's blessing, to anticipate a less favourable result in any one of those respects in the year now entered upon."

* The produce of the colony—including Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice—in 1834, was 81,085,483 lbs.

† Mr. Stephen Bourne, an intelligent stipendiary magistrate, who resided several years in British Guiana, throws some light on the allegations as to general ruin, in a statement recently furnished me; and at the same time shows the value of well-managed sugar properties in Guiana. I can only give the result. In 1842, when distress was so loudly asserted, five estates in Berbice yielded sugar and rum to the value of £56,795; cost of manual labour, £20,350; and an equal sum for management, interest of capital, &c.; leaving a profit of £16,093; on an average, £3,200 for each estate; the best of which consisted of 500 acres, all in canes, which yielded a net return for the year of £5,900. It should be added, that the labourers were treated with justice and kindness.

‡ In support of these observations, the governor cites a return of the cultivated properties sold at execution sale in Guiana in 1851, and says, that two estates on the west sea-coast of Demerara, joining nearly to each other, and of equal value before emancipation, were sold; one for 42,000 dollars, whilst the other, which had been much neglected, brought only 7,400 dollars. Two other adjoining plantations on the Berbice river, both in good cultivation, sold respectively at the rate of 60,000 and 48,000 dollars. His excellency added—"this serves to prove that estates of the first class are not confined to the east coast of Demerara (the most thriving district), but are in fact to be found all over the colony."

§ Plantains are extensively cultivated in these islands: they form the chief food of fully one half of the population.

CHAPTER XVII.

COMMERCE—SHIPPING—REVENUE—POPULATION, EDUCATION, AND RELIGION, DURING PERIODS OF SLAVERY AND FREEDOM; AND GENERAL RESULTS.

HAVING exceeded the limits allotted to this Division of my work, it is not now possible to do more than advert to the general results attendant on the abolition of slavery in the British West India Colonies. The dates of their European discovery and occupation, are given under their respective heads; and their historical and social progress has been briefly traced up to the year 1851; the latest year in which the records are complete in the department of the secretary of state.

As previously stated, the introduction of slaves into the West Indies from Africa was commenced by several European nations about the beginning of the seventeenth century,* and continued by Englishmen until 1807, when this nefarious traffic was declared unlawful by the British Parliament. At various times during the last five-and-forty years, every Christian state has entered into treaties with England, acknowledging the iniquity of the trade, and professing a desire for its complete abolition. But the maritime or carrying branch of this inhuman commerce is still perpetrated by stealth, under cover of the flags of Spain, Portugal, Brazil, and the United States; while the governments of France and Denmark are the only powers that have followed the steps of England, by putting an end to slavery within their respective territories.

In 1834, the people of England paid twenty million sterling† to the slave-owners in the colonies, in compensation of any loss they might incur; and an apprenticeship system was adopted, which was to continue until 1838 for non-predial, and until 1840 for predial or agricultural slaves. At Antigua and Bermuda the slaves received unconditional freedom, on 1st August, 1834; as did all children under six years of age in every colony.

In our other West India possessions, the provisions of the Imperial Act were perverted by legal ingenuity, or set at nought by direct breach of faith; few or no measures were taken by the colonists to prepare the slaves for unconditional freedom; on the contrary, local laws were passed to retain them, if possible, in a state of serfdom; flogging, the treadmill, and other barbarous punishments, were still inflicted, on women as well as men; and a system of injustice, and even vengeance was pursued in many places, which would have made the state of apprenticeship unbearable, but for the early prospect of its cessation, which took place in 1838. The treatment which the apprentices had received caused a still greater alienation between the labourer and his master, than had previously existed, and deepened his aversion to sugar cultivation, which, having long proved a grievous and unrequited toil, performed under the stimulus of the lash, *by the black man only*, was naturally regarded as ignominious, and the new-made freeman earnestly desired to be himself a proprietor of the soil. When these facts (of which illustrations are given in the previous pages) are taken into consideration; when it is remembered that tracts of greater or less extent of waste, but rich land existed in all the colonies, excepting Barbados and Antigua; that the *ci-devant* slave proprietors were, in most instances, impoverished, in many ruined, and dependent on the merchants and others, who made annual advances at exorbitant rates of interest, to enable them to cultivate the estates, in consideration of receiving all the consignments of produce, for which accounts were rendered at their own discretion; that communities thus situated and embarrassed were devoid of the ready money whereby wages could be daily or weekly paid to several hundred thousand labourers; and that in all the colonies, for at least nine or ten months of the year, food and other requisites were obtained from America and England; it is surprising that sugar cultivation was continued at all after emancipation; and still more remarkable, that in the efforts to provide for their daily bread, the negro population should have raised themselves from their former degraded position, and exhibited the gratifying picture which is presented in the preceding pages. The returns from the several colonies are irregular, varying in form and denomination, and, in many instances, imperfect, so that it is difficult to group them together into the general and comparative view, which would suffice to refute the allegations sedulously circulated, that emancipation was a quixotic act, alike injurious to both master and servant, commercially detrimental to the nation, and therefore to be considered as a warning, rather than held forth as a lesson for the guidance of other slave-holding states.

The table in the next page gives a comparative view of the West India colonies during a period of bondage and of freedom, so far as there are official returns:—

* In 1629, the first African slaves were introduced into Virginia by a Dutch ship, and sold at James Town; the importation was continued under the flag of several nations; and at the period of the Declaration of Independence in 1776 the number of slaves in the young republic was 502,133; their numbers are now about 3,500,000.

† The annexed table gives the number of slaves at the last registration; their average market value between the years 1822 and 1830, and the distribution of the £20,000,000; some alteration took place subsequent to this assignment, but the basis on which the payments were made is shown.

Colony.	Ave. value.	Number.	Compensatn.
	£ s. d.		£
Bermuda	27 4 11¾	4,203	50,584
Bahamas	29 18 9¾	9,705	128,340
Jamaica	44 15 2¼	311,692	6,161,927
Honduras	120 4 7½	1,920	101,958
Virgin Islands	31 16 1¾	5,192	72,940
Antigua	32 12 10½	29,537	425,866
Montserrat	36 17 10¾	6,355	103,558
Nevis	39 3 11¾	8,722	151,007
St. Christophers	36 6 10¼	20,660	331,630
Dominica	43 8 7½	14,384	275,923
Barbados	47 1 3¼	82,807	1,711,345
Grenada	59 6 0	23,536	616,444
St. Vincent's	58 6 8	22,997	592,508
Tobago	45 12 0½	11,621	234,064
St. Lucia	56 18 7	13,348	335,627
Trinidad	105 4 5¼	22,359	1,039,119
British Guiana	114 11 5¾	84,915	4,297,117
Cape of Good Hope	73 9 11	38,427	1,247,401
Mauritius	69 14 3	68,613	2,112,632
Total	--	780,993	20,000,000

Comparative Condition of the British Western Slave Colonies in 1833–4 *(at the period of the Abolition of Slavery) and in* 1851–2.

(Showing the area, population, revenues, values of imports, sugar, rum, and molasses, and shipping inwards.)

Name of Colony.	Area in square miles.[1]	Population—White, Free coloured, and (in 1834) Slaves.		Revenue.[6]		Imports, value.[6]		Sugar exported to United Kingdom.[3]		Rum exported to United Kingdom.		Molasses exported to United Kingdom.[4]		Shipping inwards	
		1834.	1851.[2]	1833.	1851.	1833.	1851.	1833.	1852.	1833.	1852.	1833.	1852.	1833.	1851.
				£	£	£	£	Cwts.	Cwts.	Gals.	Gals.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Tons.	Tons.
Antigua	110	34,916	37,136	13,833	21,888	69,955	198,425	129,519	185,662	34,932	65,699	67,181	72,420	24,839	34,439
Anguilla[5]	35	2,906	2,500	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Barbados	166	102,231	135,539	20,915	55,724	461,135	787,977	384,971	743,606	696	716	47,246	144,656	56,178	93,381
Barbuda[5]	60	500	629	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bahamas[5]	3,373	18,508	27,519	11,661	26,105	104,164	117,318	—	—	—	—	—	—	23,377	36,088
Turk's Island[5]	470		3,000		8,000		25,124								31,066
Bermudas[5]	19	8,843	11,092	10,000	11,376	79,740	125,710	—	—	—	—	—	—	14,675	32,693
Dominica	275	18,660	25,000	6,120	12,901	53,506	71,828	47,372	63,593	30,310	25,763	5,473	7,160	7,605	12,046
Grenada and Grenadines	133	28,175	32,671	15,112	16,956	73,846	158,930	204,074	125,008	185,969	184,276	32,608	2,426	24,805	22,176
Guiana	100,000	92,943	130,000	70,512	169,870	674,817	855,419	855,314	846,900	1,241,377	2,723,423	352,079	83,331	116,882	111,771
Honduras[5]	62,000	6,500	10,000	15,175	17,964	235,156	289,819	—	—	—	—	—	—	14,018	22,532
Bay Islands[5]	30	—	1,500	—	400	—	4,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	500
Jamaica	6,400	365,368	465,000	199,623	209,379	765,400	1,129,776	1,256,991	511,263	3,219,783	1,590,927	3,665	553	67,971	105,968
Caymans[5]	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Montserrat	46	7,500	7,053	2,000	3,235	22,802	9,498	15,507	2,427	—	—	1,930	493	5,509	4,441
Nevis	20	9,315	10,200	5,794	3,705	18,567	16,483	42,287	33,489	6,312	5,937	1,524	1,693	8,266	8,700
St. Kitt's	68	23,388	24,500	3,668	17,902	44,497	112,748	80,390	94,230	42,217	50,436	14,592	11,753	17,671	22,066
St. Lucia	178	17,523	24,318	7,403	13,872	47,271	60,538	46,553	73,486	10,774	3,172	4,595	5,973	12,712	10,025
St. Vincent	131	26,500	30,128	9,416	16,956	165,939	158,930	194,889	176,593	89,206	143,687	48,650	26,310	29,210	29,246
Trinidad	1,800	43,613	68,600	35,120	95,733	307,075	547,471	286,303	483,857	225	80,717	91,344	115,097	37,403	62,178
Tobago	97	13,200	15,000	5,320	12,292	75,427	63,884	86,527	68,352	232,622	186,849	15,070	1,181	12,413	8,848
Virgin Isles	90	6,535	7,500	1,327	1,471	6,219	4,417	14,969	161	4,279	—	837	—	3,557	3,534
Total	175,513	827,224	1,969,885	432,999	715,729	3,205,523	4,737,295	3,646,366	3,408,627	5,109,975	5,061,602	686,794	473,296	473,091	651,698

[1] The area here given differs in some respects from the statements in the general table at page 17; this table has been framed from the latest authorities.

[2] In some instances the census of 1844 is given, or the estimates of the governor where there were no returns for 1851. Seven thousand aborigines are not included in the Guiana population.

[3] The import from these colonies in 1807 (the last year of the slave-carrying trade) was 3,337,268 cwts. The import into England for 1853 will, it is expected, be equal to 4,000,000 cwts.

[4] Import during the three years ending 1833, 1,563,763 cwts.; during the three years ending 1851, 1,567,730 cwts.

[5] Not sugar producing colonies.

[6] In a few instances, returns of the revenue or imports were not obtainable for 1833; those of 1832 or 1834 have then been given

[7] The value of imports from England, in the year 1851, was £485,980; the value of exports to England, in the year 1851, was £814,288. The governor states, in 1851, that the valuation of the exports is purely hypothetical; a remark which applies to the other West India colonies.

[8] In 1844, Governor Light estimated the produce at only ¾-hogshead per acre; and Dr. Sheir, the agricultural chemist of the colony, considers that "three times the present return might be secured, and at little greater cost than at present." Cotton was formerly the staple product of Guiana, and so profitable, that one proprietor of six estates in Berbice realized in one year a profit of £50,000 sterling. The high price obtained for sugar, and the competition of the United States, induced the planters to substitute the cane for cotton. The Berbice coffee has been superseded by a cheaper and better berry from Ceylon and from British India

A leading feature deserving consideration refers to population, which, during slavery, was diminishing so rapidly, that (unaided by breeding farms, as in the United States), the slaves must all have perished in a given course of years. It was ascertained that the decrease on the eleven years ending 1829-'30, was 52,000; this was owing to over-working, under-feeding, and severity of discipline; their condition being, in the words of Lord Stanley (now Earl of Derby), one of "unredressed injustice, bitter oppression, and hopeless wrong." On the abolition of slavery the natural laws of increase at once resumed their sway, and the population, notwithstanding a diminution of whites, no longer required as slave-drivers, overseers, &c., has increased from 827,224 to at least 1,069,885, the census for 1851 not being given for some islands. The prosperous condition of the mass of the people is shown in their increased ability to bear taxation, and to purchase foreign commodities; the public revenue has risen from £432,999 to £715,729, and the imports from £3,205,523 to 4,624,547, although the value of the commodities usually imported has been of late years diminished. The shipping also has benefited, the tonnage inwards having augmented from 473,091 to 651,698 tons, notwithstanding that the voyage to the West Indies is now shortened by steam navigation. The *official* value of the exports from the United Kingdom to the former slave colonies, was, in 1833, £3,729,888; in 1851, £5,160,110. The increase on the declared or real value was in about the same proportion. The total export to England of sugar, molasses, and rum in the British West Indies, from 1834 to 1852 inclusive, was—sugar, cwts., 55,783,824; molasses, 9,826,026; rum, gals., 89,627,633. At the average price of 20*s.* per cwt., the value of the sugar, independent of governmental duty or mercantile charges, amounts to £55,783,824; the molasses, at 10*s.* per cwt., £4,913,013, and the rum, at 2*s.* 6*d.* per gal., £11,203,456: produce of the cane, in the last nineteen years, by means of free labour only, £71,900,293. The cultivation of coffee has diminished of late years in the West Indies, owing to the want of capital to establish new plantations in room of the worn-out trees, and the competition of superior-flavoured and lower-priced coffee from Ceylon and other British territories in the East Indies; but cocoa has largely augmented. In 1833, the quantity of this agreeable and wholesome berry imported from our western slave colonies, was 2,125,641 lbs.; in 1851, there were imported into England, from the same territory, 4,347,195 lbs.; increase, 2,222,554 lbs. It is not practicable to show the quantity of sugar now made in the West Indies as compared with a period of slavery; then all the sugar made was exported to England; now there is a large internal consumption in each colony, and by the abolition of the navigation laws, whereby the West Indians are enabled to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest markets, the colonial sugars, &c., find entrance to the United States, and other countries. If the actual production were shown in one denomination (cwts. or lbs.) of sugars, molasses, and succades, it would be found that there is now (excepting in Jamaica) a larger quantity of saccharine matter prepared than was ever done during slavery, while the quality has been greatly improved, and the price reduced.

The improving material and social condition of the mass of the people is also manifested by the increased importations of clothing, which consist chiefly of plain and printed calicoes. The export of these goods to the British West Indies during the three last years of slavery, and the years 1849, '50, and '51, was—

Years.	Calicoes.		Total.
	Plain.	Coloured.	
	Yards.	Yards.	Yards.
1831-'32-'33.	21,898,436	16,403,494	38,301,930
1849-'50-'51.	58,496,276	51,522,249	110,018,525

Note.—Increase on the three years, 71, 716,595 yards.

Lest it should be supposed that this extraordinarily increased consumption of more than *twenty-eight million yards* in favour of freedom is attributable to these colonies being depôts for the supply of the foreign West Indies and South American markets, it may be necessary to observe that the depôt trade, excepting that of Honduras, has ceased. During the year 1851, the export of calicoes from England to the foreign West Indies was upwards of forty-five million yards; a large part of which was for re-export to other places. For example, the little barren island of St. Thomas, which is a free port, received, in 1851, 18,819,363 yards out of the above 45,000,000. The exports from England to Mexico and Central America were, in 1851, 21,924,388 yards; to Colombia, 28,929,940; and to the other South American countries in proportionately large quantities. It is but fair therefore to conclude that the whole of the exports of cottons from Great Britain to our West Indian settlements in 1849-'50-'51, were for domestic use. The imports into Jamaica alone, in 1851, were *plain* cottons, 6,055,242; *printed*, 5,288,451 = 11,343,690 yards; and in the previous year (1850) the total imports of both plain and printed amounted to 15,313,172 yards, which was six million yards more than the *whole* export to all our West India Colonies in 1830.*

The next point deserving of inquiry, is the allegation that the blacks are fast relapsing into a state of barbarism;† and that obeahism, witchcraft, and other devices of Satan, have been resumed. An answer to this is given in the details furnished of each island, showing an increase of churches, chapels, and schools, and a decrease of crime. Unfortunately, there are no general returns by which a tabular view could be presented of the religious and educational state of the population in all the colonies; but some documents

* It is often asserted, that Haiti, also, has been ruined since the violent struggle which ended in emancipation; it may be remarked that the population speaking the Spanish language is now estimated at 125,000, the majority being a mixed or colored race; and those speaking the French language, 800,000, more than seven-eighths of whom are of pure African blood. All enjoy a degree of comfort adapted to their climate, and equal to that of the peasantry of other countries. Sugar-culture has been destroyed, lest it might tempt the whites to endeavour to restore slavery. They produce annually about *seventy million pounds* of coffee, and export large quantities of this and other articles. In the year ending June, 1851, the Haitian trade employed 74,671 tons of American shipping, navigated by 3,504 United States' seamen; and also a considerable amount of foreign tonnage. The imports of Haitian produce into the United States, in 1851, was, 1,889,968 dols; and the exports in return, 1,816,298 dols.

† See the valuable *Monthly Colonial Circular* of Mr. R. Burn, of Manchester.

will strengthen the conviction which the details previously given are calculated to produce. A complete comparison of one important and eminently successful religious denomination is furnished in the following exposition of the Wesleyan missions in the West Indies, in 1833 and 1852.

Name of Colony.	Year.	No. of stations.	No. of chapels.	No. of ministers.	Worshippers.	No. of schools.	Scholars.			Year when formed.
							Male.	Female.	Total.	
Antigua	1833	1	—	3	5,234	16	1,029	1,389	2,418	1786
	1852	1	10	4	9,000	15	700	1,006	1,706	
Barbados	1833	1	—	1	777	3	—	—	394	1789
	1852	1	14	4	9,500	30	761	939	1,800	
Bahamas	1833	1	—	4	2,054	9	317	401	718	1790
	1852	5	19	6	6,280	18	688	751	1,439	
Turk's Island	1833	1	—	1	207	2	53	64	117	
	1852	1	2	1	1,250	2	172	183	355	
Bermudas	1833	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	1798
	1852	1	5	3	1,150	7	128	149	277	
Dominica	1833	1	—	2	1,177	3	112	116	228	1788
	1852	1	5	2	2,350	5	130	130	260	
Montserrat	1833	1	—	1	624	6	110	190	300	1820
	1852	1	4	1	1,000	6	152	169	321	
Nevis	1833	1	—	1	1,040	1	75	140	215	1788
	1852	1	3	2	5,000	6	400	410	810	
St. Kitt's	1833	1	—	4	3,491	4	170	376	546	1787
	1852	1	9	4	9,250	18	710	1,070	1,786	
Tortola	1833	1	—	2	2,099	1	117	160	277	1788
	1852	1	7	2	3,550	5	144	208	352	
St. Vincent's	1833	2	—	5	1,538	1	89	93	182	1787
	1852	2	10	8	10,600	22	742	568	1,310	
Grenada	1833	1	—	1	582	1	47	77	124	1788
	1852	1	5	1	1,520	7	197	56	253	
Trinidad	1833	1	—	1	236	1	49	40	89	1788
	1852	1	7	2	1,600	6	110	180	290	
Tobago	1833	1	—	1	156	1	20	41	61	1816
	1852	1	6	2	2,200	11	450	400	850	
Demerara	1833	1	—	3	2,453	4	183	184	367	1814
	1852	3	14	6	10,462	29	1,177	1,079	2,256	
Jamaica	1833	11	—	18	9,924	12	—	—	838	1789
	1852	20	70	26	31,088	58	1,458	1,347	2,805	
Honduras	1833	1	—	1	185	1	35	36	71	1825
	1852	1	6	2	1,600	5	175	151	326	
Totals	1833	28	—	51	31,777	66	2,406	3,307	6,945	—
	1852	43	196	96	107,400	250	8,294	8,796	17,196	—

Note.—There are no returns where the dash (—) is inserted. The annual expenditure of the society is now about £15,000. The total sum expended in the West Indies, since the formation of the mission, has been £486,798.

The following document shows the state of the Moravian Missions in the West Indies, in 1833 and 1852.

Name of Colony.	Year.	No. of stations.	No. of chapels.	No. of ministers.	Worshippers.	No. of schools.	Scholars.			Year when formed.
							Male.	Female.	Total.	
Jamaica	1833	8	8	9	7,182	—	—	—	—	1754
	1852	13	13	19	13,321	42	1,684	1,290	2,974	
Antigua	1833	5	5	12	13,836	—	—	—	—	1756
	1852	7	9	9	8,021	9	624	508	1,132	
St. Kitt's	1833	3	3	5	4,988	—	—	—	—	1775
	1852	4	4	6	4,045	4	229	210	439	
Barbados	1833	2	2	3	1,970	—	—	—	—	1765
	1852	4	4	7	3,198	4	—	—	495	
Tobago	1833	1	1	2	380	—	—	—	—	1790
	1852	2	2	3	2,103	2	339	309	639	
Danish Islands	1833	7	7	18	10,227	—	—	—	—	1732
	1852	8	8	16	10,087	—	—	—	1,000	
Total	1833	26	26	49	38,583	—	—	—	—	—
	1852	38	40	60	40,765	61	2,876	2,317	6,679	—

Note.—There are no returns where the dash (—) is inserted.

The operations of the London Missionary Society in Guiana, at two periods, are thus shown—

Details.	1833.	1851.
Chapels	7	21
Missionaries	5	11
Native catechists	1	11
Attending Divine Worship	3,200	20,000
Church members	650	3,090
Schools	7	20
Scholars	1,350	2,050
Sunday schools	—	21
„ scholars	—	3,660

The other West India sphere of the London Mission is Jamaica—where it had *no* stations in 1833;—one was established at the close of the first year of freedom. In 1851, the mission exhibited the following gratifying results: chapels, 13; missionaries, 9; in attendance on Divine worship, about 8,000; church members, 1,400; day-schools, 12; scholars, 1,150; Sunday-schools, 12; scholars, 1,450.

The Baptists, can now furnish no comparative returns from the London Society. In one of the colonies, where that association had no mission until 1834, their progress up to 1851 is thus shown:—

Baptist Missionary Society's Stations in the Bahamas, in 1851-'2.

Name of Station.	Persons attending.	Communicants.	Schools.	Pupils.
NEW PROVIDENCE.				
Nassau—	700	593	3	400
Fox Hill	110	65	1	62
Dunmore	20	16	—	
Carmichael	40	32	2	62
Adelaide	30	20	2	40
Rum Cay	456	189	2	190
Long Island	468	274	4	190
Exuma	—	159	1	58
Ragged Island	—	64	1	79
Long Cay	—	28	—	—
Crooked Island	—	42	1	30
Cat Island	—	290	5	200
Eleuthera	—	109	1	66
Andros Islands	—	145	2	154
Berry Islands	—	15	—	—
Bahama	—	138	1	80
Little Abaco	—	42	—	—
Green Turtle Cay	—	7	—	—
Grand Turk	500	248	3	350
Salt Cay	150	56	1	40
Caicos—				
Lorimer	250	121	2	150
Bottle Creek	50	20	1	10
Kew	120	49	2	58
Whildings	45	10	—	—
Inagua—				
Victoria Point	55	20	2	65
Sim's Hill	200	46		
Total	3,194	1,898	37	2,284

Note.—These stations have all been founded since the abolition of slavery. There are a few additional stations, in other parts of the West Indies, which were formed in the following years:—Port of Spain and Savanna Grande, 1843; Jacmel, 1845; Mount Hopeful, Sherring Ville, Mount Elven, and Indian Walk, 1849; Couva and Puerto Plata, 1851.

The Church of England Mission commenced its labours in 1815, at Antigua, St. Vincent's, and Dominica, by the establishment of schools. In 1825, religious instruction was begun at Jamaica; and in 1830, the society had established thirteen stations. On the abolition of slavery, its efforts were increased; nine labourers (four in holy orders) were sent out in 1835; and the cost of the Jamaica Mission in the year 1838-'9, amounted to £12,000, with which 13 clergymen, 23 schoolmasters and catechists, and various schools, containing 6,009 scholars, were maintained. The colonial ecclesiastical establishment being largely increased, the Church Mission reduced its expenditure, in 1842, to £6,000; in 1847, to £1,000; and now to £100, as a maintenance to one of its former agents. A mission was formed at an Indian village in Guiana, where, however, little has yet been accomplished. The total expenditure of the Society in the West Indies has been £122,200, part of which was contributed by government for educational purposes.

The foregoing documents exhibit the religious and educational state of the West Indian population as one of progress. The moral tone of society is necessarily improved:* the coloured girls, who during slavery, were educated to concubinage, now commonly intermarry in their own class, and not unfrequently form legitimate unions with men of European blood. Intemperance, which formerly prevailed among the white inhabitants, has to a great extent passed away.

CONCLUSION.—The facts briefly enumerated in the foregoing pages indicate a few remarkable results of the abolition of slavery in the West Indies.

First.—Internal strife has wholly ceased, and with it the heavy charges upon the revenues of England, caused by the necessity of providing the planters with military aid, to "keep down" the slaves, and to assist in suppressing those struggles for freedom, which in white men, under similar circumstances, would have been deemed heroic, but in black men were termed unprovoked insurrections.

Second.—Revenue, commerce, and shipping, have largely augmented; that is to say, when the state of the islands is considered as a whole, and not viewed, as is frequently the case, simply with respect to some few (Jamaica, for instance), which, by a long persistence in a course of error and improvidence, have been brought to a condition of extreme depression.

Third.—Christian principles and instruction have been diffused, not indeed so widely as might have been hoped, but quite as much as could reasonably have been expected, or as the efforts made for that purpose could warrant; and crime has decidedly diminished.

Fourth.—Population has increased; property has been accumulated by the mass of the people, and the tillage of the soil has been extended.

This is the sunny side of the picture; the reverse is formed by the distress of what is termed the West Indian interest; that is, of a large number of absentee proprietors, who having, with singular pertinacity, persevered to the very verge, and some actually into the abyss of ruin, in a system which

* Sturge, writing in 1837, says, that the dissolute morals of a part of the white and coloured inhabitants of the islands visited by him (excepting Antigua), cannot be described in a work intended for general perusal.—(p. 116.)

common sense might have told them was utterly hollow and unsound, now endeavour to throw the entire blame upon the great and good measure, which afforded them their only chance of righting themselves, which actually saved some, and only, in so far accelerated the crisis with others, as it revealed in broad day-light, the hopeless nature of their involvements. The records of the different local legislatures, and the frequent petitions of the colonists to the home government; the financial embarrassments and heavy public debt of many of the islands; together with the frightfully decreasing population, afford abundant proofs that slavery, in its lowest and most worldly point of view, has never been a profitable arrangement, even to the planter class; and never could have been, though it had been possible for them to have retained the Africans in bondage, and continued to receive from England a costly military establishment wherewith to compel the labour necessary to the production of the sugar, rum, &c., which they afterwards complained proved barely remunerative, though protected by a commercial monopoly. They were then rapidly becoming the merely nominal possessors of estates mortgaged far beyond their real value, and, being devoid of capital for cultivation, were dependent on the annual advances of the merchants for their supplies. Meanwhile the care of the property and slaves was entrusted frequently, or rather generally, to an uneducated and unprincipled class of white men who had risen through the successive grades of slave-drivers, overseers, and book-keepers, until they became managers, or, according to the colloquial term used in some colonies, "Attorneys," from the circumstance of their holding the legal instrument, "a power of attorney." While the absentee proprietors were sinking deeper in debt and difficulty, their representatives were squandering their remaining resources, and keeping up a "Castle Rack-rent" scene, ludicrous, in many points of view, as Miss Edgeworth's well-drawn descriptions, but presenting dark shades of debauchery and crime, to which Ireland, with all her sin and suffering, can happily afford no parallel.

As in Ireland, a new class of proprietors are taking root in the West Indies, freed from past incumbrances, and possessed of capital to make the best of their advantageous position: a large and lucrative field is before them, and, if well tilled, a profitable harvest may be expected. The beautiful Antilles are still the tropical gardens of England, within a fortnight's distance from our shores, and capable of yielding in abundance, sugar, coffee, cocoa, spices, silk, cotton, and other valuable products, to an extent hitherto undreamed of. With climates suited, far better than those of Madeira or the South of France, to the requirements of invalids suffering under the varieties of pulmonary and rheumatic complaints which scourge our population, why, at certain seasons, the West Indies should not be considered as eligible and inviting a tour for Englishmen and Englishwomen, as the hackneyed continental circuit, it is difficult to conceive. The scenery of these lovely islands, which seemed so strangely fair to Columbus, still wraps them like a garment; the "sea-like skies, and sky-like seas," glowingly described by Coleridge, still encompass them, and "glorious stars with lunar beam," irradiate the midnight hours; the forests still display, in wild abundance, the stately trees, reared in the colder north only under careful shelter; our cherished exotics bloom luxuriantly as common flowers; and the choicest denizens of our aviaries, the brilliantly-coloured parrot, and parroquet, and the gem-like humming-birds, have here their natural home. There is no drawback now on the enjoyment of the visitor, gazing for the first time on this fairy-land; for the horrid sights and sounds of slavery, the whip and the clanking fetter, dreaded and suspected even when not present to the senses, have passed away with the system fraught with sin and sorrow, of which they formed fitting emblems. That slavery has left no legacy of suffering behind, it would be folly to maintain, but to the Christian principle, which has been blessed to the attainment of the expulsion of that monster evil, we must look hopefully and trustfully for strength to eradicate in time the seeds of moral and physical evil which it has widely sown. The great wants (in a material sense) of the West Indies at the present time appear to be, a resident proprietary, with capital; an increased amount of skilled labour; improved methods of cultivation and manufacture; and a sound monetary system. There is abundant room for small farmers, whether white or black, were it only to raise provisions for home consumption, instead of importing them from the United States, and thus depriving the colonists of the current monies, obtained from Europe in return for produce. With regard to capitalists, whether large or small, an area of 1750 square miles of British territory, in which there are little more than a million inhabitants, or about six mouths to each 640 acres, presents a wide field for commercial enterprise. The products, which experience has proved thrive luxuriantly, are in growing demand. Of sugar, for instance, 8,348,198 cwts. were imported into the United Kingdom, in 1851, of which 5,634,863 came from British possessions, and only 2,713,335 from foreign countries; free-grown sugar obtaining the decided superiority over slave-grown, even in the open arena of free trade. The limit of consumption is by no means reached in the United Kingdom: with full and remunerative employment, a population of 28,000,000 would probably take weekly one pound instead of eight ounces of sugar per head, as at present. In the United States the weekly average in 1852 was one pound eleven ounces per head.

Thus, in August, 1846, when the duty levied on British West India and other colonial Muscovado sugars, was 14*s.* per cwt.; that prepared in foreign slave colonies had its duty lowered from 36*s.* 1*d.* to 21*s.*; and there has been an annual reduction of duty up to July, 1851, when the colonial was 10*s.*, and the slave-grown 15*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. Nevertheless, the importations of free labour sugar, from 1846 to 1852, have been as follows (molasses converted at the rate of 3 lbs. to 1 lb. of sugar):—

Years ending 5th of July, 1851.	British Possessions (free labour).		
	West Indies [1]	Mauritius. [1]	East Indies.
	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.
1846	2,842,555	801,913	1,531,418
1847	2,530.333	1,131,108	1,349,639
1848	3,151,031	881,915	1,432,563
1849	3,086,357	935,935	1,330.294
1850	3,222,869	1,028,440	1,549,733
1851	2,661,513	1,003,033	1,358,228
1812	3,566,394	—	—

Note.—[1] Formerly slave colonies. Where the dash (—) is inserted, the returns are not completed, but exceeding those of 1851.

The entries for consumption in the United Kingdom were—

Year.	Free labour.	Foreign or Slave.
	Cwts.	Cwts.
1847	4,723,232	1,256,421
1850	5,570,461	752,027
1851	5,043,872	1,522,405

The prices in London were, in 1846, per cwt., West India, 35*s.* 3*d.*; Havannah, 24*s.* 8*d.*; in 1850, 29*s.* 4*d.*, and 20*s.* 2*d.*; in 1851, 27*s.* 3*d.*, and 24*s.*; half-year ending January, 1852, 23*s.* 8*d.*, and 22*s.*; thus showing that free is as cheap as slave-labour sugar: it will probably soon be cheaper.

It will, perhaps, be answered that increased labour is required for increased production; but the deficiency of the West Indies, in this respect, though the favourite stalking-horse of the colonists, is far from being the sole, or even the greatest obstacle. They want the spirit of progress and improvement, which is the characteristic mainstay of England; of her oldest colony—the United States, and of her youngest—Australia. They want improved machinery, economical methods, and a few trustworthy and energetic men to set reforms on foot. In the Spanish, and French, and Danish West Indian Colonies improved machinery has been sedulously introduced; but, excepting on a few estates, comparatively little has been done in our territories. For example, the Woodbrook vertical mill in Trinidad yields 35 per cent. of saccharine liquor from the compressed cane; while by mills in Cuba 75 per cent. is obtained, and at Guadaloupe 83 per cent. out of the ninety contained in the cane. The average yearly loss of sugar in the West Indies, by not extracting from the cane 50 per cent. more than is now done, in consequence of the imperfect means resorted to, is estimated by Mr. Kerr at 70,000 tons; one-third of the crop which has been brought to maturity, at a heavy expense, being therefore wasted.

But there are, happily, indications of a better state of things, in the schemes now put forth for the introduction of efficient modes of tillage and manufacture, and certainly it is no light encouragement to hear, from good authorities, that in the West Indies an acre of land well drained and manured will yield from two-and-a-half to three hogsheads of sugar, and a proportionate quantity of molasses and rum; so that the proceeds may be estimated at £40 to £50 per acre, on an outlay of £15 to £20. By the use of Fowler's steam-plough, a drainage of three feet is effected, and it has now been ascertained in Guiana, that by thorough drainage an acre of land, which formerly gave only 12 cwts. can be made to furnish 30 cwts.

By means of a new patent cylindrical engine, the aqueous portion of the saccharine matter is rapidly evaporated by the introduction of heated air into a revolving cylinder; within 10 per cent. of the whole of the cane-juice is converted into matter for crystallization; all charring is avoided; there is but little molasses (which may be converted into bastard sugar); the waste, which for the voyage to England, is estimated at 10 to 12 per cent., is almost nil, leaving the product so dry that it may be packed in boxes like the Havanna clayed sugars; added to these advantages, the whole process is performed in twenty-four hours from the grinding of the canes to the complete crystallization of the dried sugar, thus avoiding the development of acid by delay; and an estate, which formerly made 800 hogsheads may now turn out at less expense 1,500 or 2,000 hogsheads of an article which will bring, in the London market, a higher price, by 3*s.* to 4*s.*, than the former manufacture.

In conclusion, it must be reiterated that skill and capital are urgently needed to render the West Indies a remunerative field of production: bring them, and labour will assuredly follow, as it invariably does, wherever men may depend upon obtaining a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. The coloured population are blamed as idle and ungrateful in the extreme, because they will not work for employers, who cannot afford to give them an equal recompense to that which they can earn by tilling their own land, surrounded and assisted by their families. It is a strange fault to bring against the cottiers, that they are too independent, too fond of their small homesteads, too anxious to grow food for their own use, and for the supply of the home markets, to devote themselves exclusively to the cultivation of an article of export, from which they reap but a bare subsistence. Teach them the value of skilled labour; pay them according to their improving performance of the duties allotted to them; and you give them the motive and incitement which is the true spring of progress. The coloured people of the British West Indies, like the fair islands upon which not their will, but the sin of England—doubtless overruled by Providence for ultimate good—has placed them, have great capabilities, which rightly used, may be made instrumental to the production of much benefit to themselves, to the whole British nation, and to the multitudes of their brethren still in captivity. If the rising generation be carefully instructed in Christian principles and practice, and trained to habits of order and industry; if they prove, as to some extent they are already doing, that white and black men have become sufficiently initiated in the spirit of the religion they jointly profess, to live under the same laws; be influenced by the same feelings; and follow, on terms of equality, the same professions and employments; then, indeed, even those who deem it necessary to vindicate England for having ceased to commit what she had learned to recognise as a standing violation of the immutable decrees of justice, will be forced to admit that she has acted wisely, even according to the judgment of this world, in proclaiming that she would not suffer one of her meanest subjects to continue a slave, or to endure the far deeper moral degradation of being a slaveholder; but banished at once, through the length and breadth of her dominions, that accursed source of evil, which had for centuries, like a deadly upas-tree, spread its branches far and wide, blighting everything it touched.

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